



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

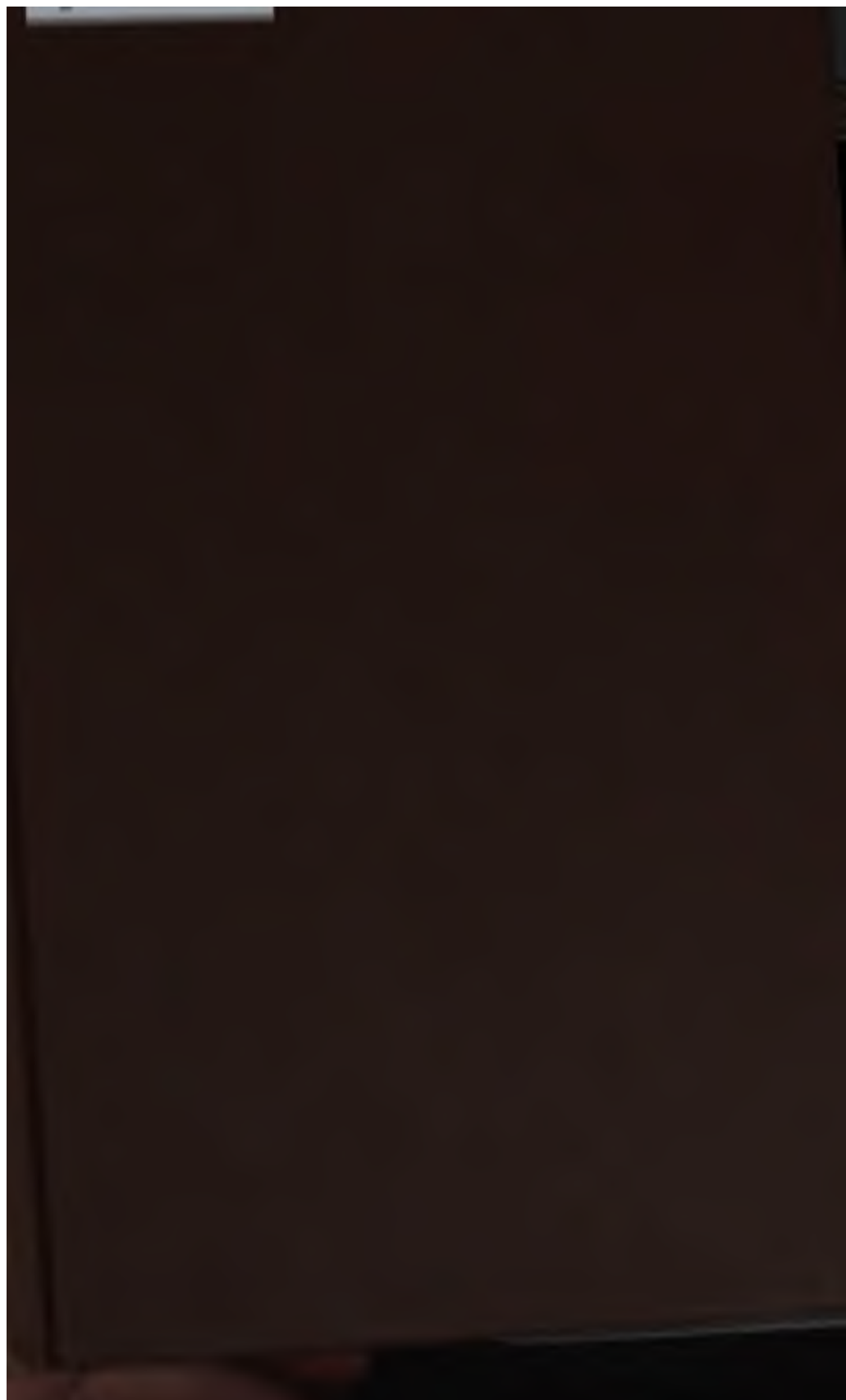
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

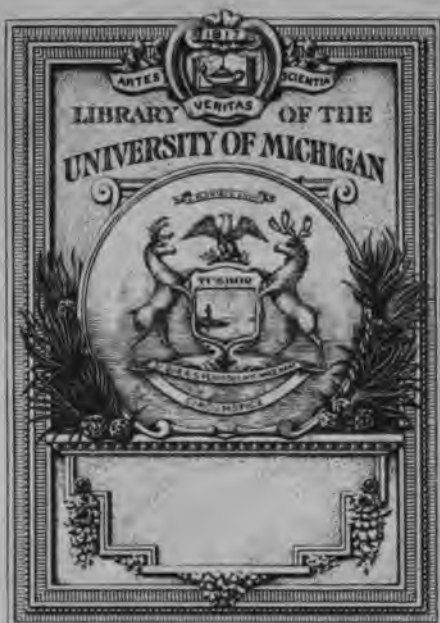
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>













THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLV.

JANUARY—JUNE.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἵρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἙΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XVII.

LONDON:

THOMAS WARD & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

W. OLIPHANT AND SON, EDINBURGH;

JAMES MACLEHOSE, GLASGOW.

1845.

THE HISTORY OF THE

1771

1771

1771

1771

1771

1771

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1845.

Art. I. *Tracts of the British Anti-state Church Association.*

1. *History of the circumstances which led to the Conference.* By Dr. Cox.
2. *The principles of Voluntaryism.* By Dr. Wardlaw.
3. *Practical Evils of the Union between Church and State.* By Mr. E. Miall.
4. *External Forms of the State-church principle.* By Rev. J. W. Massie.
5. *What is meant by a separation of the Church from the State.* By a Barrister-at-law.
6. *Means by which the Establishment should be assailed, etc.* By the Rev. J. P. Mursell.

THESE tracts consist of the several papers read at the Anti-state-church Conference, held in London, in the spring of last year. Their re-publication in a separate form is indicative of a *fact*,—and it is upon that fact, rather than upon the merits of this series of essays, that we wish to found a few observations.

Cuvier, the prince of naturalists, is said to have been able, from the inspection of a single bone, to infer with unfailing accuracy, the structure and habits of the animal to which it once belonged. Were other evidence wanting, these tracts would at once suggest, the constitution, objects, and spirit of that organized body known by the name of the British Anti-state Church Association. They suffice, at all events, to give the world assurance of the existence of a society pledged to concentrate its energies upon the separation of the church from the state. They

show that its efforts are to be direct, unremitting, earnest, peaceable, and in thorough harmony with the genius of the gospel. They are at once a record and a pledge—a record of what *has* been done—a pledge of what is to be done hereafter. They indicate embodied life, and of what sort it is. In short, their appearance not only apprises dissenters of a fact, but enforces upon them a duty. They are the first-born of a new movement—and wherever they go they will be sure, in some form or other, to push home the inquiry—‘How do you, as a professed repudiator of establishments, stand affected towards it?’

The question, at first glance, would seem to be superfluous. *A priori* we might have regarded ourselves safe in coming to the conclusion, that a direct and combined effort, especially if animated by a christian spirit, to assail error, must needs have the sanction of those who believe that it is error, and that the particular form of it aimed at is potent for evil. Experience only could avail to convince us that religious men holding the alliance between church and state to be plainly opposed to the mind of God, could view with disapprobation a serious enterprise set on foot to work out its dissolution. There is so obvious a contrariety between an avowed conviction that state-churches involve an usurpation of the Saviour’s prerogative, and a disposition to regret, if not to resent, any peaceful attempt to subvert them, that conjecture would never, probably, have associated the one with the other. More or less, we all of us feel the force of moral instinct binding upon our consciences, the obligation to make known to others the truths we have ourselves received. And, assuredly, when those truths constitute a portion of the revealed will of God, and when a practical and systematic repudiation of them necessarily obstructs the march of spiritual christianity, it is strangely anomalous, that they who profess to prize them the most highly, should be most conscientiously averse to take measures for their promulgation. The position, at all events, is not a natural one for the disciples of our Lord. It is one, the justification of which would not be suggested to us by the ordinary course of things. Neither, we verily believe, would it be found the most congenial one for those impressions which the study of God’s word usually leaves upon the heart. ‘We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard,’ ‘Yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel,’ more appropriately express the bias of will which intimate acquaintance with revelation invariably imparts. And, if facts demonstrate a very strong repugnance among serious dissenters to urge their distinctive principles upon their fellow countrymen—if it be really the case, that attempts like those made by the association,

whose tracts we have placed as a frontispiece to this article, are denounced by pious nonconformists as mischievous, and are somewhat bitterly reprehended as the results of a political phrensy—there must be some special reason for it of more than common power—for so striking a suspension of an universal moral law can be justified only by unanswerable arguments.

Now, unhappily, as we think, facts do demonstrate this. For although, that movement among dissenters which has resulted in the establishment of the British Anti-state-Church Association, exhibited and still continues to exhibit a vitality which augurs well for its growing efficiency and ultimate success, it is not to be concealed that it is very far from having absorbed the strength of the great body of nonconformists in this empire. Our churches too generally view it with indifference, if not with hostility. Vast numbers of men who have given the world a sufficient pledge of the sincerity of their christian discipleship, stand aloof with an air of decision, which fully translated into language would thus express itself—‘O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united!’ It is clear enough that there prevails in what is usually designated the religious world, a vague notion, that a deep and practical interest in the state-church question, is altogether incompatible with spirituality of heart. There are not wanting, it is true, some bright and conspicuous examples of the possibility of combining the two—examples so conspicuous and so bright that one wonders how it is that the mist does not take up and roll away. They, however, are looked upon as exceptions to the rule—and the prevailing sentiment appears to be, that earnest activity for the separation of the church from the state betokens a low tone of religious sentiment and feeling. What will account for this? What is in this case, the disturbing force which separates the belief of a divinely communicated truth, from the obligation of enforcing it upon public attention? What is the nature of that objection which would prevent, were it possible, any direct assault upon the false principle embodied in all national religious establishments? The reason, as we have before stated, *ought* to be a strong one, which thus contravenes the natural order of things. We shall first state it—and, afterwards, as we are able, demonstrate its fallaciousness. And we shall endeavour to do both in a spirit of christian candour, and with a direct eye to truth.

We should have been well pleased, had we been able to state the argument against us, in the precise words of those who rely upon its validity. We know not, however, where to put our hands upon any exact and studied form of it. That it exists somewhere in an authentic shape, is not unlikely—we happen

to have met with it only in conversational fragments. These we shall put together with what skill we possess—and shall deeply regret if, through any misapprehension or mismanagement of our materials, we should unconsciously do an injustice to the opinions of our differing friends.

The case, then, may be thus stated.

The objectors, whom we have in our eye, admit the principle of a state-support of christianity to be unscriptural. They acknowledge, that in all known instances it has powerfully tended, when reduced to practice, to corrupt the church, to dim the light of divine truth, to foster a general spirit of nominalism, and greatly to impede the progress of the spiritual kingdom of Christ. Upon these points they declare, with a devoutness which puts their sincerity beyond a doubt, that their opinions are as decided, and their feelings as warm, as those of the heartiest advocates of the recent movement. It is not from any sympathy with establishments that they withhold from it their concurrence and support. Their difference with us relates to the means which enlightened dissenters should employ to put a termination to the evil. They believe that the shortest and most effectual method for overthrowing all error, and that which is most in unison with the mind of Christ, is, in all simplicity and earnestness, to preach the gospel. 'Elevate,' say they, 'the tone of piety in the land, and increase its amount by a faithful and affectionate proclamation of the virtues of the cross, and you will thereby aim the deadliest blow at state religionism. The controversy into which you are so indiscreetly plunging, will serve but to stir up slumbering prejudices, and array against the 'word of life' the angry passions of human nature. Make men christians, and the church will soon emancipate itself from civil bondage. Attempt to make them dissenters, by any direct and overt agency, and if you succeed, your gain is comparatively worthless, while if you fail, you place evangelical truth at a serious disadvantage. Nor should it be forgotten that there are, within the pale of the national church, thousands of devout and holy men who, as the disciples of our common Lord, can sympathise with every effort to augment the number, and to promote the purity of his subjects. In all the aims proper to a christian, they are in spirit one with us. Open warfare against state churches as such, will but sever them from us, and render communion in good works utterly impossible. Dissent has succeeded in gaining its present standing, not by preaching itself, but by preaching 'Christ crucified.' Would it conquer, it must pursue the same course. It should be determined to know nothing else among men. *'In hoc signo vinces.'* Uplift it to an expiring world—uplift it manfully, perseveringly,

in faith, with untiring determination, in season and out of season. This is your mission—and in the prosecution of it your own spiritual energies will be sustained and strengthened by exercise. Divert not men's attention, nor distract your own minds, by meddling with controversial topics, partly political and partly religious. These times demand the promulgation of other truths than those which you would have us agitate. Irreligion and immorality abound—why should we quarrel about externals until the plague is stayed? Why, when our difficulties are already all but insurmountable, should we raise up a host of others, by a pertinacious utterance of minor truths? Look at the present state of parties in this country. Is it not deplorable? And what will you do but throw other ingredients of dissension into the cauldron. No, no! Let but the real followers of Christ be true to him, and he will take care of his church. Let them preach his gospel, and he will make it the instrument of overturning antichrist. We desire the end at which you aim. We long to see the church of the Redeemer loosed from her unholy bands. We deplore the mischiefs which an unhallowed inattention to his laws, and a presumptuous intermeddling with his authority, are producing in the world. But we have no faith in your system of means. We object to any direct movement against the establishment. We see in it nothing but danger. We predict from it nothing but defeat. We cannot prevent you from following what you regard as the path of duty,—but neither can we join you. We shall rejoice in your success, should success be accorded to you,—but meanwhile, we shall content ourselves with preaching the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

We have endeavoured to put the objections to which we are about to reply, fairly, fully, and forcibly. We are not conscious of having resorted to a single expression, the substantial import or the precise shade of which might, in our judgment, weaken the case with which we have to deal. We take no credit to ourselves on this account. Infinitely more grateful would it be to us, more pleasing to our self-respect, more satisfactory to our conscience, to lay down our arms at the feet of all-conquering truth, and to proclaim ourselves vanquished, than by means of a controversial sleight-of-hand, to seem to other minds triumphant, when, by our own, we could be viewed no otherwise than as dexterous tricksters. It is a comparatively easy thing to stagger an opponent—it is not so easy to take his understanding captive. To convince, rather than to silence him—to take him alive, rather than to leave him mangled and expiring upon the field of debate—to gain a new adherent to what we believe to be the cause of truth, and therefore of God, rather than to

drive him back into the ranks of error, bruised and bleeding, but not overcome—this is our object. And with a view to this, we have been scrupulously careful, so to state the argument against us, as to secure from the parties entertaining it an unreluctant, unhesitating admission—‘That is our ground—upon that we take our stand—and if at length our judgment is compelled to surrender it, with it also we will surrender ourselves, for we have no stronger position in which to intrench ourselves.’ We shall therefore take it for granted, that upon the field already marked out, both parties are willing to join issue. Nor can we forbear, impressed as we are with the magnitude of the question, and with the awful extent of those interests which are involved in its settlement, glancing an eye of fervent supplication to the Spirit of truth, that, in harmony with his own beneficent work on earth, and in mercy to the ruined family of man, He may ‘speed the right.’

We make bold, then, in the first place to suggest, what may profitably be borne in mind in other controversies than the present, that we are not warranted in isolating any portion, however confessedly important, of God’s revelation to the world, and in calling that portion of it ‘the Gospel.’ The arch must have a key-stone, but the key-stone is not the arch; moreover, severed from its relationship to the rest of the structure, it ceases to be what it was designed to be, the centre and stay of the whole. No single doctrine of the New Testament is complete in itself. Each is linked and interwoven inseparably with all the others, is illustrated by them, derives much of its pertinence from them, and, in turn, adds its own share of efficiency to them. The whole system of revealed truth is of a piece,—not merely are its parts homogeneous, but they are all requisite to its integrity and oneness. The eye torn from its socket is an eye no longer. The limb cut from the trunk, is no more a limb. The brain, the lungs, the heart, are brain, lungs, and heart, in connexion with, not in disjunction from, the whole corporeal frame. The gospel which God gave to a benighted world, and by the power of which He intends to redeem it to himself, is a unique system of truths, not one of which can be spared,—not one of which can be fully understood, save in its appropriate relation to others. Nothing which he has deemed it necessary to communicate can, without a serious impeachment of his wisdom, be dispensed with as superfluous. He knew, far better than we can, what parts were necessary to constitute a perfect whole—and He gave it, in its entirety, and not pieced out into separate divisions, as his appointed instrument for subjecting the nations to the government of his Son Jesus Christ.

The likeliest way, it is said, to sever the connexion between church and state, and, indeed, to overturn every form of anti-christ, is to preach the gospel. Granted—but it remains to be seen—and herein we believe the fallacious application of the remark will be discovered—what that term ‘gospel’ is designed to comprehend. Is it a single doctrine of revealed truth, or does it embrace all? If the best method of extirpating from society every prevailing or possible modification of human depravity, be to confine ourselves to the exhibition of select portions of the embodied mind of God, how came it to pass that the remainder was disclosed to us? Surely it must have something to do in the great work allotted to divine truth—something introductory, or corroborative, or supplemental—something, wanting whose agency the moral remedy would not be to the whole extent of its capability, efficacious—or our attention would never have been distracted by it. We confess, we tremble at the bare idea of characterising any truth which God has vouchsafed to communicate to us, as unimportant, whether absolutely or comparatively. Looked at *per se*, it may seem to our judgment to be little more than an ornament of the edifice—but we are not justified in looking at it thus. Remove it from its place, and the consequence is ever found to be that you not only render the building unsightly, but you break in also upon some exquisite but unappreciated law of proportion and adjustment, so much as to endanger the very stability of the building.

When it is urged that the simple and faithful proclamation of the gospel will eventually undermine every form of secular ecclesiasticism, we apprehend that reference is made to certain truths, which, in consequence of their connexion with personal salvation, are described by the epithet ‘essential.’ Whatever they be, and prominent as may be the position they occupy in the christian system, it becomes us to be careful with a pious jealousy, lest, by tearing them out of their connexions and relationships, we injure their beauty, destroy their significance, and greatly enervate that moral power which they would else exert over the hearts and lives of men. They may together constitute the barb and the shaft of the arrow which is to cleave the conscience of the sinner; but is the feather which steadies its flight to be regarded as an useless appendage? The individuality of religious responsibility, in reference both to faith and practice—the outward and visible form, so to speak, in which God approaches human minds and hearts—the spirituality of the kingdom of Christ—His exclusive headship over his own church—do these and kindred doctrines throw no light upon that of redemption by the cross? Can the full purport of the latter be

understood without some knowledge of the former? Can what is regarded as fundamental be severed without serious injury from that which is held to be merely subsidiary? Who can tell in what instances, and in how many, erroneous views of the nature of Christ's church have choked up the avenues to the souls of men, and have hindered the entrance into them of those other doctrines whereby they would have been made wise unto salvation? Which of us, knowing as we do the endlessly various angles at which spiritual light is darted into the mind, and the ten thousand seeming accidents which give a new direction to its rays—which of us will undertake to show that scriptural views of the question under notice could never, in any instance, have so deflected the beams of the Sun of righteousness as to turn them into the only chink by which 'Christ and him crucified' could find access to the heart? In how many cases may the cardinal doctrine of our faith have been unnoticed, like some glorious but distant mountain, the very charm of the landscape, merely on account of the thin haze which, almost imperceptibly to us, all but destroys the translucency of the atmosphere through which we must look? Many a man has lived amongst the sublimities of nature for successive years, a stranger to the spirit of the scene around him, until some casual play of sunlight upon a mountain's top, some huge shadow cast athwart its bosom, some little variation of ærial perspective, has waked up in him that inner life by which, and which alone, communion can be held with nature. And it is more than possible for human minds to dwell within sight of the stupendous mysteries of the gospel, and yet for want of seeing them at the right moment, and under the peculiar aspect which will best harmonise with individual temperament, to remain through life as profoundly unacquainted with the spirit of those mysteries, as if their outline had never been once discerned. Who can say with certainty that the result would not have been different, had *all* the features been displayed? These controversial topics, as they are somewhat irreverently called, might not a due knowledge of them have been in too many examples just the lucidity of the air, just the break in the clouds, the pencil of light, or the passing shadow, the morning blush, or the evening purple, necessary to the true spiritual impression of divine beauty? Since God has constituted them elements of his revelation, has man the smallest right to fancy that they have not their appointed use? Can that be considered an exhibition of the gospel from which these things are purposely excluded? Nay, more, is there not some reason to apprehend that one amongst the numerous causes to be assigned for the comparative inefficiency of preaching in the present day, especially in our own

land, and that, too, by no means an insignificant one, is the wide-spread ignorance of our people, in relation to the exclusively spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom.

The force of these remarks may perhaps be met by the admission that the distinctive principles of dissent *may be* preached as a part of christianity, and by the declaration that they *are* so preached, without involving the necessity of showing their specific application to existing national institutions. Be it so, we reply. Then the specific application is either understood or it is not. If it be generally understood, which, however, we are not apt to believe, then there can be no valid objection to clothe it in language, for their sakes at least, who are unskilled in drawing inferences. If not understood, which slight observation, we think, will show to be the real state of the case, then whatever may be the range of truths formally exhibited, that gospel which is to overturn antichrist, cannot be said to be *preached*. Practically, the difference is small between the deliberate suppression of truth and the studied display of it in such a form as may prevent its bearings from being clearly seen. Every doctrine has its correspondent duty. Every new instruction which lays hold upon the mind sends it upon some special errand. It is of small use to enlighten men upon the subject of the spirituality of our Lord's kingdom, unless with that light there go forth also a power which shall bind the conscience to maintain that spirituality against all gainsayers. Otherwise, how is the simple preaching of the gospel, insisted upon by many as the most prompt and powerful agency by which to sever the union between church and state, to work out the accomplishment of the anticipated end? There stands the ancient fortress of nominalism in all its pride and glory. How is it to be shaken to the ground, so that not a single vestige of it shall remain? No one can expect that it will fall without hands, or that preaching alone will preach it away. Surely the end of preaching in reference to this matter is to convince the whole body of Christ's disciples in the land that it is a fatal obstacle to the success of divine truth, and that it is their duty to combine against it as such, and by the zealous use of all legitimate means, to raze it even to its foundations. And if this be the result which, is looked for and intended, then that method of exhibiting truth which, designedly adopted, falls short of the end, is not what it assumes to be—and, in reality, is but a vain show which

———: keeps the word of promise to the ear,
But breaks it to the hope.'

To those who advocate this esoteric method of proclaiming God's


truth, this leaving others to draw inferences which we are nevertheless convinced are never drawn, this exposition of abstract truth, the particular point and bearing of which are carefully concealed, and who dignify it by the name of 'preaching the gospel,' we commend the study of apostolic language—'Even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air.'

In our view, moreover, that preaching of the gospel which will prove 'mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds,' must be not only full and unreserved, plain and specific in its application, but proportional also, and with a frequency and zeal in the handling of particular topics, correspondent with the urgency of any present and pressing evil. And here it may be well to explain once for all, that we use the term 'preaching' in its widest sense—comprehending within itself not merely the delivery of formal pulpit harangues, but the use of all those means, private and public, the living voice and the press, by which truth may be put in contact with the minds and hearts of our fellow-men. Every disease has its own allotted remedy—every poison its antidote. In natural matters we regulate effort by the occasion which calls it forth. In a climate visited by many and terrific thunderstorms, prudence and benevolence will urge again and again on its inhabitants the importance of securing their habitations by metal conductors. When the small-pox rages, we incessantly recommend an immediate resort to vaccination. Should not the same law govern us in reference to higher and more sacred duties? Have we not examples enough that the church of Christ, in the periods of its greatest activity, aimed the heaviest and most frequent blows against that form of error which happened to be most prevalent and fatal. In the days of the apostle of the gentiles, at least if we may gather up our conclusion from his own practice, the 'preaching of the gospel' which God honoured with triumphant success, struck directly, repeatedly, and with uncompromising hostility, at the then popular perversion of it—Judaism. When Martin Luther, moved unquestionably by divine impulse, entered the lists, single-handed, against the power of Antichrist, such a proclamation of truth by his followers as shirked all allusion to the deadly errors, and blasphemous pretensions of Rome, would have been held, and justly held, to be indicative, not of the superior spirituality of the preacher, but of his desire

to avoid 'the offence of the cross.' Look at that strange combination of learning and puerility, of conscientiousness and impiety, which, in our own day, goes under the name of Puseyism. How were its appearance and its rapid growth treated by the very class of objectors to whom we are now addressing our remarks? They assailed it with every weapon with which the armoury of revelation could furnish them. They resorted to every method of staying the plague which wit could invent, earnestness employ, and christianity sanction. They saw a special danger, and they betook themselves to special means. Grave argument and laughing raillery—profound research, happy quotation, and scriptural reproof—analogy, common sense, logic, eloquence, genius—all were instantly brought into play against the novel form of popery. The pulpit resounded with admonitions and exhortations. The press panted beneath its burden of pamphlets, sermons, treatises, and volumes. Periodical literature was saturated with the subject. Lectures were delivered in all parts of the empire. Men felt themselves to be contending 'for the faith once delivered to the saints.' This zeal, this energy, this adaptation of the means to the end, they looked upon as included in their obligation to 'preach the gospel.' And, substantially, they were right. Whether it had not been wiser in them to have struck at the root of the evil, is another question, one upon the discussion of which we do not feel ourselves called to enter. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that in the presence of a danger really felt to be appalling, there is no great difference of opinion as to what constitutes an efficient and faithful ministration of divine truth, and that the kind of warfare we are anxious to wage against the secularization of christianity by the civil power, is one which is sanctioned by the practice even of those who denounce it.

By the leave of our readers, we will look at the subject in another light. God who gave us truth, gave us also an instituted system for the promulgation of it. He made known to us not only *what* to teach, but *how* to teach it—and, for aught we can tell, the last is not less important than the first. At all events, humble piety, we think, will make light of nothing which the Father of mercies has seen fit to reveal. His perfect knowledge of man's heart—his familiarity (if we may be pardoned the use of language in reference to Him which necessarily shows a tinge of our imperfections) with every principle of his own moral administration—the clear view which he has of all the contingent results of human tendencies—the openness to his eye of the most secret and subtle springs of action—his exact measurement and appreciation of all the influences which can operate upon the will, and of all the modifications of power

which the endlessly various combinations of those influences will develop—these things duly considered might compel the conclusion, that if he *does* communicate to mankind any instructions as to the mode in which his truth is to be dealt with, and how best it may be brought in contact with the hearts of rebels, there must be consequences dependent upon our obedience to those instructions, of infinitely larger moment than we are able to comprehend. That haste of ours which, from a knowledge that sinners have been and are brought home to God by instrumentalities within the pale of the establishment, leaps to the conclusion that so long as gospel truth be exhibited, it matters little upon what system of means, is a haste which neither reason nor religion can commend. It is sternly rebuked by the fact that *a* system of means has been ordained by God, and bears upon it the stamp of ‘So I will it.’ Why did he give it, why set his seal upon it, if it imported little to the interests of our race? What, if in the feebleness of our minds, we cannot, after even the most intense and protracted gazing, catch sight of the reasons which justify the divine choice, nor imagine how any deviation from his prescribed method can diminish the intrinsic efficacy of christian doctrine, does it become our ignorance to infer that He, the all-wise, acted, in this respect, unlike himself? Is it not more seemly, more in tone with the intelligent veneration which should distinguish his worshippers, to take it for granted that every act of the Supreme is but an outward shape into which his wisdom has passed—is the bodying forth of his unspeakable goodness? and that the act proclaims the God? And although it may be very far beyond the compass of our thoughts to determine the pitch of moral power which christianity might by this time have attained had God’s plan for exhibiting and enforcing it been uninterruptedly adhered to—what triumphs it might have achieved over human ignorance and depravity—to what extent it might have assimilated to itself the various institutions of society, or in what degree called out the energy of spiritual character; we *are* able in some measure to interpret the records of the past, and by the light of history to read the lesson, worthy of being deeply pondered, that no ordinance of the church’s Head can be set aside without entailing the most lamentable consequences upon mankind. That some souls, perhaps many, have been reclaimed to holiness by the agency of a church which deliberately tramples upon one of Christ’s laws, is only one more illustration, added to the ten thousand others, of his exuberant mercy, which will sometimes break through all the obstructions of our disobedience to accomplish his ever benevolent designs—but assuredly it does not warrant us in casting an imputation upon



the wisdom of his appointments. In the terrible influence everywhere exerted by the compulsory system upon ministerial character—in the prevalence of nominalism—in the desolating ravages of infidelity—we have a deplorable set off against the amount of good which has been done in connection with establishments. All things considered, we have small reason for regarding as a matter of secondary and trivial importance the mode in which ‘the truth as it is in Jesus’ is brought to bear upon a lapsed and ruined world.

Now we beg to put it in all seriousness to the class of objectors for whom our remarks are especially intended, whether it be or be not, in their judgment, a duty binding upon all devout christians, to adhere with conscientious and scrupulous obedience to the method revealed by God for promulgating his own truth. We ask them whether the neglect of that duty be not sin—whether the erasure of it from the code of christian ethics be not presumption—and whether that sin and that presumption do not draw after them a train of moral results such as every enlightened friend of religion must deeply deplore. But do they not see that forth from these admissions there leaps a fire to consume their own sophistries? Will they defend that mode of preaching the gospel, which avowedly and of set purpose refuses to enforce one of its most solemn duties? Are men ignorant in this matter—who is to enlighten them, save those who are themselves enlightened? Are they wilfully blind—who is to rebuke them but the simple-hearted and the conscientious? What partial anti-nomianism is this which, like a one-sided paralysis, seizes upon the church of Christ, and in reference to one whole sphere of doctrine and of discipline, destroys its vitality? Does it then belong to us to select, out of the whole circle of duties which christianity imposes, those which we will enforce, and those upon which we will maintain a studied silence? Where drunkenness is prevalent, is any disciple of our Lord at liberty, under the pretence of preaching ‘Christ crucified,’ to disclaim all intention of denouncing the sin of inebriety? When lust runs riot, entangling its myriads, is it for him to decline all reference to the obligations of chastity? Why, in any case, is it given him to overcome temptations by which others have fallen? Why is he favoured with clearer views of what truth requires of him than other men? Is he not a steward? Does not he hold every advantage in trust? Can he, consistently with his relationship to his fellow-probationers, and to Him who has provided grace for both himself and them, decide that he will leave the world in hopeless error, so far as his own exertions are concerned, and see it deluded by a lie which he *can* expose, but will not? If this may be done in reference

to one of the duties which we owe to Christ, why not to all? If we may impose silence upon ourselves in respect of one glaring act of disobedience, why not of all? Surely this ~~mained~~ exposition of divine truth cannot be that 'foolishness of preaching' by which the world is to be saved.

And what is it, we would further ask, that the world wants? Why does it lie prostrate under the power of a moral sickness which breaks out in loathsomeness over the whole surface of society? Why is its countenance ploughed up with the wrinkles of distress? Why roll its restless eyes, and heaves its labouring bosom? Is it not after truth—heaven-given truth? Can this be given it in too great abundance? Is it not this which will purge it of every grosser humour, and send a new and bounding life through all its veins? To our view there is a fulness of significance in the apostle's declaration, 'The whole creation groaneth and travelth in pain together until now . . . waiting for the adoption.' Behold the wide desolation caused by disobedience to God's moral government! See how the deadly poison which has wrought our ruin permeates the whole frame of society, and perverts the choicest gift of paternal love, into the heaviest and most afflictive evils! Civil government, designed to defend the defenceless, and protect the weak from the aggressions of the strong, is it not, in almost every nation, the first to trample upon all human rights, the last to redress the real grievances of the poor? And the christian church itself, has not pride turned it into an engine of tyranny, and made it the instrument of intenser misery to mankind than any other institution under the sun? Slowly alas, but, thanks be to heaven, surely, does the work of regeneration go forward. Scantly as yet, fall the fertilising showers upon the scorched and gaping soil. Who can gaze upward into the moral firmament and see the 'clouds without water, carried about of winds,' without betraying emotions of passionate regret? Whence is it that men filled with the truth of God, resolve to retain it, or at least to let it fall in such niggard drops—in portions so nicely measured, that the soil can derive from it no strength to bring forth fruit? Humanity, enervated and trembling under the operation of the curse, calls out for truth—for all truth which the Creator has vouchsafed to communicate for its advantage. Let those who have it beware how they hold it back! Theirs is but a weak and worthless faith that fears to publish in every ear, what God has spoken in theirs. They know little of the power of right principles who hesitate to proclaim and enforce them, lest in doing so they should do more harm than good. Let them rest assured that the social system will absorb, by a process more or less rapid, all that knowledge of the divine will which

christians can impart. They cannot overdo their work. Their labours are not likely, for some time to come, to overtake the evil which requires them. What they know, therefore, it were well that they dispersed with liberal hand. All times should be with them the time of sowing—all truths derived from scripture, the seed to be scattered. Let them pour out of every kind, in imitation of that benevolence which has blessed them with every kind! Wherever error reigns, thither should they carry the truth which will confound and overturn it.

One more consideration we submit to the notice of the candid, and with it we shall close the present argument. It is not a little remarkable that not a single promise of the divine blessing is extended to the sagacious management of the trust committed to us. No stress is laid in Scripture upon the importance of exercising a prudent forethought as to the effects likely to follow from the exhibition of truth. No intimation is given of the necessity of a far-seeing statesmanship in our attempts to rid the world of error. We are cautioned against leaning to our own understanding—we are commanded to be fools that we may be wise—we are told that ‘this is the victory which overcometh the world, even our faith.’ The cautious suppression of any portion of the divine mind, dictated by whatever motive, can fall back for encouragement upon no promise, no pledge, with which Christ has condescended to bless his church. To honesty of purpose, to the courage which braves all shame, to simple-hearted reliance upon the power of God’s word, to industry, perseverance, fortitude, zeal, there are assurances given upon which they may confidently lean in the darkest hour of difficulty and danger—to policy, none whatever. Were any one of those who counsel silence and inaction in regard to the spirituality of the Redeemer’s kingdom, called to account before his heart-searching Master for this feature of misconduct, what direction contained in the New Testament could he offer as a valid plea. He thought, looking at the present position of parties, and at the anomalous state of society in this empire, that an earnest exhibition of particular truths would peril the safety of evangelical religion. But where did he find written in his commission an injunction to regulate his duties by such considerations? Who devolved upon him the management of events? Who bade him consult the clouds before he sowed? Who required it at his hands that he should be weather-wise and understanding in times and seasons? That which he had freely received, he might with a clear conscience have freely given. What, now, is his answer? What can it be? Whereas, for proclaiming the truth which is in him, he has sure warrant. The very fact that he has something God-given in his heart, is

his commission to preach it to the world. That the world turns away from it is proof strong enough that the world specially needs it. And it is precisely to those who, in the discharge of their duty, are likely to be involved in perplexities and perils, that the promise of assistance from on high is graciously extended. The simplicity which speaks—‘whether men will hear or whether they will forbear,’—the fidelity which will not allow sin to sleep unmolested,—the courage which walks forth for God, heedless whether there be or be not ‘a lion in the way’—the faith which ‘frets not itself in anywise to do evil’—these are qualities in the christian disciple which can always reach high enough to pluck a blessing from the tree of revelation. But wariness ending in defeat, where will it find consolation? Whither will it turn for support? What cordial has Scripture to administer to disappointed foresight, or to mistaken sagacity? The answer to these questions—for they admit of but one answer,—is full of significance. It implies that the real vocation of christians is to proclaim the truth, not to reserve it—to bear witness, not to play the advocate—to give what they have received, not to hoard it against future exigences. And the conclusion which we thus gather from the tenor of divine revelation, experience has amply confirmed—for the church of Christ may in every instance trace her best and richest acquisitions to the ‘foolishness’ of those who would not and could not hold their peace, even when the world was up in arms against them. The laurels belong not to the brows of skilful statesmanship—and, certainly, the history of the progress of God’s truth on earth justifies in this, as in other respects, the humbling inquiry of the apostle, ‘Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?’


The foregoing remarks may, possibly, beget in some minds, for the first time, a suspicion that a resolute determination to stand aloof from all attempts to sever the connexion between church and state can hardly be based upon enlightened piety. In some cases, we fear, men have admitted the conclusion, as an opiate, to ease the twinges of an upbraiding conscience. In other, and, we hope, the great majority of, instances, the conviction has been produced, as erroneous convictions usually are, by looking exclusively at one side of the question. It is with this latter class that we have now especially to deal. We have endeavoured to meet their objections, and in doing so, we have marked out the grounds upon which our own decision rests. If, in the conduct of our argument, we have turned up a single thought worth further consideration—one in which truth seems to glitter, as grains of precious metal in the ore,—we intreat

our readers to pursue the subject to some definite and satisfactory issue. On whichever side of it the mind of God may be discovered, it is certain that the question is one of such pressing and practical importance as to demand, at the least, the gravest and most conscientious deliberation. It ought not to be cavalierly, or lightly dismissed. The affair, *sub judice*, is too large, too comprehensive, and involves interests of too high a moment to be shuffled through with unreflecting haste. If they to whom we have addressed ourselves be not right, they are deplorably wrong. The error by which they deceive themselves masks the spiritual destruction of thousands. Their silence adds length of days to a pretence, the full extent of whose pernicious influence no intellect can measure. They defraud others by doing themselves an injury. The blame is by no means trivial, when in matters chiefly affecting our own personal character, we bury our Lord's talent in the earth. But if our knowledge of certain revealed truths be really committed to us in trust for others; if while we sleep, Christendom also sleeps as the consequence of our stupor; if, in short, the world waits the energetic application of that moral remedy which we have in our possession, and whilst it waits sinks deeper into ruin;—then will our inaction burden us with a responsibility, the weight of which we may well shudder to contemplate. The bare possibility of being mistaken in a case involving consequences so serious, should bid us pause, examine, reflect, and spare no pains to satisfy ourselves. How far the good or bad influence of our example may reach, none of us can tell. Thus much we know, that we do not, cannot stand alone. Whether we do or leave undone, we are, unconsciously perhaps to ourselves, producing correspondent impressions upon other minds. Under these circumstances, we hope our readers will forgive the urgency of our request that they ponder this subject with a solicitude befitting its unquestionable importance, and resolve to review the position they may have taken up with a prayerful concern to ascertain how far it coincides with the will of the Great Head of the church.

We ask them further—and conscience must be our apology for the intrusion—to deal honestly with themselves. Ere they ascend the judgment seat, it would be at once manly and just, by a resolute effort, to divest their minds of all the bye influences likely to warp their decision. They will be aware how easily our wishes lead our reason, and how insensibly prejudice imparts to the clearest evidence a tinge of its own foregone conclusions. The views they have hitherto held of their duty in respect to the movement against establishments, they have been accustomed to regard as the natural and legitimate off-

spring of an attachment to the vital doctrines of the gospel. They may be so, but is it certain they are so? Let the supposition be made, for the sake of experiment only, that any reader of this paper should see sufficient cause to change his mind, and as the result of that change, to commence a course of active exertion to enfranchise christian truth from the thralldom of civil government. What are the inconveniences which would first present themselves to his mind as necessary, in such an event, to be encountered? Whose laugh would he have to brave? Whose good opinion would he forfeit? What friendship must he give up? Wherein would his reputation suffer; his worldly prospects, his social enjoyments, or his domestic peace? As with the wand of a magician, the question—'Shall I so resolve?' if put home to his conscience in earnest, will start up the shadows of the evils which he must meet, and, fleet as thought, they will pass in succession before the eye of his imagination. Now, is he satisfied that these things, never before distinctly called up before him, have had no hand in the formation of his opinion—have never, in any instance, unseen and unsuspected, given a bias to his judgment? Might he not with great propriety, on the very threshold of this inquiry, exclaim with an authority which could not be resisted, 'Shadows avaunt!' It may be unnecessary. His piety may be elevated above that sphere in which such influences take their walks, and exercise their witchery. But recollecting the frailty of human nature—the extraordinary facility with which it surrenders itself a victim to self-delusion—and the more than common gravity of the subject which asks his impartial decision—were it not a wise precaution to guard himself at the outset against the possibility of hearing the whispers of these intruders—whispers which may be conveyed into his mind with such exquisite subtlety as to be mistaken for the suggestions of his own conscience. Severe self-searching is one of the best preparations for arriving at sound conclusions in all questions which touch the practice, and none but the frivolous or the self-sufficient will deem the ordeal a superfluous one.

Fully conscious that we are about to tread upon delicate ground, we cannot forbear urging upon our readers, nevertheless, their individual responsibility in this matter. As they must not take counsel of their interests, so neither must they give judgment by proxy. They must think, reason, decide, and act for themselves. Their ordinary opinions may, perchance, be nothing more than a faithful reflection of the opinions of some other mind to whom they are accustomed to render deference. And on a subject seriously affecting the well being of the church of Christ, they may regard it as not only safe, but



becoming, to sit at the feet of the masters in Israel, and on their authority to draw conclusions. Far be it from us to assert that no respect is due to the deliberate judgment of men occupying eminent stations in the church. But how should it operate? Not in silencing inquiry, but in making it tenfold more searching and more careful. They are not infallible. They are but men, and, consequently, they may err. They are the subjects of human frailties, and it is therefore not impossible that their reason may be lured out of the way by their affections. The very position they occupy may surround them with temptations to lean to the quieter side of this matter, the force of which can scarcely be appreciated by others. Be this, however, as it may, it would be but a miserable consolation to any truly religious man, if events should hereafter prove his course to have been a mischievous one, to reflect that he was carried astray by his implicit credit in men whom he highly revered. Truth is independent of all authority save one; and it is always safer to ask for arguments than for names. No christian should dare to take his convictions of religious duty on trust. Our faith must stand in the word of God, not of men. It is due to our own consciences, due to divine truth, and due, we may add, to the very persons whom we venerate, to claim for ourselves the right of private judgment, and to make good that claim by exercising it forthwith. We trample upon the highest dictates of love by loading others with the responsibility of our decisions; and whilst it is certain that we thereby bring guilt upon ourselves—the guilt of moral indolence—we may unwittingly add much to theirs by allowing their errors or inconsistencies to determine our practice. It would be well if every man would bear in mind, in reference especially to the subject under notice, that ‘to his own master he standeth or falleth.’

Lastly, it would seem hardly necessary on any other topic to observe that true conviction will assuredly be practical. A sound judgment is nothing worth, except as it prompts to useful and energetic action. It may be, and in many cases it will be, a severe trial of sincerity to take those steps which will put our change of mind beyond doubt in the estimation of those by whom we are surrounded. The danger is great when men, after they have discovered the path of duty, begin to debate with themselves whether they shall walk in it or not. It would, of course, ill become us to affirm that those of our readers who have gone with us thus far, are bound to join any existing association, the avowed object of which is the diffusion of correct views in relation to the exclusive spirituality of Christ's kingdom. Neither, perhaps, should we be warranted in declaring that an earnest desire to overturn the idolatry of heathen nations can

only show itself through the medium of some one or other of our missionary societies. But as in the last case, so in the first, he who repudiates the means at hand, is under a solemn obligation to employ better. And in respect of those means, it behoves him to reflect whether his objections to them be merely of taste or of judgment, and whether the fact that they are already in action be not a weighty argument against their hasty rejection. Some machinery there must be to lift a neglected truth into such prominence, that none shall stand excused for remaining ignorant of its claims. That constructed by the recent anti-state-church conference may be defective, or even faulty; but at least it is recommended by this potent consideration, that it is a *reality*, not a dream—a something which *is*, not a conception which *might be*. And this to an earnest man will be no light matter. He will ponder seriously before he throws away the immediate advantage which this presents to him. Certainly, he will not allow himself to be pushed on to such a decision by rumours which he has never tested, or by antipathies which he cannot defend. He will exercise the common prudence of examining for himself. He will make himself acquainted, so far as they lie within his reach, with the origin, history, nature, and past and present working, of the only existing organization. And if at last he discerns such a want of adaptation between its means and its end, or so palpable a departure from the spirit of truth in its use of those means, as to render it unsafe for enlightened zeal to support it, he will be as anxious to shun inaction as to avoid imprudence, and will exert himself, as a man conscious of his individual responsibility, to do by more efficient methods what he believes the British anti-state-church association is ill-fitted to accomplish. Thorough conviction and dreamy indolence cannot go together.

Our task is done. But ere we dismiss our readers to their own reflections, we would fain take them with us to one of those heights of contemplation whence they may gain the clearest, the most comprehensive, and the most impressive view of that whole field of obligation, some distinct portions of which it has been our aim to put before them. In the presence only of the King of saints can the questions we have so feebly discussed be suitably resolved. And there, as it seems to us, all difficulty ceases. How glorious His throne, and how worthily He fills it! The only begotten Son of God, Redeemer, Mediator, Love—the truth incarnate—the light and life of the moral universe—holds from his Father's hands all power in heaven and earth to the end that he may conquer by his grace rebellious hearts, and build up for himself a spiritual kingdom the willing subjects of which shall inherit everlasting joy. Dim and inade-

quate are our apprehensions, even at the best, albeit we are aided by the glowing light of prophecy, of that fulness of blessings which the world is destined to realise from his magnificent and thrice hallowed undertaking. Slightly and imperfectly only can our dull spirits catch the import of that strain which announced his coming—‘Glory to God in the highest—on earth peace—and good will to men.’ Were it possible for us to discern the exuberant meaning into which that simple annunciation will ultimately expand—could we, purified from all grosser passions, trace its fulfilment, ever progressing, and ever widening, until it is lost in eternity—were we able to obtain a glimpse, clear although distant, of what the Prince of all the kings of the earth has purposed to do for the nations of men—the harmony in which he will unite them, the moral dignity to which he will raise them, the perfect liberty into which he will lead them, the unspeakable gladness which he will diffuse amongst them, and, in a word, the physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual refinement to which he will exalt them—what, with all this full in our view, would be our notions of that system, devised by human pride and worldly wisdom, which usurping his name, and availing itself of his doctrine, came right athwart his benevolent intentions, retarding, obscuring, misrepresenting, blighting, and rendering fruitless, so far as man’s wickedness can, the developments of his infinite love? What would be our emotions at observing the dark cloud of unsanctified ambition intercepting the bright rays of the all exhilarating and fertilising sun of righteousness? And in what shape would those emotions embody themselves? In connivance? in silence? in a studied and systematic suppression of our knowledge? Would there be no indignation? would there not be effort? Should we stay to ask ourselves what the world might think of our strenuous opposition to this its perversion of heaven’s choicest gift? And with the sound of our Master’s precepts in our ears, and a vision of his purposes spread out before our eyes, would it be possible for us to judge that it best becomes us to hide a portion of his counsel, lest, haply, we should rouse the prejudices of those who, some in sheer hatred of his government, and some in mistaken notions of its essential nature, are doing their worst to make void his grace? No! Boldly, and in the name of christianity, we answer, no!

It is not religion, but the want of it, which produces indifference to this state of things. The more eminent the spirituality, the deeper will be its resentment of that which secularises the gospel. The more ardent the benevolence, the more earnest will be its repudiation of whatever endangers the highest interests of mankind. The tenderer the charity, the less tolerant

will it be of a system in which charity is unknown. That piety which shrinks from all the temptations and hardships of a determined struggle for God's truth, is of little worth, save to its possessor. It may be a plant of the right sort, sprung from a divine seed ; but the modern mode of treatment adopted towards it, renders it well nigh unproductive. It was never intended by God for a conservatory, but for the open field of the world. Nursed into dwarfishness, it becomes sickly and barren. To be strong, healthy, fruitful, it must stand in the open air, and encounter every wind which blows, come from whatever quarter it may. Then would its leaves be for the healing of the nations—and the surrounding atmosphere be redolent of its fragrance. We fear dissenters have not considered the subject in this its noblest aspect. They unwittingly cherish among them a morbid delight in a species of spiritual selfism. The distinctive truths they hold from heaven, they hold captive too often, we suspect, 'in unrighteousness.' Holy writ rebukes them. Even unsanctified reason detects their inconsistency ; and, with all their greater advantages of light and experience, they might listen with profit to the teaching of our dramatic bard—

'Heaven doth with us as we with torches do ;
 Not light them for themselves ; for if our virtues
 Did not go forth of us, t'were all alike
 As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touched
 But to fine issues.'

Art. II. *De Poeticæ Vi Medica. Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ, Annis 1832—1841, a Joanne Keble, A.M. Poeticæ Publico Prælectore, Collegii Oriensis nuper Socio. Ozonii : J. H. Parker. 1844. 2 vols. pp. 853.*

THESE two volumes contain the lectures delivered by Mr. Keble, during the ten years in which he held the professorship of poetry in the university of Oxford. Each election to it is for the term of five years only ; but at the expiration of that term, the professor may be re-elected for five years more. Among Mr. Keble's predecessors are found the names of Milman, Coplestone, and Lowth ; the well known lectures of the last mentioned professor on Hebrew poetry were delivered on the occasion of his holding this chair. As the volumes before us contain the deliberate and well weighed judgments, which one, eminently imbued with the poetic spirit, has been led to form, respecting the essential nature of poetry, both as viewed in the abstract, and as illustrated in the writings of Homer, of the three Greek tragedians, of Pindar, of Lucretius,

and of Virgil (not to name some others who occupy a less prominent place), we do not doubt that our readers, even those who are themselves not unfamiliar with the Latin language, will thank us for giving in our own tongue a somewhat extended account of their contents. While doing so, we shall venture, occasionally, to express our sentiments both on the opinions here advanced and on the subjects respecting which they treat; but our object will not be so much to criticise Mr. Keble's performance, as to develop his views for the information and pleasure of our readers.

We shall have no occasion to enter upon another of those discussions of Puseyism, with which the present generation is so much vexed, and which the author before us has himself been so largely instrumental in originating. If he has here and there let fall a sentiment belonging to the catholic school, he can yet be hardly charged with having designed to convert æsthetical investigations into vehicles of catholic teaching, or to have done more than may be fairly allowed to a man who is really in earnest. If our readers recollect what an impulse has been given to the development of the views referred to, by the publication of the 'Christian Year,' they will also recollect how deeply tinctured that volume is (elaborate as it certainly must always be felt to be) with the genuine spirit of meditative poetry. They will thus perhaps be disposed to concede that large measure of deference to his views on this subject, which they would feel constrained to withhold from his sentiments on subjects of far deeper importance.

Those who know the volume of poems referred to, or, indeed, consider the general tendencies of the system lately put forth by the Oxford party, will readily suppose, that Mr. Keble is a profound and reverential worshipper of whatever the consent of ages has pronounced worthy of worship. Too familiarly, he complains in his first lecture, has it been the fashion for the last age or two, to handle and discuss the remains of great poets; with too great rashness and petulance are those sanctuaries commonly invaded; whatever new thing, whatever notion unheard of before, any one fancies he has excogitated, without any hesitation, without any scruple of pious reverence, is at once and with a mighty outcry brought out and cast down before others. For himself, though he is sometimes apprehensive, that, just as in the advancing daylight the beautiful tints of morning are wont to fade away from the sky, so the gratification, which in the period of youth is derived from poetry, may likewise have become fainter and more languid in his mind; yet he feels that his age warrants him to entertain *one* confidence: in the whole of the work before him, he hopes that he shall, as in a matter of solemn interest and of almost sacred in-

violability, listen carefully to the dictates of profoundest reverence, and, if he may promise any thing for himself, he promises that he will.

He is fully aware of the embarrassments and disadvantages which arise from the obligation entailed by the conditions on which the professorship is held, to lecture in the Latin language. Yet, on the whole, he is far from expressing dissatisfaction with the arrangement. He is glad to be thus withdrawn from the temptation to use that style of criticism which is now so much in vogue. For the benefit of our brother-reviewers, as well of all writers whatever who may read our pages, we will give the estimate which, with too much justice, he forms of the mode of composition so popular in the present day.

'I am not sure whether it will not be much more advisable in the present day to discourse on poetry in the Latin than in the English tongue. I cannot, indeed, deny, the grief and vexation I am myself almost every hour experiencing—that whatever genius one is possessed of is thus in a manner kept down and shackled; that invention is dulled; that the whole mind more quickly becomes languid and weary; that whilst we are on the hunt for words and phrases, and are seeking to produce something in a knowing [scite] and really Latin dress, we are in great danger of receding from the actual truth of things. It is so. Yet I would not, therefore, wish any change herein to be made, because I think, that from the opposite side there are evils yet greater and yet more incompatible with the spirit of our present pursuit. Matters are now come to this pass, that in writing poetry he is thought to achieve just nothing, who does not contrive to dazzle the eyes of his readers by a never-ceasing recurrence of splendid passages. There is now nothing sedate, simple, unaffected; everything which is said is destitute of all repose, and extravagant, and turbid, not to say, unnatural, and revolting. One may fancy himself listening to the singing of a number of little boys who have not been trained to the practice, and whose only effort seems to be, to sing each as loud as he can;—how harmoniously, with what propriety, or with what sweetness, they neither care nor indeed know.

'In this decline of poetry, it could hardly be expected that criticism would maintain its own functions in unimpaired efficiency; for in a most corrupt condition of a commonwealth who would hope to find the judges free from corruption? In the present day, at any rate, it has come about, that those very men, whose business it properly was to keep down all unruly growth, are every where running wild in unchastened luxuriancy, both of thought and of expression; that they who ought to have been engaged in cutting back all that was ambitious, are themselves the most chargeable with the same fault; that those who ought to have confirmed the judgments of natural feeling, do themselves daily sow in the public mind the most idle fancies and the most empty opinions. In a word, too much is accorded to cleverness, too little to truth.

'Further, nothing can be imagined more obtrusively annoying than

these Reviewers. Some of them once a week,—others, more modest, once a month,—those, who exercise the greatest self-denial, at any rate four times in the year, come back upon you boasting in the name and position of critics. Very small is the number of those, who, in such rapidity of composition, do not say very many things in a manner quite different from what is alone right. But however absurd they may be, they almost all of them find some to support them, and, which is worst of all, some to read and to buy their effusions.

‘Such being the case, I do not think it has fallen out amiss, that in the discharge of a very important work we are bound to such regulations, as have more regard to your dignity and to the interests of that severer kind of learning which belongs to this place, than either to the short-lived gratification of the ear or to the judgment of men more remarkable for acuteness than for depth. We shall bear without repining the absence of some things, which on other occasions are most desired and most advantageous, such as reputation, popularity, crowded benches; further, we shall be resigned to a more serious inconvenience than this, the loss of many admirable topics of discourse such as might in the very highest degree assist us in the successful achievement of our work;—provided only, as on a matter so sacred, nothing is uttered which is marked by affectation, nothing which is tinged with a false colouring for the sake of mere effect, nothing which is not characterised by ancient truthfulness and simplicity.’—vol. i. pp. 6—8.

To the inconveniences, which Mr. Keble enumerates in the earlier part of this extract, we think he might fairly have added that which arises from the imperfection of the Latin language, when employed as a vehicle of philosophical investigation. We know that Cicero judged very differently of his mother-tongue; but the consideration of what he has himself achieved in his attempt to express in Latin the refinements of Grecian philosophers, is enough, one would have thought, to deter any modern from the attempt to write in that language on subjects requiring any degree of philosophical nicety. And further, would not, a greater service have been done to English criticism, if Mr. Keble, for instance, had published in his own tongue discourses on the subject of poetry, conceived with the same regard to ‘ancient truthfulness and simplicity,’ which he has propounded to himself as his aim in the above extract? There are, we believe, but few readers, however well versed in Latin, ancient or modern, who would not have understood his precise meaning far better, than when put, as it now has been, into the disguise of a Latin dress.

But taking matters as we find them, and waiving the remark which we might urge respecting reviews, that they are very often the means of introducing into the world the most effective and deeply-weighed productions of our best writers, and that Mr. Keble ought not to suppose, as he seems to do, that the same persons write every month or every quarter,—waiving all this,

the observations made in the passage just translated are deserving of the most serious consideration. That affectation of point and study of making the diction striking—that continual aiming at something especially clever or strong—that absence of the repose and symmetry which are the proper concomitants of a well developed intellect and a perfectly educated taste—that want of simplicity, in short, in words and sentiments, of which Mr. Keble so strongly expresses his abhorrence, may be regarded as the most crying sin in our ordinary literature. It is probably, in most cases, only the result of imperfect mental culture: in some, however, it is mere affectation. But, even when associated, as in a very few it may be, with ability, it is always repulsive. We have ourselves been greatly struck by the simplicity, in some instances almost approaching to baldness, which characterises the writings of men of thorough education when dealing with topics which really interest them; and after perusing the plain, manly, and yet often beautiful and deeply moving language of Mr. Newman, or other leaders of that school, we have almost sickened in heart at the reflexion, how much their severe taste would be at once offended—we might almost say disgusted, by the style employed by some of our most popular modern authors,—by some even of those who, not without due qualifications, have challenged their attention as opponents. And if the defects of style referred to are thus prejudicial to the influence of such writers, what are we to say of the large and ever-increasing class who have little or nothing to set against the deep demerits of flippancy, rhetorical inflation, or anxious grasping at striking points?

But we must return to the lectures. The question which, in effect, is first discussed is, what is the nature of that gratification which is received from poetry? And justice to our author requires that we should state his views on this point at some length. They are as follows.

Our nature is so constituted, that when we are under the excitement of any strong emotion, it is a great relief and solace to be able to express our feelings in some way or other, whether by words or by gestures. The many forms of passionate exclamation and execration which are common in all languages, however deserving of deep censure the last may be, will serve as examples—their utterance relieves the bosom in some measure of that strong excitement with which it is overcharged. But there is, also, in the minds of all but the most abandoned, an antagonist principle of shame, which tends to check and repress the utterance of our deeper feelings. And this sensibility to shame is often seen to exist in the very highest degree along with keen sensibility in other respects. Men the most susceptible of emo-

tions of ambition, or grief, or desire, are often so strongly influenced by this instinct of bashful reserve as to be the most disqualified for their expression. They cannot speak their feelings.

Akin to the emotions just referred to, which are thus checked in their expression, is that of vague aspiration after the achievement of some great thing which, however, as yet, hovers before the mind in a fluctuating and undetermined shape :—*Aliquid jamdudum invadere magnum mens agitat* ;—an aspiration, which may be drawn forth by the contemplation of human life, or of the beauty of the universe, or of ideal virtue.

Under the influence of such emotions, human nature requires some mode of relieving itself of its overcharged feelings ; and that provident and all-merciful God, who tempers not only the heavens and the earth, but also the hearts of men, has provided for us the needed succour in the gift of poetry. And wonderfully does poetry soothe and tranquillise the spirit. Whilst, on the one hand, it leads the mind to linger upon words, and numbers, and measures, it recalls it, without seeming to do so, from its cares and anguish ; and, on the other hand, whilst occupied in the labours of imagination, whilst recalling the past and presaging the future, and imbuing everything with that colour in which the mind for the time best loves to view it, one feels that it spares and indulges his raging passions, and that at last it has accorded to the soul the boon, the refusal of which proved Dido's ruin—*requiem spatiumque furori*. And, for those feelings of virtuous reserve, and that fear of the broad daylight, which have been spoken of, how could their indulgence be better provided for, than when, through those indirect methods which poets best know, the mind, whether labouring under the excitement of passion, or exalted by its higher aspirations, finds itself at last enabled to disclose its inward thought ? In this occupation, likewise, those vague desires after the great and excellent, of which many are the subjects, meet with their long desired gratification ; before, there was wanting something to determine their choice amidst a thousand paths which presented themselves to their selection ; but now this embarrassment is removed in the occupation of working out the forms of poetical composition.

We may therefore regard this most excellent art of poetry as a kind of divinely-infused medicine, designed to heal the secret disorders of the mind without offending the feelings of shame, to give play to the tumult of the passions, and yet at the same time remind them of the necessity of order and moderation.

Our readers will now understand the first words of the title-page ; it is *On the healing efficacy of Poetry*, that Mr. Keble discourses through out the whole series of lectures.

The view of the subject now taken, the Professor proceeds to say, is confirmed by the application of the term *poetical*, in the language of ordinary life. This term is applied to many cases where there is no metrical composition: what is the element present in such cases, to which the epithet especially attaches?

When the youthful Perdiccas, mentioned in the eighth book of Herodotus, (chap. 137), together with his brothers, was refused his lawful wages by the king, who answered the demand by pointing to the sunshine streaming into the room through the chimney, (which then admitted air and light, as well as carried off the smoke), and saying, 'I give you this sun—they are the wages you deserve,' he replied, 'We receive your offer, king;' and forthwith with his dagger he traced a line on the floor, enclosing the sunshine, and, after thrice drawing, as it were, some of the sunshine into his bosom, he left the apartment. No one would have witnessed this scene without recognising in the boy's behaviour a scintillation of the poetical; and it was indicated in this, that he sought by this singular pantomime to relieve his kingly spirit, eager for distinction, but not yet ripe for the business of actual life. If those aspirations had been checked in the paths of ambition by unfavourable circumstances, one might easily conceive him endeavouring to soothe his disappointed hopes, as he best might, by some such strains as those of Homer, and growing old in singing of battles.

Again; take the case of the lower orders, particularly of countrymen. It savours of mere arrogance to deny to the poor a participation in what seems rather to be inherent in human nature as such; and greatly are those wealthier men mistaken, who, deeming the perception of magnificent and wild scenery to be the principal aliment of the poetical in the contemplation of external nature, are thus led to despise them who familiar only with the homely scenes of agricultural life, as incapable of the poetical sentiment. There is, indeed, good reason for suspecting the genuineness of those feelings of delight, which they themselves so loudly talk of, as felt by them in beholding such scenes.

We must here follow the example of the Professor, who, we fancy, has led us a little out of the direct course of his argument, in order to introduce the following passage, of which the beauty is so conspicuous as, we trust, not wholly to disappear even in our translation.

'But grant them (these expressions of delight at wild scenery) to be ever so genuine, and to flow from deepest inward feeling; yet they are not those which best become one truly smitten with the love of streams and woods. By him whose soul has once been touched, as it were from heaven, by the sweetness of external nature, those common delights

which belong to all places,—such as the aspect of the clouds and the stars—the various revolutions of the sun and the moon,—the tints of spring and of autumn—the singing of birds—the sounds of winds, waves, and trees,—by such an one, I say, these objects, and the like to these, which are confined to no particular spot, will be perceived with so lively a pleasure, that he will regard as but of small account such as are the peculiar characteristics of the several localities in which they are found. One really fond of the country will everywhere feed on these as his vital air; and thus, though he may feel delight in other things, he will always prefer to all besides his own neighbourhood, as the abode of his fathers, as the seat of his home, and as endeared and made sacred to him by the offices of human life. If, then, we compare the views severally taken by untutored countrymen and by men of education, respecting the beauteous variety of natural scenes which surrounds us, it will be worthy of our serious consideration, whether the difference does not lie here;—that the latter are better pleased with the remote,—the former, by the familiar and homely; that the latter appear disposed to discourse upon the sweetness of particular localities, but the former to rejoice and boast in the common gifts of nature. And this being considered, I question whether those, who belong to the class of what are called gentlemen, care more for the ‘*rura et riguis in vallibus amnes*,’ than those who are destitute of the advantages of education. If I may be forgiven for saying so, I do not suspect that there are very many who really care about these things, either in the one class or in the other.’—pp. 18, 19.

It is evident that Mr. Keble is a true disciple of the true faith in poetry, whatever he may be in theology. Nearly fifty years ago, the Bard of Westmoreland—(long may he live to wear the wreath with which an admiring, and at length sympathising country, has encircled his head! and surely, amongst the numerous tributes of homage which he receives, he cannot be wholly indifferent to the reverential and affectionate dedication which prefaces these lectures)—it is nearly fifty years since Mr. Wordsworth sung to ears, which were then, and continued long afterwards to be, through the loud and harsh discords to which they were wilfully surrendered, insensible to his music, such notes as these:—

‘Long have I loved what I behold,
The night that calms, the day that cheers;
The common growth of mother earth
Suffices me, her tears, her mirth,
Her humblest mirth and tears;’

and since he denounced the mere man of the world, represented under the guise of Peter Bell, as one whom the ordinary sights of nature could not affect;—

‘A primrose by a river’s brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.’

* * * *

‘The soft blue sky did never melt
Into his heart,—he never felt
The witchery of the soft blue sky.’

This coincidence in sentiment may be perfectly accidental; at any rate, it is clearly traceable to an agreement of feeling, respecting the essential nature of the poetical, widely different from that superficial agreement which is distinctive of a mere servile imitation.

But to return to the thread of the argument.

Taking the case of the lower orders, particularly countrymen, the poetical is recognised, *first* in the fond reminiscences of their homes, when removed from them by the circumstances of life—those reminiscences so beautifully expressed by Burns, in a well-known verse, which, of course, the Professor could not produce in his lectures without putting it into a classical form, and has accordingly given in the style of Theocritus. His translation seems to us to be sweet, but the ‘hamely’ Scotch Doric is, we fancy, much sweeter:—

‘I look to the west when I gae to rest,
That happy my dreams and my slumbers may be :
For far in the west is he I lo’e best,
The lad that is dear to my baby and me.’

Burns's Letters, No. 116.

The expression of this feeling in such lines as these, is the work of an accomplished poet; but the feeling is evidently one which many a countryman has shared who could not thus write. The renewal by colonists in far distant lands of the names of places dear to their recollections, is an indication of the same poetical element; as likewise is the desire so common, in the minds of countrymen particularly, to be buried in the churchyard with which early habits have rendered them familiar. Their punctilious care in the performance of funeral rites, and the tokens of their pious recollection of the deceased, given in their scrupulous regard to their wishes, in their long continued signs of mourning, and in their periodical revisittings of their graves—furnish a *second* class of illustration.

Thirdly, we may trace it in religious usages, ‘in the universal reverence for the most holy cross, which, hardly any one will deny, might have been originally suggested to pious minds by nature herself—only we cannot but regret and most strongly disapprove of the abuse, in which, through supposing some virtue to cling of necessity to its use, they imagine, either that God can be appeased by a bare sign, or that, as if magically, it

can be applied as a remedy to the ailments of the body, instead of being a mere solace for the mind ;' in the regard for relics, which 'first soothe the desolate feelings of mourners ; and then, being preserved, are believed in course of time to have in themselves something sacred and salutary ;' waiving the discussion of the most important question, whether 'mortal judgments in these matters have not in many cases received a sanction from heaven ;' * and in the respect paid to portents and omens, interpreted with reference to the objects of their deepest interest for the time being, and founded on the persuasion that the invisible world sympathises in our good and our evil.

The sentiments which originate these various phenomena, (and many others might be mentioned) may, without hesitation, be called *poetical* ; 'for the common language of educated persons when speaking of the country, agrees in this, that whatever they see devised by countrymen, out of the ordinary course of things, and with a certain degree of grace, for the purpose of expressing their feelings of piety and natural affection, whether it pertains to regard for places, or to the memory of the dead, or to religion, this they immediately wish assigned over to poets, as materials proper to their art.'

In painting, if we compare the celebrated picture of Rubens, the Descent from the Cross, with Raphael's Transfiguration, we shall see what it is that forms that element of poetry, which Sir Joshua Reynolds has described as so frequently attaching to the productions of the Italian, and as so generally absent from those of Rubens. However perfect is Rubens's imitation of nature, however masterly his management of light and shade, of composition and of colour, he is yet defective in expressing devotional feeling ; and hence, it is rather admiration of his skill, than the feeling of pious reverence, which fills the mind in the contemplation of this his *chef d'œuvre*. But when we turn to the Transfiguration, though the twofold scene which it exhibits—on the one hand, the Son of God on the summit of the mountain, clothed with unapproachable light, and, on the other, the disciples at the foot of the mountain, contending in vain, in the absence of their Master, with the demon,—certainly at first offends the eye, especially as the disciples really seem tall enough to overlook the mountain ; yet it is felt incredible that Raphael could have done this from ignorance of his art :

* We are not sure whether we understand Mr. Keble here ; his words are :—' Ut illud gravissimum in præsens disputare omittam, an cœlitus etiam comprobari videantur multa mortalium in his rebus judicia.' Mr. Newman maintains, we believe, the historical truth of at least very many of the miracles which are believed in by the Roman Catholic church.

his design was in this way to exhibit the more strikingly the tranquillity, blessedness, and glory of the one scene, by placing in close contrast with it the distress and anxiety of the other. He did not mind the appearance of being guilty of something like blundering in his art, if he might succeed in making an impressive exhibition to all ages of pious feeling.

In sculpture it is universally allowed, that the poetical reigns far more than in painting. And why is this?—except that sculpture, being more simple in its means of imitation, is thus thrown back from the bare imitation of nature upon the expression of feeling, which, in this case, can be little more than merely a distant intimation. Thus poetry is again shown to be the disclosure of secret feeling conveyed through the imagination, (*curarum index, phantasæ interpres*).

In architecture, the poetry of the Norman style, with its round arches, its massive arch-piers, its small amount of tracery, and its general solidness and simplicity of structure, consists in the adumbration of firmness and immutability, in the instilling of sentiments of constancy and unaffected fortitude. On the other hand, the gothic, with its pointed arches, its high and slender columns, its complex tracery, its large and numerous windows, all directing the attention onwards to 'the penetralia of the temple, that most sacred shrine, than which there exists nothing more divine beneath the skies,' while again its lofty tapering spires seem to be so many fingers pointing to heaven, partly by a kind of sweet delight soothes and cherishes the spirit in the presence of God,—partly by its splendour teaches us, that to the benignant Deity true worshippers ought ever to present the largest and most costly offerings.

It is needless to dwell upon the poetry of music which obviously presents just the same characteristics. Leaving this and going on to oratory, let us, among the ancients, compare Cicero and Plato. What orator was ever more musical, or more ornate, or more empassioned, or more abounding in imagery, than the Roman? Yet no one would allow him to be a poet, even if the poetical form were not wanting. But all would immediately agree, that Plato has rightly been called even *Ὁμηροῦ ποιητικώτερος*. And the reason is this: Cicero is always oratorical, always imagines himself exhibiting before an audience; and so he presses and urges his point, and pours out everything which may have the effect of moving the minds of his hearers; whilst Plato seems to be indulging in his own bent rather than seeking to influence others; to mean generally more than he says; to abound, indeed, in most beautiful thoughts, yet so as evidently to leave more behind unsaid.

'You may wonder that one who came to his paper with so full a mind

should have so religiously have observed the maxim, *manum de tabula*, but I fancy he did it from deep love, thus at once commending the objects of his chief affection to those worthy to receive the communication, and seeking to conceal them from those who were not worthy : *ἔκ δὲ τὸ πᾶν, ἐρμηνείων χαρίζεται.*—vol. i. p. 38.

If we come to more modern writers, every one knows the passage in Burke's 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' (Works vol. v., p. 149,) in which he speaks of the fall of the Queen of France. Magnificent and splendid indeed it is: but hardly poetical: it has too much of the rhetorical air; it strikes the mind as having been too studiously adapted for the ears of an auditory. But take the following passage from Jeremy Taylor's Funeral Sermon on Lady Carbery. (Works, vol. vi. p. 476.)

'In all her religion and in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, *sliding towards her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion.*'

No one can doubt that this came out of a full heart—that he who said this would have said something similar if speaking with himself. In short, Taylor speaks as a poet, Burke as an orator.

It will now be evident why madness has so often been stated as necessary to the true poet. Not to quote any of the numerous passages to this effect, which occur in Plato and other ancient writers, our own Shakspeare has expressed the same thought in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which he ranks the poet with the lunatic and the lover. To constitute a real poet, there must be some deep feeling in the heart, of which the man seeks to relieve himself by this reserved mode of expressing it.

Our attention is next directed to the origin of poetry viewed historically. Of this the account given by Mr. Keble is as follows:

The earliest known specimens of the art are of course to be sought for in the *Pentateuch*; and Dr. Lowth has supposed that the very first in order of time is Lamech's address to his wives, preserved in the fourth chapter of *Genesis*. The poetical form of that address is apparent to the most cursory reader; and its production is due, according to the views now propounded, to Lamech's deep remorse for some homicide he had been guilty of, which sought thus, in some measure, to relieve itself. The notion of Lamech's being the originator of poetical composition, is confirmed by its being noticed, that his younger son was 'the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ.' (*Gen. iv. 21.*) But Mr. Keble traces the poetical spirit, though somewhat obscurely developed, in the sentences pronounced by

God upon our first parents, and upon the serpent. He disposes them as follows :

'Cursed art thou all above all cattle,
And above every beast of the field ;
Upon thy belly shalt thou go,
And dust thou shalt eat all the days of thy life ;
And I will put enmity between thee and the woman,
And between thy seed and her seed :
It shall bruise thy head,
And thou shalt bruise his heel.'

'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception ;
In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children ;
And thy desire shall be to thy husband,
And he shall rule over thee.'

'Cursed is the ground for thy sake,
In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life ;
Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee ;
And thou shalt eat the herb of the field ;
In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,
Till thou return to the ground out of which thou wast taken ;
For dust thou art,
And unto dust shalt thou return.'

In so sacred a matter he would not wish to give too much weight to mere conjectures ; yet he cannot but feel, that the vastness and depth of the Divine Benignity may, in the obscure intimations of mercies, both immediate and future, which were then given, amid denunciations of judgment, to the guilty, be fairly regarded as communicating to the passages now quoted an element which constitutes them the earliest compositions of poetry which are extant.

But however that may be, Noah's curse on Ham, which in form is evidently poetical, proceeded from feelings of wrath :

'For, I trow, that incensed Father is not, because he uttered oracles as a prophet, to be therefore regarded as expressing no feeling of his own ; for the Supreme Instructor has always, in some degree, indulged the feelings of the men through whom He has communicated His will, even in the case of prophets, and even when they have been most overborne by their inspiration : in each case the style of composition, the feelings and the character of mind belonging to the individual have been left untouched.'—vol. i. p. 49.

And so Isaac pronounced his blessing under the leadings of blind affection ; and Israel his, from attachment to his offspring ; and Moses his, from strong emotions of patriotism ; (Gen. xxvii. 49, Deut. xxxiii) and so of the rest ; 'for it be-

came that supreme wisdom not violently to expel nature, but gently to insinuate itself into nature.'

These instances may suffice to illustrate the truth of the position now assumed—that the most ancient and unaffected poetic compositions which we possess, were a kind of alleviative medicine; and that the Former of the human mind, having seen fit to employ poets and poetry, has, generally, purposely chosen those to be his prophets, whose own minds burned with impassioned feeling and much needed that relief.—Ps. xxxix. 1—3; Jer. xx. 9.

A consideration of those pieces of poetry which have been translated from the languages of barbarous tribes, whether Danes or North American Indians, Polynesians or Laplanders, specimens of which are next cited, is confirmatory of the same view; they are found to be expressions of the feelings which were most deeply seated in the minds of those several nations.

That form of metrical composition which we may call the Sententious, such as is exhibited in a very large proportion of the Welsh Triads, can hardly be regarded as poetical—unless when the poet added to the sentences of the ancient sages some indication of his own regret or admiration, which is by no means a rare case.

Poetical composition having thus come into being, there were two classes of men to whom it would be likely to be acceptable; the one consisting of those who were the subjects of some similar passion, the other of those whose minds were languid and torpid from having too little to do. To both of these classes, the poet would be a most acceptable personage; in the one case opening a way of relief to the over-excited spirit, in the other operating a gradual excitation on those who were sunk in apathy. Beginning in consequence to be regarded with respect and affection, what he had at first essayed from a sort of blind impulse to soothe his own spirit, he would soon come, from various motives, to repeat, to modify, and to dress up into certain forms. How could he avoid doing so? Friends would require it of him; those in authority would command his services; he would be himself allured to the course by the sweetness of numbers, and, more than all, by a consciousness of his powers. Then others would begin to imitate him, according to their several powers of mind, or their nicety of ear, or their faculty of lofty utterance. Farther, it was no small matter that poetry proved to be a means of acquiring favour and securing gain; so that, by degrees, in addition to the original class of poets, there would grow up an infinite variety of others;

Quam qui scire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem
 Discere quam multæ Zephyro turbentur arenæ,
 Aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus,
 Nosse quot Ionû veniant ad litora fluctus.

‘And yet, just as they say, that in music there are certain first elements and seeds, so to speak, peculiar to each kind of harmony, which being once properly understood, the strain of the whole harmony becomes intelligible; so poetry will never be found unmindful of its primary source, *i.e.* the healing tendency which originally and peculiarly belongs to it. When this vanishes altogether, however elegant the verses which you may write, you will yet be no more than an accomplished imitator of poets; an original poet yourself you are not.’—vol. i. p. 54.

Mr. Keble next proceeds to inquire, what are the criteria for distinguishing genuine and native poetry from that which is secondary and imitative? Such a question in particular instances, must often be answered rather by a certain tact or feeling than by rules admitting of decisive application. Yet we shall be assisted in deciding on a few principles of discrimination, by considering what are the signs by which deep and earnest feeling is discernible in a man’s ordinary conversation. Three at once present themselves.

1. Consistency. Generally speaking, the man who suddenly or quickly varies in the expression of his sentiments, brings thereby the sincerity or earnestness of those sentiments into suspicion. This is not, indeed, a universal rule; yet as men are generally found to be, consistency in the expression of feeling is truly regarded as one proof of sincerity. Applying this test to Spenser, we find that whatever is the subject or the strain of his writing, there is at all times a consistent manifestation of a deep, earnest love of true nobleness—save in a very few passages, assignable to an over-curious imitation of ancient writers. Shakespeare, again, throughout the ever-varying depicting of character with which his plays abound,—with the exception of a few anomalies, attributable partly to the times, and partly to his desire of rendering vice odious by its full exposure, as Spartans are said to have inspired their sons with a hatred of drunkenness by making Helots drunk before them, [might not a christian teacher have added, partly too to the weakness and depravity of our nature, too apt to throw their blots even on the exalted portraitures which genius can so nobly depict]—never fails to leave his readers profoundly impressed with antipathy to vice and admiration for the highest conceptions of moral excellence. In his case this is all the more remarkable, because of the wholly different character which attaches to the compositions of most of his contemporaries who wrote for the stage. When, on the other hand,

we find a writer, adopting and then laying aside with contempt, and then presently adopting afresh, the most incongruous and self-contradictory sentiments, it is natural to doubt the genuineness of his inspiration. Thus it is with Dryden. His command over words and thoughts is worthy of all admiration ; but in this respect he appears to fall short of the sacred character of a poet, namely, that you can never believe him sincere in praising any one person, or suppose him really to care for any one subject that he handles.

2. A second characteristic of genuine feeling in ordinary conversation is, the absence of affectation of what is new, of what is striking, of what is farfetched. And so, in like manner, the really inspired poet will not be apt to shun topics and images which naturally present themselves to his mind, merely because they have been often handled before ; neither will he be so solicitous about variety, as not often perhaps to borrow either from himself or from others. Those, on the contrary, who are ever torturing themselves to produce something the like of which has never been produced before, must be condemned as doing with too little simplicity of feeling even what they may perhaps do well. Young is especially liable to this censure.

3. A third and principal mark of deep and earnest feeling is, reserve in its expression. A man deeply influenced by any particular sentiment, is not apt, at least after a little experience of life, to dilate on what interests him so profoundly on all occasions, and regardlessly of the character of those with whom he converses, but rather to betray the bent of his feelings incidentally and by his manner of dealing with certain subjects. Mr. Keble adds here more than we have room or indeed inclination to quote, respecting the reserve in the expression of religious feelings, which he regards as so apparent in the early christian church, and which, as he truly observes, still is natural to the devout, when it is not overborne by 'the extravagance of fanaticism,' or by a mistaken hope of thereby winning others over to the truth. The example of the lover will readily suggest itself. And as in real life, so in poetry, deep and earnest feeling rather forbids than urges men to be ever dilating, directly and openly, on the objects which most interest them ; and it is but seldom, under such influence, that they will attempt to pourtray them ; and when they *do* do this, they will do it in such a way, as to omit very many of those points which the generality of men would regard as some of the most striking features. This is illustrated by the difference of Virgil's manner, when describing what he most loves and is most familiar with, and in those more celebrated passages, in which, for exam-

ple, he pourtrays Fame, or Mount Etna, or the Fury seen in the night; in the former case he is content with just one or two touches, while in the latter he gives a long and elaborate accumulation of words and of images. A comparison too of Lucan's description, in his ninth book, of the effects of the bite of different serpents—a subject well adapted to his manner, which is distinguished more by its facility than its felicity (*facilior quam felicior*)—with the description given by Jeremiah (xiv. 3.) of the effects of famine,—

'And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters;
They came to the pits and found no water:
They returned with their vessels empty:
They were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads;'

will enable us at once to feel, which wrote what he had only read of, and which what he had himself beheld and felt with the deepest anguish. In short, generally, the true poet is distinguished by the sparingness, the gentleness, and we might almost say, the fastidiousness of his touches. Another way in which earnest feeling often discovers itself, is by the employment of irony, as when deep anguish sports with thoughts of mirth. This irony shews itself either in the form of expression,—as for example, we see in the paronomasia in the Hebrew of Isaiah, v. 7, which Mr. Keble imitates in Greek, thus:—

ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίμα,
ἐποίησε δὲ δέημα
καὶ οὐ τὸ εἶκος,
ἀλλὰ τὸ νεῖκος;

or, in the general complexion of the representation; as in Virgil's playful description of the habits of bees, in which the pomp of words and of images, which he employs, evidently displays the deep pleasure he takes in a subject, which he seems, at first sight, to be treating with mockery.

We have now attempted to give our readers a complete summary of Mr. Keble's views on the nature and origin of the poetical element. They occupy the first five lectures. In those which follow, he proceeds to investigate their exemplification in the several great poets of antiquity. If we should hereafter resume the consideration of the subject in reference to some of them, we doubt not that we shall be able, with the assistance of the lectures which remain, to produce matter deserving of the attention of our readers, and calculated to recal the interest, which they may have sometime felt, in those precious remains of ancient genius. For the present, we must content ourselves with a few observations on the æsthetical principles, which our readers have already had, as we trust faithfully, presented to their consideration.

The learned Professor disclaims the assumption of attempting to give an exact definition of the term poetry; and yet it is apparent from the whole course of his argument, that he considers himself to have conceived and stated all the component elements of it. If he has not done this, he cannot be justified in assuming, that the principles he has laid down are adequate to the determination of the question which he considers himself in a position to solve—the question, what writers enjoying the reputation of being poets deserve to rank in the first class? How can those principles furnish him with satisfactory criteria of true poetry, if they do not evolve all the essential elements which make up that conception! Now, from the full and reiterated statement which he has given of those principles, the reader must gather, that he considers poetry to be,—*the reserved expression of inward feeling seeking this relief in the forms of rhythm or metre, and most commonly calling in the aid of the imagination.* Some such idea of poetry we feel ourselves justified in ascribing to our author, and our readers, we think, will be of opinion, that the lengthened analysis above given warrants our conclusion.

Now, though we ought to feel, and though we do feel, some diffidence in stating an opinion on such a subject at variance with that of so accomplished a writer, yet we confess ourselves not altogether satisfied with this statement; not that it appears to us to contain anything wrong, but we do not think it contains enough. There is something essential to poetry more than is here stated.

The quality of reserve in the expression of feeling, which Mr. Keble traces in all poetry, is certainly a most important element; and the development of this constituent as being so essential, came upon our mind with all the charm of truth. To what Mr. Keble has said, we may add, that it is this quality of reserve which explains, *in great measure*, the fact, that a metrical, or at least rhythmical, dress has been in all ages felt to be proper to poetical composition. The expression of feeling is in this way taken out of the language of real and ordinary life. It is the modest veil with which the sensitive spirit invests herself, when disclosing her form in some measure to public observation.

We may even go farther; and notwithstanding the vehemence with which the living Coryphæus of contemporary poets* has denounced what is called poetic diction, and though we are far from defending the insipid and lifeless manner of speaking,

* See 'Preface to the second edition of the Lyrical Ballads,' affixed to the third volume of the last edition of Mr. Wordsworth's Collected Works.

with which pedantry has vitiated much really good poetry, (as by nicknaming the sun Phœbus, and by employing phraseology striking only from its barbarisms or solecisms), and though, further, the constant practice of Mr. Wordsworth himself, and of all great poets occasionally, has proved that such a diction is by no means essential to poetry,—granting all this, still a usage so general in all ages and languages does favour, as we think, the belief, that poets are at liberty, and are not unnaturally led by the very reserve which belongs to their character as such, to employ language which is really remote from that of ordinary life, and which in good prose, however excited the feelings may be, no sane mind would ever think of employing. Such language may be, as well as metre, a part of the poetical disguise.

But reserve, and metre, and imagination, do not alone make up the true notion of poetry. A metrical writer may convey a reserved expression of his feelings by the means of imagery which shall be repulsive, and even disgusting. Now, we do not see how, consistently with the views which have been drawn from the lectures, we could refuse to such a writer the name of a poet. He shall be reserved in the expression of deep feelings; he shall gather images akin to the subject which interests him; and he shall invest the whole with the forms of metre; but Mr. Keble would at once decline to give him so exalted a title. And why? We have no doubt that Mr. Keble would answer, though he has omitted to state the principle; *because it is essential to poetry that it shall in some way or other blend with its representations the idea, (if we may use the word in so Platonic a sense,) of beauty or sublimity.* We say, we do not doubt that Mr. Keble would give such an answer, from a single passage—the only one which we have noticed—which he has let fall tending to this conclusion, and which we have not omitted to include in our foregoing abstract.

‘Quicquid pietatis ergo paullo exquisitius ac *venustius* a colonis excogitari videant (homines literati); sive ad locurum, sive ad mortuorum, sive ad Numinis religionem pertineat; id statim poetis, quasi proprium, tradi ac condonari volunt.’—vol. i. p. 24.

The words *ac venustius* include the principle, the distinct enunciation of which we deem necessary, in order to integrate the notion of poetry which the lectures before us leave on the reader's mind.

The ideas of the beautiful or the sublime may be blended with the representation, so as to constitute it poetry, in various ways. They may be connected with the *imagery* employed, as is done either when the imagery is drawn from objects

palpably characterised by those qualities, such as the forms of external nature—the skies, the sea, or the like; or when it is drawn from objects in the moral world, affecting the mind with feelings analogous to those which are excited by the contemplation of the beautiful or the sublime in nature, such as a mother's love, a hero's self-devotion, or the like. Again; these ideas may attach to the *feeling* itself which is portrayed; it may in its own nature be beautiful or sublime; as is usually the case with devotional poetry. Or, lastly, the *diction* in which the poet conveys his thoughts may, by its symmetry, (so to speak) and by the sweetness of its measures, communicate to the mind the required perception, just as music does. But in whatever way it is done, whether by the imagery employed, or by the feeling expressed, or by the diction, there must in all real poetry be presented to the mind, the sublime or the beautiful.

If this be not self-evident, it will be apparent on a consideration of the illustrations of the poetical which Mr. Keble has himself collected. In the anecdote of the youthful Perdiccas, both the imagery employed and the feeling expressed convey the required sentiment. In the gleams of the poetical discovered in the conduct of uneducated countrymen, the love of home, and grief for departed friends are surely in themselves beautiful and graceful; the veneration for crosses connects itself immediately with the recollection of the loftiest exhibition of moral beauty and sublimity which the world ever beheld; while the habit of mind which associates the unseen and Divine with human life, if it does not cower into superstition, exalts to the sublime. In painting, sculpture, and architecture, the required ideas are too obviously present to need a moment's examination.

And if we turn to the first phenomena of the art which have been above referred to; the presence of the same element is evident in respect to the sentence pronounced in Eden, both in the dignity and grandeur of the occasion and in the mercy which then 'rejoiced against judgment;' the sense of an avenging Nemesis communicates to Lamech's lamentation an air of awful sublimity; while the sentiment proper to an exalted position and to the consciousness of the presence of Inspiring Deity, adds a majesty to the oracles of Noah, of Isaac, of Jacob, and of Moses, which alone, independently of other considerations, will satisfy the requirement for which we are contending. In the poetical remains of barbarous countries, a similar element of beauty or sublimity may be detected; if not otherwise, at least in the association which, in a savage mind, may have been formed between such emotions and those of revenge or ferocity. But in every case, we are persuaded, that the principle, the expo-

sition of which we desiderate in Mr. Keble's analysis of poetry, will be found to be not merely present, but even essential.

We may further remark, that if poetry be, as Mr. Keble truly states, a mode which the human heart has recourse to in order to relieve itself of its deeper emotions, then it may from this hypothesis be inferred, that poetry involves the element which we have now been speaking of; for this relief is most effectually gained, when the mind is able to repose in the contemplation of an objective image of its feeling which is in itself pleasing; and it becomes pleasing by blending in its structure what is gratifying to the taste.

We close our somewhat extended article by observing, that it is this principle which, along with that of reserve before referred to, fully explains the employment by poets of rhythm or metre; for the connexion existing between harmony and sweetness of sounds and the perception of beauty is of course obvious.

Art. III. *Songs for the Nursery.* Glasgow, David Robertson : London, Longman and Co. 1844.

THE love of song is instinctive to childhood. Rhyme has a special charm for it. The repetition of the same sounds both gratifies the ear and excites the memory. We hope never to be the victims of that callousness of heart, which can hear unmoved the shrill voices of buoyant children engaged in brisk, though rather tumultuous concert. We confess we have a peculiar relish for that melody which is made in the nursery, and therefore made in the heart—which is formed upon the tongue untaught to guile—and is the ready creation of that period of happy, tuneful simplicity—

When thought is speech, and speech is truth.

These 'Songs' are not the senseless jingles which often pass under the name of nursery rhymes. They are not a collection of such snatches and ditties—the remnant of the superstitious legends, and fables of the olden times of darkness and deception. We know not whether the absurdity or the cruelty be greater of instilling into children's minds those idle stories of wizard, fairy, or demon, which too often cling to memory through life, and are the source of much annoyance and misery to the young and confiding heart. The celebrated Dr. Reid, the Scotch metaphysician, had been so trained in these silly notions, that he could not at any time of his life

enter a dark room without feeling some vague terror, without experiencing a transient shudder creep over him from some undefinable source. But the songs in the book before us are original compositions. Each one of them has a wholesome moral, or illustrates some salutary proverb or maxim. The poetry is racy and picturesque—quite simple enough for a child to understand, yet fitted to exercise the mind, and elevate the feelings. Many of these songs remind us in pathos and lyric power of the best and purest lays of Burns. They are the compositions of different authors, and vary of course in merit. Yet having been written expressly for this publication, all of them keep the primary design in view; and the majority of them are not surpassed in humour or imagery, in spirit or mechanism, by any compositions that have of late issued from the Scottish press.

These rhymes are in Scotch—no objection certainly to their reception north of the Tweed. The Scotch is not a vulgar provincial dialect, rude and uncouth, such as abounds in many of the counties of England. It is more an independent dialect than English, is far purer, has far more of the features of its Saxon ancestry, and has not mixed up with its vocabulary so many foreign terms from Norman-French and Latin. It approximates in sound and meaning the most classic of European tongues, the language of Luther and Goethe. As Lord Jeffrey also remarks, 'the Scotch is in reality a highly poetical language, and it is an ignorant as well as illiberal prejudice, which would seek to confound it with the barbarous dialects of Yorkshire or Devon.' Even in England it is advantageous to know Scotch, the Waverley novels cannot be relished without it. And the English lawyer, in the higher walks of his profession, when appeals are made from Scotland to the House of Lords, must be versant in this antique tongue. So that the language of these songs does not by any means preclude their circulation in the south. An excellent glossary both for pronunciation and meaning is appended to the poems. The best of these songs have been often quoted. We shall merely cite as a specimen two of those that have not obtained such newspaper currency.

HAPPY HARVEST.

AIR—'*Of a' the airts the win' can blaw.*'

'Again has happy harvest come
To cheer ilk cottage hearth,
To sweeten lowly labour's toils
Wi' happiness an' mirth;
For lightsome hearts are owre the lawn,
An' plenty owre the lea,
Sae ye shall welcome harvest in,
My bonny bairns, wi' me.

The garden's tint its gairiness,
 The glebe its gaudy green,
 For simmer's sun the glade an' glen
 Anither shade has gi'en ;
 But love nae seasons kens but ane,
 Sae come, my bairns, wi' me,
 An' welcome merry harvest in
 Wi' a' its mirth and glee.

The lily's lost its loveliness,
 The thistle sheds its down,
 The tulip's tint its simmer braws,
 The buttercup its crown ;
 But fairer flowers are in the bowers
 O' love an' charity,
 Sae welcome merry harvest in,
 My bonny bairns, wi' me.

The nut an' slae, owre bank an' brae,
 In rip'nin' clusters hing,
 An' happy hearts, wi' harmless jest,
 Now gar the welkin ring ;
 The reapers reap, the gleaners glean,
 A cantie sicht to see,
 Then welcome merry harvest in,
 My bonny bairns, wi' me.

The wren has left its couthie cot,
 Out-owre yon siller spring,
 An' limps in loveless loneliness,
 A waesome, wearied thing ;
 But nature feeds wi' open han'
 Ilk birdie on the tree,
 Sae ye shall welcome harvest in,
 My bonny bairns, wi' me.

The squirrel springs frae tree to tree ;
 The eident ant has gaen
 To sip the balmy sweets o' thrift,
 And share the joys o' hame ;
 An' ye shall share a mither's care,
 An' a' she has to gi'e—
 Sae welcome merry harvest in,
 My bonny bairns, wi' me.'

The next is not of so ambitious a style, and inculcates
 ness to animals.

THE BIRD'S NEST.

AIR—'John Anderson, my jo.'

'O wha would harry the wee bird's nest,
 That sings so sweet and clear,
 That bigs for its young a cozy biel',
 In the spring-time o' the year ;
 That feeds its gapin' gorlins a',
 And haps them frae the rain—
 O wha would harry the wee bird's nest,
 Or gi'e its bosom pain ?

I wouldna harry the lintie's nest,
 That whistles on the spray ;
 I wouldna rob the lav'rock,
 That sings at break of day ;
 I wouldna rob the shilfa,
 That chants so sweet at e'en ;
 Nor yet would I wee Jenny Wren,
 Within her bower o' green.

For birdies are like bairnies,
 That dance upon the lea ;
 And they winna sing in cages
 So sweet 's in bush or tree.
 They're just like bonny bairnies,
 That mithers lo'e sae weel—
 An' cruel, cruel is the heart
 That would their treasures steal.'

We commend these 'Songs' to every family, and trust that the authors and publisher will not need to complain that they have laboured in vain.

-
- Art. IV. 1. *Essays on Natural History, chiefly Ornithology.* By Charles Waterton, Esq., author of 'Wanderings in South America. Second Series: with a continuation of the Autobiography of the author. Longman & Co. 1844. 12mo., pp. cxlii. 186.
2. *Elements of Natural History, for the use of schools and young persons comprising the principles of Classification, etc.* By Mrs. R. Lee (formerly Mrs. J. E. Bowdich): author of the 'Memoirs of Cuvier,' &c. Illustrated with Engravings on wood. 12mo. Longman & Co. 1844. pp. 485.

SECRETS spring up in everything. Even natural history has given rise to fierce disputes in which truth has in too many cases, we fear, been sacrificed to the desire of victory, and the students of

the science have banded themselves together, in various parties, supporting their favourite leaders. To a looker-on, the intense interest which these controversies excite is not a little amusing. There are no great principles at stake—but the habits of some bird, the arrangement of certain groups of animals, or even the mode of preserving their skins, will often furnish the subject of a contest, carried on with a warmth of feeling bordering on animosity. Then, too, the different departments of natural science, and the modes of its study, are regarded very oppositely by different minds. Thus, naturalists, like the objects of their regard, might be duly classified into a variety of groups. There are the *systematists*,—men who are so intent upon finding the exact place which an animal occupies in the order of creation, as to be in a great measure indifferent to its economy. Of these, Mr. Swainson may be regarded as a fair example. Then there are the *comparative anatomists*, whose chief attention is devoted to the structure of beings considered in relation to their habits. It was in this particular department that Cuvier was so illustrious, and his mantle has fallen upon Richard Owen. The third large group of naturalists comprises the *observers* of the habits of animals, who care little for either system or physiology, but who seek materials for their study in the fields and in the woods: often wandering, as Charles Waterton has done, to distant climes in search of their favourite enjoyment.

There can be no doubt that all these modes of study are beneficial, but they are rarely exhibited in due combination, by the same individual. Closet and field studies seem to require faculties and dispositions of a very different order. Mrs. Lee, in her '*Elements of Natural History*,' very properly seeks to impress the minds of her readers with the importance of all the three departments, as adopting the principles of classification, based upon Cuvier's structural discoveries, she devotes a considerable portion of her volume to interesting accounts of the habits of animals, extracted from the writings of our best field naturalists.

The least useful of the above departments of labour we believe to be that of the systematist. A certain amount of classification is of course absolutely necessary, but it is frequently carried to an extreme; undue importance being attached to it,—and, as in the case of Mr. Swainson's system, its very complication defeats its object. We fear that the endless divisions, and subdivisions, with their compound technicalities, have done much to impede the study of nature, by veiling its attractions beneath an uncouth phraseology. Men like Cuvier and Owen, although not negligent of classification, possess far higher capabilities, and their labours are of permanent value.

But the most general favour will always be shewn to the field naturalist. We love the simplicity of Gilbert White, as he tells his unvarnished tale of the doings of the birds, animals, and insects, inhabiting the woods of Selborne. His old tortoise becomes quite an old friend, and we peruse its history with regardful interest. There is a tender association about the neat village, with its 'Plestôr,' and church, and wooded hill, that partakes of the cherished feeling towards the home of our childhood, and naturalists have pilgrimaged thither, and have bowed over the tomb of the good old vicar with affectionate respect. It has been truly said that 'White has conferred more general celebrity on Selborne, than perhaps any other man ever conferred on any other village.'

In the same group of naturalists, though of a much higher order of mind than White, was Alexander Wilson. In his character were united the zeal of an enthusiast, the ideality of a poet, and the quick perception of an observer of nature. By birth a Scotchman, and in early life exposed to hardships, in the midst of which his strength of character was marked; he emigrated to America, and his name is now associated with his adopted country, and ever will be as long as his inimitable sketches of American Ornithology are regarded as their merits deserve. Though he was in a great measure self-educated, his writings bear the marks of the highest talent,—his descriptions are so graphic as almost to equal scenic illustrations,—and over all there is thrown a beauty and eloquence of diction which of itself must always command admiration. With the labours of minds like his, natural history would soon advance far in public estimation. He makes the history of the bald eagle or the mocking bird almost equal to romance, and we are surprised, when we rise from its perusal, to find that an account of the habits of such creatures could so enthrall our attention. Dr. Johnson once predicted that Goldsmith would make natural history as interesting as a Persian tale,—this, which his miserable compilation after Buffon did not do, Alexander Wilson has accomplished. Were we to select from amongst the high-priests of nature's temple, he should be our model, and we would seek to imitate him in his enthusiasm, his descriptive accuracy, and in the warm glow of poetic feeling that beamed in his eyes, and gave a new beauty to every thing.

Mr. Waterton (whose autobiography has suggested this train of thought) belongs to the same group of field naturalists, but he wants the mild simplicity of White and the ideality of Wilson, having however a much greater sense of the humorous than either. He displays considerable power of observation, and his descriptions are often highly amusing. His controver-

sies have been very numerous, and he tilts with Mr. Swainson and other naturalists, in a most vigorous manner, using his ability for caustic retort to its full extent.

The first work that brought Mr. Waterton into notice was his *Wanderings in South America*, and subsequently his contributions to Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History*, obtained considerable popularity. They were collected and published in 1838, being prefixed with a sketch of his own life. A second series of these *Essays* forms the volume before us, which also contains a further portion of Mr. Waterton's autobiography.

In the preface to the present work, our author quotes a proverb of the Spaniards: 'Happy the man,' say they, 'who has written no more than one book,' and he expresses his fears lest he may injure his reputation by deviating again 'from the Spanish line of certitude, into the mazes of chance and danger,' exposed to the attacks of criticism. Our respect for Mr. Waterton leads us to regret that he did not pay more deference to the words of caution above quoted. He has certainly written one book too many. The present is by no means equal to the first series of *Essays*, and is unworthy the reputation of the author of the *Wanderings*. The first part of his autobiography was *piquant* and interesting, the present is of quite an opposite character. If a man has not actually *done* something 'worthy of narration, it is a dangerous thing to attempt to make himself the hero of a story, since he must necessarily—as in this instance—fill his book with trivial details unworthy of publication. We are sorry to write thus of Mr. Waterton. His former volumes afforded us amusement and instruction—towards himself personally we have much esteem—and we regret to criticise his present work with severity, as it is published with the kind motive of rendering assistance to the widow of the late Mr. Loudon, the eminent horticulturist. We regret, for the sake of his reputation, that Mr. Waterton did not adopt some other mode of gratifying his very laudable benevolence.

Our readers are probably aware that he is a catholic, but they will scarcely be prepared to find him so thoroughly imbued with Roman superstition. We were in hopes that a man possessing so much information on other subjects would hold his religious belief in a more enlightened manner. Roman catholicism, in its gorgeous ceremonies and pretended miracles, seems especially adapted to impress the uncultured mind of a debased population, but we scarcely expected to find Mr. Waterton, when at Naples, kissing five times in the course of five hours a bottle containing the solid blood of St. Januarius, and reporting with holy fervour the due performance of the miracle which caused its liquefaction. And when this 'stupendous miracle' was ended,

the multitude, we are told, 'blessed and praised Almighty God for this signal mark of his favour;' and our author was so forcibly struck with the occurrence, that 'everything else, in the whole course of his life, in the shape of adventures, now appeared to him to be trivial and of no amount!' Even the celebrated feat of riding the crocodile's back sinks into insignificance when compared with the miraculous bottle. Scarcely less impressive would seem to have been the sight which Mr. Waterton obtained of

'The titulus which was fixed over the head of our dying Saviour; a most learned rabbi has proved its authenticity, if any new proof were wanting, for the historical records at the time of its being brought to Rome are so clear and positive, that no one who has any faith at all in history, can doubt that this identical piece of wood is the same that was used on the cross when our blessed Lord suffered for the sins of the world. The wood itself is sycamore, and the words appear as though they had been cut hastily into it by some sharp-pointed instrument.'—*Autobiography*, p. lxvi.

The greater part of the period comprised in the present portion of his autobiography, was spent in Italy, and it would have been interesting, as showing a Roman catholic's impressions respecting the institutions of that country, did not the display of superstitious credulity excite painful feelings. Mr. Waterton has shown little judgment in assuming the office of apologist for 'the faith of our ancestors,' as it is exhibited in the 'eternal city.' We admire the honest boldness with which, though utterly unarmed, he has entered the polemical lists, but it would display more wisdom to leave the defence of his theology to such men as Wiseman, and to be content with ornithological controversy, which seems to be, in an especial manner, his own province. There is, however, an evident sincerity about Mr. Waterton's statements that secures our respect, despite the narrowness of his views. The gravity with which he defends the annual ceremony of the benediction of beasts of burden is truly edifying. He describes this 'scene of primeval piety' with evident satisfaction, as it plainly accorded with both his natural-historical, and religious sympathies.

But his visit to Italy was not without interest of a scientific character. His ornithological studies were not neglected, and the bird-market of Rome presented abundant opportunity for obtaining specimens.

'The bird-market of Rome is held in the environs of the rotunda, formerly the pantheon. Nothing astonished me more than the quantities of birds which were daily exposed for sale during the season; I could often count above four hundred thrushes and blackbirds, and often a hundred robin-redbreasts in one quarter of it; with twice as many

larks, and other small birds in vast profusion. In the course of one day, seventeen thousand quails have passed the Roman custom-house; these pretty vernal and autumnal travellers are taken in nets of prodigious extent on the shores of the Mediterranean. In the spring of the year, and at the close of summer, cart-loads of ringdoves arrive at the stalls near the rotunda.'—*Autobiography*, p. lxvii.

Mr. Waterton had, however, more delightful opportunities of studying the birds of Italy. In the environs of Rome, the ornamental grounds of the villa Pamphili Doria are thrown open to the public by the generous liberality of their princely owner, and here Mr. Waterton enjoyed the exquisite pleasure arising from the combination of all that is beautiful in nature, with all that is elegant in art. But we shall give our author's own description, as a favourable specimen of his style :

'The marble fountains of Pamphili Doria, its lofty trees, its waterfalls, its terraces, its shrubs and flowers and wooded winding-paths, delight the soul of man, and clearly prove what magic scenes can be produced when studied art goes hand in hand with nature. The walk, canopied by evergreens of ancient growth, and at the end of which a distant view of St. Peter's colossal temple bursts upon the sight, has so much truth and judgment in its plan, that I question whether its parallel can be found in the annals of horticultural design. When St. Peter's dome is illuminated, while standing under the wooded archway of this walk, you may fancy yourself on the confines of Elysium. . .

. . . Towards the close of April, the walks of Pamphili Doria resound with the sweet notes of the nightingale both day and night; and from February to mid-July, the thrush and blackbird pour forth incessant strains of melody. There stands in this enclosure a magnificent grove of stone pines, vast in their dimensions and towering in their height. Here the harmless jackdaw nestles, here the hooded crow is seen, here the starling breeds in numbers, and here the roller, decked in all the brilliant plumage of the tropics, comes to seek his daily fare.'—*Essays*, pp. 27—30.

Mr. Waterton's visit to Rome made him acquainted with a species of bird to which, in his opinion, the allusion is made in Psalm cii. 7—'*the sparrow alone upon the house-top*'—and we shall give our readers the advantage of his discovery. They are of course aware that the Psalmist could not refer to our common sparrow, whose habits are by no means solitary. Mr. Waterton says :

'The bird to which the repentant king of Israel compared himself in the seven penitential psalms is a real thrush in size, in shape, in habits, and in song; with this difference from the rest of its tribe, that it is remarkable throughout all the East for sitting solitary on the habitations of man. . . . It is indeed a solitary bird, for it never associates with any other, and only with its own mate in breeding time; and even then it is often quite alone upon the house-top, where it warbles in sweet

and plaintive strains, and continues its song as it moves in easy flight from roof to roof. The traveller who is fond of ornithology may often see this bird on the remains of the Temple of Peace, and occasionally in the villa Borghese, but much more frequently on the stupendous ruins of the baths of Caracalla, where it breeds in holes of the walls, and always on the Colosseum, where it likewise makes its nest; and, in fine, at one time or other of the day, on the tops of most of the churches, monasteries, and convents, within and without the walls of the eternal city. It lays five eggs of a very pale blue. They much resemble those of our starling. The bird itself is blue, with black wings and tail; the blue of the body becoming lighter when placed in different attitudes.'—*Essays*, pp. 5—7.

The geographical range of this species of thrush extends to Judæa and the other countries of the East, and we think, therefore, that Mr. Waterton's hypothesis is by no means improbable.

Mr. Waterton gives a remarkable instance of the power of vegetation. He states that at Walton Hall, some generations ago, there stood a water-mill, of which the only vestige left is a massive mill-stone seventeen feet in circumference. In the year 1813 a nut having fallen through the hole in the centre of the stone, vegetated and shot forth its stem, when he predicted to a friend that 'If the young plant escaped destruction, some time or other it would support the mill-stone and raise it from the ground.' And this extraordinary phenomenon actually took place:

'Year after year it increased in size and beauty; and when its expansion had entirely filled the hole in the centre of the mill-stone, it gradually began to raise up the mill-stone itself from the seat of its long repose. This huge mass of stone is now eight inches above the ground, and is entirely supported by the stem of the nut tree, which has risen to the height of twenty-five feet, and bears excellent fruit. Strangers often inspect this original curiosity. When I meet a visitor whose mild physiognomy informs me that his soul is proof against the stormy winds of politics, which now-a-days set all the world in a ferment, I venture a small attempt at pleasantry, and say, that I never pass this tree and mill-stone without thinking of poor old Mr. Bull, with a weight of eight hundred millions of pounds round his galled neck; fruitful source of speculation to a Machiavel, but of sorrow to a Washington.'—*Essays*, pp. 23, 24.

Mr. Waterton, politically, belongs to the *progressista* party, and yet, curiously enough, all his sympathies are in the opposite direction. He is an instance, amongst many others, of the paradoxical position of Roman catholicism in this country. We see a church whose principles are absolutist, both in civil and religious matters, allying herself with radicalism, and advocating toleration—her prelates in Ireland denouncing religious establishments, whilst her pope and cardinals in Italy are the rulers of a state, with every department of which their religion is

intimately associated;—the right of ‘manhood suffrage’ and political freedom advocated by men whose ancestors bled for the ‘divine right’ of kings, and attempted to crush the liberties of the people! All this is very remarkable, and we are pretty certain that if Roman catholicism were entirely relieved from the galling exactions of a protestant ascendancy, many of the ‘faithful’ who are now the advocates of liberalism, would support the ‘Young England’ notion of adopting the principles and practices of the ‘good old times.’ It is very evident, at all events, that Mr. Waterton loves best the feudal and priestly state of society—everything old is venerated, and everything new is regarded with suspicious dislike. ‘Poor Charley Stuart’ is referred to in a tone which would do honor to the descendant of the most ‘malignant’ royalist—a condemnatory essay of nine pages is devoted to the ‘new chimney-sweeping act’—the enclosure of waste lands is regarded with horror—and the decrease of coachmen (‘alas! this fine breed is nearly extinct!’) is deplored as a public calamity! Mr. Waterton, too, displays a hatred of cotton-mills that would rejoice Mr. Ferrand’s heart. ‘God help the poor soul,’ he exclaims, ‘whom abject poverty forces into those colossal repositories of pestilential vapours (!) where the direful effect of confinement puts one so much in mind of Sterne’s ‘captive.’ ‘He saw him pale and feverish. For thirty years the western blast not once had fanned his blood.’ And then he contrasts the happy condition of the ‘farmer’s boy, so rosy, blithe, and joyous the live-long day!’—and this in the face of the fearful revelations constantly made of the wretched, half-starved, and demoralized condition of the agricultural labourers! Is not all this toryism, and that, too, of the blindest character? And yet Mr. Waterton calls himself a liberal, and his dislike of Sir Robert Peel is only equalled by his amusing detestation of the Hanoverian Rat, which—out of compliment, we suspect, to ‘Dutch William’—he anathematizes on every occasion! One thing, however, is quite certain, that except on natural history, Mr. Waterton displays a very narrow grasp of mind, and, we fear, has allowed himself to be blinded by a mass of prejudice.

The other work named at the head of this article is written by Mrs. Lee, (formerly Mrs. Bowdich,) whose *Life of Cuvier* obtained very favourable notice. Her present volume is intended for the use of schools and young persons, and seems well adapted for the purpose. The classification of the principal groups is given, and the characters of the genera are concisely stated. Mrs. Lee does not seek credit for originality, but has conveyed her information in a plain style which will be easily understood, avoiding as far as possible the technicalities so discouraging to a beginner. She has judiciously selected interesting descriptions

from the writings of Montagu, Jesse, Pringle, Audubon, Gould, Waterton, &c., which cannot fail to be interesting to juvenile minds. We shall give a single passage as a fair example of her style: it occurs under the group *Synductyla*.

'King-fishers have shorter feet than bee-eaters, and tongue and tail very short. They live on small fishes, which, after bruising them with the beak, they swallow head foremost, and catch by darting on to them from the branch or rail on which they watch for their prey. They occasionally hover over the streams near which they live; nest in holes like the bee-eaters, and are found in almost all parts of the world. They are quarrelsome and solitary birds, store their stomachs with food, and bring it back again into their mouth when they feed their young: they also eject the bones of fishes in the same manner. It is a celebrated bird amongst ancient authors, under the name of Halcyon, or Alcyon, and was in their time invested with the power of quelling storms. It was also then believed that while the Halcyon was hatching her eggs, sailors might venture to sea without fear; hence the expression of Halcyon days. There is even now a tradition, that the dead bird, carefully balanced and suspended by a single thread, always turns its beak towards that point of the compass from which the wind blows, and allusions to this are made in Shakspeare.'—*Lee*, pp. 212, 213.

The wood-cuts are very indifferent; but we hope that Mrs. Lee's efforts to popularise the science will meet with success.

Art. V. *Pensées, Fragmens, et Lettres de Blaise Pascal, publiés pour la première fois conformément aux Manuscrits Originaux en grande partie inédits: par Prosper Faugère.* 2 vol. in 8vo, 58½ feuilles (pp. 936), avec portrait et quatre fac-similia de son écriture, Paris, 1844. The Thoughts, Fragments, and Letters of PASCAL; now first published in conformity to the Original Manuscripts. By Prosper Faugère.

It is now two centuries, abating one quarter, since the fragmentary writing of that extraordinary man, whose name stands above, were gathered up, after his death, at the age of thirty-nine, by his affectionate sister, and published by his friends. They were written by himself, as his meditations suggested, and incidental occasions occurred, on scraps of paper, and filed as it happened, on strings, or otherwise laid aside for opportunities of use contemplated, but which never came. Many of them were extremely brief. The first editors arranged them upon their own plan; and it has been believed that they published all that they could find that was intelligible, without alteration. The sparks of momentary collision, struck from such a mind as Pascal's, were felt to be inestimable. The book was rapidly and widely circulated, translated into the principal languages of

Europe, and reprinted times without number; and it was received with an enthusiasm of admiration almost equally intense, and certainly more diffused and permanent than that which attended his *Provincial Letters*. Philosophers admired the wonders of intellect which it disclosed, christian believers loved it as a repository of the 'precious faith,' and clever infidels were not wanting, as Voltaire and Condorcet, in strenuous efforts to pervert it into an engine of scepticism. In 1776, Condorcet published an edition, greatly mutilated indeed, but genuine, so far as it went, and with some additions from the manuscripts; and, two years afterwards, Voltaire republished that edition, with his own preface and notes. Both those unhappy men passed the highest encomiums on the genius and talent of the *Thoughts*, while they indulged their rancorous prejudices against its pure design and the sacred truths which it placed in the light of brilliant evidence. Condorcet's mutilations were intended to represent the 'first of the French classics as to both date and rank,' (Faugère's words) as a secret sceptic. In France and the Low Countries, in Germany and Britain, the book has never ceased to be popular: but lately a regard to it, intensely interesting, has been revived in a Memoir presented to the French Academy, in 1842; also in 1843, in a large volume; both by the celebrated professor of philosophy in the University of France (Paris College), *Victor Cousin*. With all his admiration, at once enraptured and judicious, of the subject of his disquisitions, he had a morally interested object in view, to make out (we borrow his own words), that 'the very bottom of Pascal's soul was a *universal scepticism*, from which he could find no refuge but a wilfully blind credulity:—*Le fond même de l'âme de Pascal est un scepticisme universel, contre lequel il ne trouve d'asyle que dans une foi volontairement aveugle.*'

In the present year and in our own country, attention has been revived to the character and writings of Pascal, by an article whose intrinsic merits are worthy of its subject, in the second number of the *North British Review*, and which, without an atom of information, we feel secure from error in attributing to the christian philosopher, one of the prime glories of our age, *SIR DAVID BREWSTER*. That article also incorporates much of the valuable Discourse on the Life and Writings of Pascal, by Bossut, Paris, 1779.—We have no slight pleasure in citing the passage which gives Sir David Brewster's opinion on the subject of our article; but little did he know, when he penned the following paragraphs, what an accession was just on the point of being made to the subject of them.

'——' He resolved to dedicate the rest of his life to the composition of a great work on the Evidences of Religion.—He had devoted to it

the last year in which he was permitted to labour ; and the various portions of it which he had written were collected by his Port Royal friends, and published in 1670, under the title of *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la Religion, et sur quelques autres sujets*. This little work, which has been translated into every European language, is pregnant with great and valuable lessons, and has met with general admiration. Original and striking views of divine truth pervade its pages ; and fragments of profound thought, brilliant eloquence, and touching sentiment, every where remind us of its gifted author. Appealing to minds of the highest order, his opinions on the solemn questions of faith and duty, cannot fail to have a transcendent influence over hearts, which studies and sufferings like his own have enlightened and subdued.—North Brit. Rev. Aug. 1844. p. 320.

The Paris *Sémeur* of the 6th, 13th, and 20th, of the present month, has introduced to our knowledge, and largely commented upon, the new work whose title we have given. We think that it will meet just curiosity, and prepare for the analysis which we propose to make of the two volumes, and for our observations both upon the remains of Pascal, greatly diversified as to subjects, but all more precious than gold and jewels, and upon the excellent editorship which has brought them to our possession, if we translate the first of the three French articles, written by no less a man than ALEXANDER VINET ; premising only our words in the Review of his masterly volume, *On the Manifestation of Religious Convictions and the Separation of the Church from the State*.—‘ M. Vinet has long been favourably known to French literature.—One of the most accomplished, philosophic, and earnest minds which have ever been employed upon—that great subject.’—Ecl. Rev., June, 1843. Vol. xiii. p. 616.

We must add that, in the February and March of the last year, he wrote three articles, in the *Sémeur*, as a critical examination of Cousin’s volume which we have before mentioned.

‘ We are under great obligations to Mr. Faugère, but have first to thank Prof. Cousin : for it is to him that we are indebted for this complete and unadulterated edition of *The Thoughts*. It is at least probable that, but for him, we should have had to wait a long time for it. Since the publication of Mr. Cousin’s book (*On Pascal’s Thoughts*), it had become doubly necessary. It was known for some years, (but obscurely and vaguely) ; it had become impossible to doubt, that the world did not possess the *genuine text* of Pascal ; and not a few had begun to inquire whether we had Pascal’s *genuine thinking*. Mr. Faugère’s work has just come to put an end to that uncertainty. PASCAL *is restored to us* ; not the sceptical and forlorn Pascal of whom Mr. Cousin had outlined the black profile, but the Pascal of our knowledge, the believing, affectionate, and happy Pascal. Once again then, we thank Mr. Cousin. Even before this new edition,

the positions which we had maintained in opposition to him were by no means to be relinquished; but they are still the better fortified in consequence of the publication which his disquisition has called forth.

‘It is now also that we know to what an extent the timorous prudence of the great man’s friends had *corrupted*, if we may be allowed so to say, the text of these immortal fragments. Mr. Cousin had good reason for saying, that there is no sort of alteration which has not been practised upon this text. The first editors had allowed themselves, or better may we say, commanded themselves, to take every kind and degree of licence: to suppress, to fabricate, to transpose, to separate, to combine, —all seemed to them a thing of full right or strict duty. They have, as they thought cases required, formed anew the plan of the work, the style of the author, and his very sentiments themselves. Mr. Faugère is only a scrupulously faithful witness to the truth, when he says, ‘there is not an instance of twenty lines together, whether in the first edition or in any of the subsequent ones, which does not present some alteration, great or small.’ He might have added that, in those same editions, it is a rare thing to find six consecutive lines exactly conformable to the original manuscript. One feels quite confounded at such daring. But there are two considerations which may somewhat moderate our unavoidable surprise and pain from this first impression.

‘The first is that, according to the ideas of the seventeenth century, Pascal’s *Thoughts*, considered merely as he threw them upon his paper, could hardly be said to have been *really* reduced to writing. He would never have given them to the public in that state; and his friends would have thought themselves wanting in duty to him, if they had not done for him what he would certainly himself have done. No doubt Pascal would have performed the task better, incomparably better. A comparison cannot for a moment be admitted between him and such editors as they were. I should not be forgiven if I were to maintain, that the work finished by himself would have been less valuable than the sketch; but that which I will venture to say is, that it would have been a different thing, a totally different thing; it would have been a *treatise by Pascal*, rather than *Pascal himself*, a *book* and not a *man*. Though I do not doubt but that he would have put something of *himself* into his book, still we have the alternative of the book or the man [the impression or the mind that stamped it]. If the labours of those editors leave us to regret above all the absence of the very Pascal, we are safe in saying that he would have still less spared himself, that he would have had more reserve than they had of

temerity. With more care than any other person, he would have smoothened the roughest turns of thought or word, he would have blunted the sharpest angles. Pascal, in a word, would have shrunk, as from the fire, from handing to us a Pascal. In the present day, we like a boldly pronounced individuality of an author's manifestation ;—perhaps because we find that to be a rare thing. It was not in the character of the seventeenth century, nor in the principles of the religious school to which Pascal belonged, to permit the individuality to impress itself strongly upon writings. Both the age and the Port Royal concurred, though from very different principles, in the maxim, *Christian piety annihilates the I; human politeness hides and covers it*. In our day we like to peep into the inside, to see the man in the writer: *egotism* pleases us, and *egoism* does not always displease us. In the seventeenth century, readers were less inquisitive, and writers more reserved. The reigning formality of manners seemed to impose this reserve. Montaigne's talking so much about himself was the very thing in him which offended Pascal the most. La Fontaine, for instance, could not have unveiled his mind so completely as he has done, he could not have exposed his simplicity and his reveries, without putting himself, in some sort, out of the pale of the law of letters. I conclude then, that, whether the *Thoughts* had been published by Pascal's friends or by himself, it would have been impossible for them to have preserved that *characteristic* manner which has ever had so great a share in the liveliness of the impression which they make, and the kind of popularity which they have acquired. I leave this consideration to the judgment of my reader: but I will advance another which will perhaps touch more closely; if we had not gotten the *Thoughts* as we actually have them, it is probable that we should never have gotten them at all.

'No man, after Pascal's death, would have published his *Thoughts* without alteration. The text might have been less deeply clipped and shaped ;—and it might have been more so. It has run more risks than we think of. The worst of all, but the most probable, was that it would never have appeared. Given to the world as it was, it could not at the very first, but have a very bold aspect; and we much doubt whether some pages would have been printed, if the editors had sufficiently gauged the depth of impression which they were likely to make upon certain minds. The only person likely to have dared, whether from moral courage or natural fondness, to insist upon an undiluted publication, was Madame Perier' [his only surviving sister], 'and she would have roused against herself all the ardent minds as well as all the prudent. Unless *considerable*

alterations had been resolved upon, Pascal would have remained buried in his manuscripts; or else, a very long time would have elapsed before he would have been fetched back, and such a long oblivion would easily have glided into an everlasting suppression. Strange then as it may appear, one is tempted to thank the editors rather than to blame them. It is incomparably better to have Pascal, though in their form, than not to have him at all.

‘However, we may ask, with whom would Pascal himself have been the more satisfied? With the old editors, or the new one? I think, with neither the one nor the other; but much less with Mr. Faugère, than with the Duke de Roannez * and M. de Brienne,’ [partly the original editors, but the chief were Peter Nicole, and Antony Arnauld.] ‘Nevertheless, our highest obligations are to Mr. Faugère. After the long succession of imperfect editions, after the lapse of close upon two centuries, and, more than all, after the inferences which some persons have professed to draw from their access to the original manuscripts,—such a work as this had become indispensable. Perhaps Pascal himself would have admitted this; but that does not imply that he would have been pleased with it. It is much the same with the first heavings and turnings of an author, as with the privacies of his life, which ought to be sacredly intrenched; or, as with his correspondence, the most inviolable of all. His moral dwelling-house has been invaded, his seal has been broken; and, though such violations may find their excuse in even the benefit which they confer upon those who are subjected to them, still they are violations. Pascal would have felt such an act most acutely. It has often been said, that no man could bring himself to confide to his most intimate friend, all the thoughts that dart through his mind. Who would avow to another what he is afraid of avowing even to himself? Yet to this Mr. Faugère has compelled Pascal; and the confident thus forced upon him is just—*the world*. You may tell me that Pascal had not to blush for his *Thoughts*: they were surely not bad thoughts. But, who would like to be taken in the very act of hesitating, and groping in the deep closets of his mind? Who would not find it disagreeable to see, early in a morning, his room, as yet in disorder, entered by, I will not say a stranger, but a familiar friend? Pray, why could you not wait a few minutes? One hour later, and you would have found me risen, dressed, all my things in their places, and my room in order. It is rather too uncomfortable

* Commonly spelt Roannes, and so Mr. Vinet writes it; but we follow Mr. Faugère.

to be thus taken when just getting out of bed, or in the necessary embarrassment of an early hour. But much more so it is, to be compelled to lay before the public the dots and strokes of a work just beginning to be formed, and which, when completed, is intended for that public which now is made a fore-staller. From this concealed laboratory has come forth, or is to come forth, a composition smooth, sustained, flowing, such as befits a man in whom thoughts and expression spring up together, as the water of a fountain at one jet. The public cannot enter into the idea of what this deep-seated labour costs; it is completely ignorant of the process: it sees, or knows, or perhaps even conjectures, nothing. Here, then, this very public is bursting into the author's laboratory, counting and handling his tools, finding out all the combinations of his apparatus, and the dexterous manipulation whose effect he had fondly imagined would appear an inspiration. If the public like this, it is very well on its part; but, for the author,—how does he feel? Can he like it? Oh, but Pascal was far above the puerilities of (*mauvaise honte*) false shame. Very true; I grant it: but there is another thing, more serious still. In these unsewed tatters which you are handing to us, Pascal is not a *writing man*, but a *THINKING man*; rather may we say, a man *seeking* for his thoughts. Beware of a serious mistake. Many of his affirmations are *interrogations* disguised. Instead of saying, Is the matter so? he often says, It is. He lays down, in absolute terms, what, in his view, is true in only a relative sense. Sometimes even the person that addresses you is not he, but a third, perhaps his adversary. A man must be utterly devoid of experience in literary composition, not to admit at once and before hand all this. THINKING is by turns *affirming* and *doubting*, *questioning* and *answering*. We scarcely think without the help of words, which serve as chemical agents, decomposing and recomposing thought. Undoubtedly, a man need not pronounce those words, nor write them; but it is better to use those helps. Many persons cannot meditate without a pen in hand; they think not, except they write. *That* was not the case with Pascal; but it is the fact that a great part of this collection of his *Thoughts* spread open before us, not the *result* of his thinking, which a *book* would do, but the *very inward working* itself of that thinking; I might almost say, the brewing of his mind. In many passages, the idea is not more definite than the form of its expression. Now, if our great thinker and writer could see that he was thus surrendered to the public gaze, would he not look upon himself as *betrayed*? And, would he not really be so, up to a certain point? Let the grave and judicious editor of the *Thoughts* pardon me for this

expression ; the meaning of which, however, he cannot mistake. His work is strictly accordant to the laws of honour, so far as they could be extended. After what I have said of the involuntary impression which (on the supposition) would certainly have been made upon the author of the *Thoughts*, I do maintain that *he*, when he duly considered the case, and took into his account the time and the circumstances, even he would acknowledge that Mr. Faugère had done HIM a service as well as us.

‘It will never be said again, that the first editors left the true Pascal, that is, as some have said, the sceptical and hopeless, lurking at the bottom of the original text. That text we now have in its integrity. Mr. Faugère has carried his scrupulosity farther, if it be possible, than they did their liberties. He has given us even insulated words, which yield no meaning to any one : and when even a single word was illegible, he has marked the place. Now, better than ever, you can judge whether Pascal had within him good reasons for being a Christian ; yes, now better than ever, you will be convinced that he *was* a Christian. Indeed, he does not become a Christian as the generality of men do. He, if not the first, yet the first in a clear and explicit manner, has summoned, to sit in judgment upon the great question of the truth of Christianity, the *moral* faculties, which had too generally been deposed, out of compliment to the *intellectual*. He has brought the decision of the great question to the entire man. From the depths of our nature, he has called up witnesses who had never before been brought to the bar. He has made good his assertion, that their testimony, neglected as it had been, is completely sufficient for every man’s personal conviction ; and that, for a definitive conclusion, there is no true knowledge, no thorough and effectual conviction, for those who listen not to these internal witnesses. By their evidence, he has reduced to their proper value, not only the objections of the adversaries to his faith, but not a few prejudices, not a few beggings of the question which religion may perhaps, after other proof, erect into certainty, but which cannot await to give certainty to religion. All this was shewn in the first and subsequent editions of the *Thoughts*, though, we must acknowledge, much disfigured : but the present publication brings out many new sides on which to contemplate the character of Pascal as a defender of revelation. And, indeed, this is all. It is not another Pascal ; not a new creation, not even a modification ; and be it especially observed that, *of his religious character*, it gives no different idea from that which we before had, except that here he appears surrounded with a purer and brighter light.

‘Yet this circumstance, and the very great number of entirely new materials which Mr. Faugère has brought to light, are not,

if we penetrate to the bottom of the subject, the only advantages of this FAITHFUL edition. Whoever reads the new Pascal will be struck with the strongly marked *individuality* which belonged to the religion of that great man. A publication prepared by himself, and of course in concert with his friends—what one might call the official edition, the authorized book—would have greatly attenuated that character, and thus have lessened the peculiar excellence of the work. After all, Pascal's first editors respected him dead, to much better effect than they could have managed him living. They would have required of him more sacrifices than they allowed themselves to make of alterations. Death has been the seal and guardian of the author's religious individuality. That he is a Roman catholic and a Jansenist every one knows: but he is both the one and the other *in his own way*; and he is not either, at all times, up to the point which his friends would probably have desired. At one time he makes use of technical terms, and then he throws them aside. His system of divinity is *his own*, even when it is conceived in the utmost precision of terms. It is not a doctor in divinity that speaks: it is a man who breathes the free air of the world; and, better still, it is a man. A long time it had been, as I think, that religion had possessed no [apologists] defenders by direct authorship, besides titled doctors*. An apologist of this new kind was wanting; for it is hardly to be expected that a doctor be turned entirely back again into a *man*. Pascal, in the old editions, but above all in the new, is such; the individual and independent man, more than he was himself aware of, more than he would have desired. And perhaps it would not be very difficult to distinguish the portions in which he is the Christian of his church and party, and those in which he is *his own kind* of Christian.

'The *method* employed by Pascal in the *Thoughts*, has a bearing which himself, clear-sighted and far-seeing as he was, did not perhaps perceive. We will try to make ourselves understood by moving back a few steps.

'In religion, upon all systems, a place must be found somewhere for the principle of *examination*. At the least and lowest, a man must examine, to know whether he may believe without examining. The Roman catholic examines, as well as the protestant: he examines the grounds of the authority to which his church lays claim. Till he arrives at a full conviction of that authority, he proceeds as a protestant—he is a protestant. The examination which he has to make, embraces a large number of very great questions. It would be difficult to say what questions are not here implied. The whole space that lies between the

* Had Mr. Viuet forgotten, when he wrote this, the noble Mornay du Plessis?

philosophy of mind and the history of man, with all that those terms comprehend, becomes, in successive portions, the field of investigation. The questions arising are of such a nature and such difficulty that an authority, if there were one, would not be too much for their resolution. But there is not an authority : we are only in search of it : authority cannot be founded upon authority. There is the scripture. Very true : but to send us all alone to the tribunal of the scripture, to give up the question to be settled between the scripture and ourselves, involves the admission that *we have the right of determining for ourselves the sense of scripture*, without appeal to any authority over us. This would be precisely to grant that which, in the system of authority, is peremptorily denied us. Try you, then, to understand *how* that could be granted to us *for one time*, which is to be refused us forever afterwards ; and *how* to escape the consequence that the entire system of protestantism is included in this your temporary concession.

‘ But may we not have recourse to the HOLY SPIRIT ? Be it so. We must admit, then, that there is a Holy Spirit ; that there is an action of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man. Observe ; it must be the individual man ; for, in our supposed case, it is an individual who is seeking and examining. You admit, then, that the Spirit of God condescends to hold immediate communion with an individual of mankind. But, if that be possible once, it is always possible. Henceforth, then, authority is useless : the Holy Spirit takes the place of the church. This, however, is what cannot be granted us by those who maintain the principle of authority. It follows, by the strictest necessity of reasoning, that they must put the Holy Spirit under arrest for the benefit of the church.

‘ Then they send us, as inquirers, to natural reason ; and to science, one of the acquisitions and instruments of reason. Upon reason is thus thrown the answering of a great number of questions, as I have above said, of such a nature and such difficulty, that it is quite inconceivable why authority has not, at the very first, applied itself to the solution of those questions. This is an enormous imperfection ; an incomprehensible chasm in the system. If a man be capable of arriving by himself at a solution of those difficulties, surely he is capable by himself of arriving at the true sense of scripture. Suppose that natural reason renders some men capable of resolving the questions, the number of such men is extremely small. There is an immense multitude of minds to whom such an achievement would be quite impossible ; yet they need to be convinced of the church’s authority, for the church is ‘ the pillar and ground of the truth,’ by its determining, always and in every case, the meaning of the divine oracles. The scriptures, and the

Holy Spirit, being discarded as to all men ; reason also, as to all probably, but certainly as to the vast majority ; what remains ? Upon what principle can we proceed to confide in *authority* ? The whole of the most important interest in the world is thrown upon *chance* ; the accident of birth and the impressions of childhood. Set aside this absolute incompetency ; and there is nothing but *protestantism*—protestantism to the end. We are irrevocably protestants ; not as a thing of result, the effect of a process of examination, but by the very fact of examination itself. Here, then, is the alternative, and it cannot be eluded ; we must *never* examine ; no, not for one moment ; or we must *always* examine.

‘Pascal lays it down as certain, or rather he establishes, that, by examining ourselves and by comparing the contents of the New Testament with our own consciences, we shall surely attain to faith, through the mighty grace of the Holy Spirit. In his view, believing is inseparable from understanding ; to believe is to understand with the heart, with the new heart which the Holy Spirit gives. The HOLY SPIRIT, not the church ; there lies Pascal’s *authority*. Read attentively the *Thoughts*, and be pleased to answer this one question : In his system, is not church-authority entirely nullified, put absolutely out of the field ? The trouble would be well recompensed of once studying under this point of view the INESTIMABLE FRAGMENTS which are now restored to us in their integrity.’

We doubt not but that our readers will warmly thank us for this long extract from the first of Professor Vinet’s three articles of Review. The succeeding two numbers refer to details, and are not requisite for us. A few passages we shall introduce in their places.

The awakening of attention, produced by Victor Cousin’s two publications, seems to have been the determining cause of Mr. Faugère’s resolving upon a thorough investigation of the matter and presenting the results to the world. This he has done in a manner which reflects the highest honour upon his care, judgment, and fidelity. He collated all the important editions ; he obtained from descendants of collateral branches of the Pascal family and their intimate friends,—a *Transcript*, which bears proof of being the first copy taken from the scraps of autograph found strung upon cords or otherwise dispersed, reduced into an imperfect order :—a *copy*, evidently of the preceding :—a collection of *transcripts* from Pascal’s original fragments, made by Father Guerrier, an intimate friend of the family and a priest of the Oratory, (a Society honourably celebrated for their many learned labours, and among whom were Lamy, Le Long, and others :) and a voluminous *collection* of Guerrier’s transcripts of the Pascalian papers, consisting

chiefly of Letters of Blaise Pascal himself, his father, his sisters and other relatives, the Duchess of Longueville, and De Sacy, Arnould, Nicole, Duguet, Domat, and other distinguished persons; this collection was communicated by a very aged gentlemen, (whose courtesy in relation to Port Royal monuments some of our countrymen have experienced,) Mr. Bellaigue de Rabanesse, formerly a Judge in the Presidial Court of Clermont. But the greatest acquisition of all is the *Autograph Manuscript* of the fragmentary pieces, carefully let in to folio sheets of paper, and bound in a volume of nearly 500 pages; preserved, as we have said, in the Royal Library, and, by an order of M. Villemain, the Minister of Public Instruction, June 29, 1844, placed at the disposal of Mr. Faugère.

This gentleman has proved himself to be one of the most laborious, judicious, and faithful of editors. He brings us into the presence of the real Pascal; even into the very palpitations of his heart. It is truly a subject for joy, and gratitude to benign providence, that, after almost two hundred years, this monument of honour and affection is raised to the memory of one who must be ranked among the most talented, the most amiable, and the holiest of men upon earth; and still more is the event to be acknowledged as a benefit to the world. As a man of profound thinking and sublime soarings of the soul, yet ever deeply humble, we put Pascal in the rank of Bacon, Boyle, Milton, Howe, Edwards, Coleridge, Robert Hall, and John Foster. High and long sustained as the popularity of Pascal's *Thoughts* has hitherto been, we trust that they are destined to fill a still more extensive sphere of usefulness. As an achievement in the domain of Literary History and Bibliography; the exhumation, we may even say, of the manuscripts, and the extraordinary concurrence of independent circumstances which have produced this edition, will give it an attractive interest to men of philological and critical leisure; and that is a class of men which has always flourished in France, and more abundantly, notwithstanding the short storm of revolutionary barbarism, within the last seventy years. A similar progress of those studies has taken place in every part of Europe. Hence, a very wide distribution of these volumes may be expected, even on this ground alone. But there are higher reasons for our hope. Condorcet, Voltaire, and we are grieved to add, within these two years Victor Cousin, have laboured to substantiate and diffuse the opinion, that under the guise of piety, Pascal was a secret unbeliever, or at least much inclined to scepticism with regard to the greatest moral truths. Thus the purity and sincerity of his character has been called into question; and it may be feared that the device has succeeded, with regard to numerous young persons, well disciplined, it may be, in mathematics

and the exact sciences, but ill-taught or totally untaught upon the nature, evidences, and claims of heavenly revelation; the device, we fear, has succeeded to confirm the notion, that the finest minds have examined the whole question of revealed religion, and have found the alleged evidence of the gospel to be so uncertain, that these young persons may be excused from giving themselves further trouble about it. Unreasonable and criminal as is this prejudging, it is very agreeable to the unwary and unconverted mind. But now the presumption is destroyed. Not only the reasonings of the philosopher stand out in their more complete comprehension and cogency; but the warmth and brightness and depth of his PIETY is attested in a manner which nothing could resist, but a very hard heart or a stupid intellect. It may well be hoped that some volatile minds among the French, cultivated or rude, which have welcomed atheistic principles, as a relief from the alarms of natural conscience, will be drawn by the charm of this great name, to read the unfoldings of their countryman's inmost feelings, and to perceive something of the beauty of holiness in his character. This publication may, and we trust will, be a powerful barrier against the frivolity, immorality, and wreck of principle which so fearfully abound.

We gratefully call to mind, amidst all that we mourn in the moral condition of the French people, that true religion among them has, within the last thirty years, risen from the dust in which it had been trodden down, and has resumed an activity long unknown. This revival has been greatly aided by the evangelical protestant press. The Life and Writings of Pascal, Romanist as he was, will furnish many powerful instruments for the advancement of the holy cause. As the mortal foe to this resurrection of scriptural religion, popery has started into the vigorous employment of its wonted practices for gaining the ascendancy over mind and society. The mystery of iniquity has called up the spirits of darkness, 'with all the deceivableness of unrighteousness.' Its chief instrument in this 'working' (2 Thess. ii, 7—11) has been the Order of Loyola, blasphemously calling itself *the Society of Jesus*. For its innumerable atrocities, that order had been banished from the principal popish states of Europe, and was formally abolished in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV. But, from motives and with objects very intelligible, it was re-established thirty years ago by Pius VII: and now it actually reigns in France, fostered by silly women, and used as the tool of tyranny and perfidy by wretched men, whose consciences must teach them a very different lesson. The present illegal harassments of the *pious* protestants, the infamous proceedings in Tahiti, and the machi-

nations in the Levant, with many other instances of crafty wickedness, are effects of the restoration of the Jesuits. Mr. Faugère's publication comes most seasonably to help just men of all parties and denominations in their resistance to the brood of the old serpent. The treatment of Pascal, even in his philosophical character, by the frauds of the Jesuits, must have left in the minds of all scientific men a feeling of indignation and abhorrence. This, we hope, will be revived and strengthened by the new homage to his name. It may also appear no unreasonable expectation, that an edition will be called for of the *Provincial Letters*, and that will do glorious execution against 'the man of sin,—that wicked one.'

Our hopes and expectations rise higher still. Notwithstanding the deplorable impregnation of submission to the false church and the papal usurpation, which, from his educational and other circumstances, had been put into Pascal's mind, he, with his fellow-confessors and fellow-sufferers, were wondrous witnesses to 'the gospel of the GRACE of God,' and its proper fruits. His *Thoughts*, and other pieces, contain a multitude of evidences and illustrations of the essence of doctrinal christianity, SOVEREIGN, FREE, ELECTING LOVE acting through a DIVINE REDEEMER and a DIVINE SANCTIFIER; and the essence of practical christianity, LOVE TO GOD because HE is LOVELY, and LOVE TO HOLINESS because it is HIS IMAGE. In the late revivals of piety among the protestants of France and Switzerland there has been some deteriorating matter—dross adhering to the silver—descending to them from some of their own old writers (for example, Ravanell of Montauban), and exemplified at large in our Marshall and Hervey. But we trust that our brethren have too much nobleness of mind to be above deriving instruction from Pascal and Quesnel, and those like them. Thus, such servants of Christ as our beloved Cæsar Malan may obtain unspeakable benefit to their own souls and to the souls of multitudes besides; and thus a studious attention may be drawn to the works of Edwards and Bellamy, Dwight, Mac-laurin, Witherspoon and Dr. Erskine, Fuller and Ryland, Woods and Beecher. Upon this subject we cannot force ourselves to abstain from citing, somewhat condensed, a passage from the *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansenius, which we obtain through the medium of Theophilus Gale's *True Idea of Jansenism*, 1669, p. 113. 'The spirit of God, in the most salutary manner, indicates to us, that there is no love of ourselves more true than that whereby we love God with all the heart. And because the most refined and noble love of God consists in a man's being abstracted from the reflection and consideration of

himself, it thence followeth that, by how much the more a man forgets himself, he has so much the more noble and exact regard to himself. Thus, by an admirable kind of competition, the more a man denies himself, the more he seeks himself; the more he is emptied of himself, the more he is filled with God. To relinquish God is to embrace nothing.'

Such was the theology and religion of the Port Royal; such that of Pascal and his associates.

Unspeakable benefit will accrue to the protestant church if these sentiments be deeply pondered.

Upon these grounds, and others allied to them, we rejoice in this publication of Mr. Faugère's.

We shall now give a brief account of its contents.

VOL. I.—An Introduction, detailing many particulars of Pascal's personal and family history; and concerning his writings, particularly the Fragments: 87 pages.

Letters, from 1648 to 1661;—to his sisters and other relatives, to the Duchess de Roannez, and to the Marchioness de Sablé.—One of these Letters, the fourth, addressed to Mr. Périer, his brother-in-law, on the death of their father, the elder Pascal, and which Professor Vinet calls '*The great letter*,' had been *in part* transfused into the older editions of the *Thoughts*, forming chap. xxx. of Part I., ed. 1679; and in Bossut's, vol. ii., art. xviii.; Par. 1812. All the other Letters were till now unpublished.

A *Prayer*, imploring the right use of illness: 12 pages.—This has been published in the editions of the *Thoughts*, even those of Condorcet and Voltaire; but in no edition that we have seen is it properly distinguished from the series of the *Thoughts*: it is inserted as a section or article, and is thus liable to be overlooked. It is indeed a wondrous composition—the union of profoundness, sublimity, and originality in thought, with the utmost simplicity of expression. It is what Dr. Owen recommends,—meditation in the presence of God, and directed in devout address to Him; very similar to the pattern of heavenly meditation in Mr. Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. How painful, that such men as Voltaire and Condorcet could read and edit this utterance of intellect and divine affection, and not be melted into penitence and faith!

Essay on the Conversion of a Sinner: 7 pages.—Written when Pascal was about twenty-three years of age, and first published by the Abbé Bossut, in 1779.

Preface to a Dissertation on the Doctrine of a Vacuum. First published by Bossut.—The Dissertation does not exist.

A *Discourse on the Passions of Love*; i. e., the Modifications of Sexual Love as subsisting between Virtuous People: 15 pages.

Of its genuineness there is no doubt. It was published not long ago, but imperfectly, in the *Révue des Deux Mondes*, of which we think that Professor Cousin is the editor. 'If ever other love than divine was worthy of the immortality of our nature, it is that of which the *passions*—that is to say, the interior movements—are here described.'—*Vinet*.

(' *De l'Esprit Géométrique* ') On Geometrical Reasoning: 30 pages. First published, very defectively, by Condorcet; more completely by Bossut, in 1779.

On the Art of Persuading: 19 pages. Having a connexion of affinity with the next preceding.—They appear to be unfinished portions of a treatise on the application of geometrical reasoning to other subjects. There are passages in the Port Royal Logic which manifestly had their source in these fragments. First published by Desmolets, in *Contin. Mem. de Littér.*, v. ii., about 1720.

(' *Pensées Diverses* ') *Miscellaneous Thoughts*: 79 pages.—Some are in the old editions, but by far the greater part are from the unpublished MSS.

Solemn Act of Faith and Self-Dedication.—Found sewed up in Pascal's waistcoat after his death. First published by Condorcet, who profanely calls it 'A mystic charm.'

Profession of Faith: 2 pages.—We believe it is in the old editions, but cannot find it.

Thoughts on Eloquence and Style: 18 pages.—Scattered in disorder through the former editions, but many are from the MSS.

Thoughts and Notes relative to the Jesuits, the Jansenists, and the Provincial Letters: 249 pages.—Of great interest: almost all from the MSS. 'With feelings of the liveliest interest,' says Mr. Faugère, 'we discovered these hitherto unknown sketches, these rapid conceptions, hurrying forth *pell-mell* under the first inspiration of genius, soon to become the first work [*le chef-d'œuvre*] of our language.' Vinet adds, 'Who does not partake of these emotions? Pascal, speaking to and for himself, questioning himself upon his own thoughts, is here more lively, if it could be, than in the finished work. It is the melted gold flowing pure out of the furnace. Bursts of thought which could not be put into a book, are here brought to light after the burial of two hundred years. We are taken into the great artist's work-room [*atelier*], and, in a thousand scattered pieces of the marble, we see, at the first glance, the finest passages of Pascal's *chef-d'œuvre*; such, the inimitable stroke of his chisel.'

Thoughts on the Pope and the Church: 38 pages.—Almost all from the MSS.

Recollections of Conversations with M. Pascal, from the pens

of his sister and her daughter, Fontaine, and Nicole : 40 pages. Published in portions in 1728, &c.

Appendix of Letters by different persons, and other Elucidatory Papers.

VOL. II.—This is entirely taken up with the Great Collection : 404 pages ; and an Appendix of Documents : 23 pages.

Fragments of a Defence of Christianity ; or, Thoughts upon Religion.

General Preface ; subsequent Variations and Notes. All by Pascal.

PART I.—*The Ruin and Wretchedness of Man without God ; or, the Self-Corruption of Human Nature.*—*Preface.*—*Mental Dissipations.*—*Deceptive Influences.* (‘*Des Puissances trompeuses.*’—Vinet.) *Differences of Men.*—*Greatness and Wretchedness of Man.*—*Philosophic Systems.*

PART II.—*Happiness of Man with God.*—*Scripture Doctrine of the Redeemer.*—*Preface.*—*Unbelievers ignorant of real Goodness.*—*Characters of the true Religion.*—*Means of attaining Faith : Reason ; human authority ; inspiration.*—*The Jews.*—*Miracles.*—*Types.*—*Prophecy.*—JESUS CHRIST : *Mystery of Jesus.*—*The Christian Religion.*—*On the Method and Arrangement of the Projected Treatise.*

Omissions.—*Insulated Citations.*—*Appendix.*

The transposition of the articles contained in this volume renders it impossible for us to compare them with the correspondent ones in the former editions, without an enormous sacrifice of time. So many are marked as being now for the first time published, that we estimate the new matter as about equal to the old. ‘But,’ says Mr. Vinet, ‘nothing is lost : all that is retrenched [of the old editions] is found in other places ; and if the work has less of the air of a book than those editions, it is, in reality, far better arranged, and evidently discloses much better Pascal’s plan. It has been generally taken for granted that the first editors had conformed their arrangement, as exactly as was possible, to the author’s intentions : but Mr. Faugère’s labours have proved that this is a mistake.’ He has restored the actual titles, written by the author at the head of very many of the fragments. These are of great value, for they not merely indicate principal divisions of the proposed work, but they very often explain, by condensing, the *precise* meaning and aim of a passage.

The diligence and labour of Mr. Faugère have evidently been extremely great. His numerous Notes cast light upon the vast variety of facts and circumstances alluded to in the text ; and

tacit references to books, particularly the *Essays of Montaigne*.*

The printing and paper are beautiful; and, if our ill-natured law did not prohibit our annexing the price at Paris, our readers would call the work cheap. There are three excellently engraved fac-similia plates; one, the signature of Pascal at three epochs of his life; another, a leaf of the manuscript of the *Provincial Letters*; and the third, a portrait, being a fac-simile of a singularly beautiful chalk drawing, made by the elder Mr. Domat, on the inside of one of the boards in a copy of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, when his friend was about twenty-five years old. This copy of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* was discovered a few years ago, at the bottom of an old chest, upon the death of its possessor, a lady, the last of the family of Domat. It has since passed into the library of Mr. Feligonde de Ville-neuve, a magistrate of Riom; who gladly enabled Mr. Faugère to publish this accurate fac-simile.

Art. VI. *The Chimes: a Goblin Story of some bells that rang an old year out and new year in.* By Charles Dickens. London: Chapman and Hall.

MR. DICKENS is not unmindful of the seasons, however others may be. Last year he provided 'A Christmas Carol' for the entertainment of his friends, and a right good 'Carol' it was: and this year he presents in the small and elegant volume before us, 'A Goblin Story,' which will be read with avidity by the old and the young, the rich, and, so far as their means permit, the

* That there were qualities in the mind of Montaigne, very likely to attract Pascal by the force of affinity, cannot be doubted. The former directed his lively and acute energies exclusively to one object, *man*. He says, 'I study *myself* more than any other subject. This is my metaphysic; this my natural philosophy.' His known character of scepticism might furnish occasion for the attribution to Pascal of a similar predilection. We cite a passage from Dugald Stewart, which merits consideration, both on account of its immediate subject and because its reference to Pascal's bosom-friends, the Port Royal confraternity, suggests a probable conjecture upon the revolting of his superior mind against the lively but shallow scepticism of Montaigne.—'After all, however, it may be fairly questioned, notwithstanding the scrupulous fidelity with which Montaigne has endeavoured to delineate his own portrait, if [whether] he has been always sufficiently aware of the secret folds and reduplications of the human heart. That he was by no means exempted from the common delusions of self-love and self-deceit, has been fully evinced in a very acute, though somewhat uncharitable, section of the *Port Royal Logic*. But this consideration, so far from diminishing the value of his *Essays*, is one of the most instructive lessons they afford to those who, after the example of the author, may undertake the salutary but humiliating task of self-examination.'—*Prælim. Dissert. to the Enaylop. Britann.* p. 50.

poor also. There are few men who can so successfully work out an effective tale from slender materials. His graphic powers are unsurpassed. A suggestion, a mere hint, suffices for his purpose: there is no elaboration needed, no long array of personages or complexity of plot. A sentence, or even a word, an old church, a wretched dwelling, a garret or a cellar, a pampered menial, or a half starved and trembling beggar accomplishes his design. He sets before us, without apparent effort, in all the distinctness and vivid colouring of actual life, the scene or the character which he wishes to describe. We behold the street, the wretched court, the dilapidated staircase, the cold and unfurnished garret to which he introduces us, or talk and exchange looks with the persons whom he brings on the stage. The truthfulness of his sketches is not outward and superficial. It descends to the inner man, embraces the qualities of the individual, and sets him before us in all the minute, as well as the more prominent features of his person and character. This constitutes a leading element in the popularity of Mr. Dickens, and is illustrated in several instances in the volume before us.

The tale is simple, and its incidents are quickly told, but the reader is kept in suspense by a machinery not quite to our mind, nor perfectly consistent in our judgment with the character of the party concerned. We are soon introduced to an old church, between whose chimes and Toby Veck, an elderly ticket-porter, a certain fellowship has long existed. These parties act a prominent part, and of the latter the following graphic sketch is given:

‘The wind came tearing round the corner—especially the east wind—as if it had sallied forth, express, from the confines of the earth, to have a blow at Toby. And often-times it seemed to come upon him sooner than it had expected, for bouncing round the corner, and passing Toby, it would suddenly wheel round again, as if it cried, ‘Why, here he is!’ Incontinently his little white apron would be caught up over his head like a naughty boy’s garments, and his feeble little cane would be seen to wrestle and struggle unavailingly in his hand, and his legs would undergo tremendous agitation, and Toby himself all aslant, and facing now in this direction, now in that, would be so banged and buffeted, and touzled, and worried, and hustled, and lifted off his feet, as to render it a state of things but one degree removed from a positive miracle, that he wasn’t carried up bodily into the air as a colony of frogs or snails or other portable creatures sometimes are, and rained down again, to the great astonishment of the natives, on some strange corner of the world where ticket-porters are unknown.

‘But windy weather, in spite of its using him so roughly, was after all, a sort of holiday for Toby. That’s the fact. He didn’t seem to wait so long for a sixpence in the wind, as at other times; for the having to fight with that boisterous element took off his attention, and quite freshened him up, when he was getting hungry and low-spirited,

A hard frost too, or a fall of snow, was an Event; and it seemed to do him good, somehow or other—it would have been hard to say in what respect though, Toby! So wind and frost and snow, and perhaps a good stiff storm of hail, were Toby Veck's red-letter days.

'Wet weather was the worst: the cold, damp, clammy wet, that wrapped him up like a moist great-coat: the only kind of great-coat Toby owned, or could have added to his comfort by dispensing with. Wet days, when the rain came slowly, thickly, obstinately down: when the street's throat, like his own, was choaked with mist; when smoking umbrellas passed and repassed, spinning round and round like so many teetotums, as they knocked against each other on the crowded footway, throwing off a little whirlpool of uncomfortable sprinklings; when gutters brawled and water-spouts were full and noisy; when the wet from the projecting stones and ledges of the church fell drip, drip, drip, on Toby, making the wisp of straw on which he stood mere mud in no time; those were the days that tried him. Then indeed, you might see Toby looking anxiously out from his shelter in an angle of the church wall—such a meagre shelter that in summer time it never cast a shadow thicker than a good-sized walking stick upon the sunny pavement—with a disconsolate and lengthened face. But coming out, a minute afterwards, to warm himself by exercise; and trotting up and down some dozen times: he would brighten even then, and go back more brightly to his niche.

'They called him Trotty from his pace, which meant speed if he didn't make it. He could have walked faster perhaps; most likely; but rob him of his trot, and Toby would have taken to his bed and died. It bespattered him with mud in dirty weather; it cost him a world of trouble; he could have walked with infinitely greater ease; but that was one reason for his clinging to it so tenaciously. A weak, small, spare old man, he was a very Hercules, this Toby, in his good intentions. He loved to earn his money. He delighted to believe—Toby was very poor, and couldn't well afford to part with a delight—that he was worth his salt. With a shilling or an eighteenpenny message or small parcel in hand, his courage, always high, rose higher. As he trotted on, he would call out to fast Postmen ahead of him, to get out of the way: devoutly believing that in the natural course of things he must inevitably overtake and run them down; and he had perfect faith—not often tested—in his being able to carry anything that man could lift.

'Thus, even when he came out of his nook to warm himself on a wet day, Toby trotted. Making, with his leaky shoes, a crooked line of slushy footprints in the mire; and blowing on his chilly hands and rubbing them against each other, poorly defended from the searching cold by threadbare mufflers of grey worsted, with a private apartment only for the thumb and a common room or tap for the rest of the fingers; Toby with his knees bent and his cane beneath his arm, still trotted. Falling out into the road to look up at the belfry when the Chimes resounded, Toby trotted still.'—pp. 6—11.

Between Toby and these chimes there was a mysterious link. 'He invested them with a strange and solemn character,' though he scouted with indignation the current report of their being

haunted. They were good christian bells to Toby, though something more—so at least he had imperceptibly come to regard them—than mere metal moved by human machinery. It was on a cold day, when absorbed in one of his musing fits, he was trotting up and down before this church, that the following scene occurred, which introduces us to a lovely personification of female virtue in the person of Toby's daughter. One great charm of Mr. Dickens's writings—and it constitutes a healthful element—is the justice done to the poor. It is common with our fashionable novelists to refer to the humbler classes as destitute of all kindness and generosity, distinct in nature as well as in station from the more affluent, and susceptible only of the baser and more sordid affections. Nothing of this sort is to be traced in the pages of our author, who has searched far deeper than these dreamers into the philosophy of man's heart. What can be more beautiful than the filial piety and woman's heart depicted in this simple sketch.

'Why, father, father!' said a pleasant voice hard by.

'But Toby, not hearing it, continued to trot backwards and forwards : musing as he went, and talking to himself.

* * * *

'Why, father, father!' said the pleasant voice again.

'Toby heard it this time ; started ; stopped ; and shortening his sight, which had been directed a long way off as seeking for enlightenment in the very heart of the approaching year, found himself face to face with his own child, and looking close into her eyes.

'Bright eyes they were. Eyes that would bear a world of looking in, before their depth was fathomed. Dark eyes, that reflected back the eyes which searched them ; not flashingly, or at the owner's will, but with a clear, calm, honest, patient radiance, claiming kindred with that light which Heaven called into being. Eyes that were beautiful and true, and beaming with Hope. With Hope so young and fresh ; with Hope so buoyant, vigorous, and bright, despite the twenty years of work and poverty on which they had looked ; that they became a voice to Trotty Veck, and said : 'I think we have some business here—a little!'

'Trotty kissed the lips belonging to the eyes, and squeezed the blooming face between his hands.

'Why Pet,' said Trotty. 'What's to-do? I didn't expect you to-day, Meg.'

'Neither did I expect to come, father,' cried the girl, nodding her head and smiling as she spoke. 'But here I am! And not alone ; not alone.'

'Why you don't mean to say,' observed Trotty, looking curiously at a covered basket which she carried in her hand, 'that you——'

'Smell it father dear,' said Meg. 'Only smell it.'

'Trotty was going to lift up the cover at once, in a great hurry, when she gaily interposed her hand.

'No, no, no,' said Meg, with the glee of a child. 'Lengthen it

out a little. Let me just lift up the corner; just the lit-tle ti-ny corner, you know,' said Meg, suiting the action to the word with the utmost gentleness, and speaking very softly, as if she were afraid of being overheard by something inside the basket; 'there. Now. What's that?'

'Toby took the shortest possible sniff at the edge of the basket, and cried out in a rapture:

' 'Why, it's hot!'

' 'It's burning hot!' cried Meg. 'Ha, ha, ha! It's scalding hot.'

' 'Ha, ha, ha!' roared Toby, with a sort of kick. 'It's scalding hot.'

' 'But what is it, father?' said Meg. 'Come! You haven't guessed what it is. And you must guess what it is. I can't think of taking it out, till you guess what it is. Don't be in such a hurry! Wait a minute! A little bit more of the cover. Now guess!'

'Meg was in a perfect fright lest he should guess right too soon; shrinking away, as she held the basket towards him; curling up her pretty shoulders; stopping her ear with her hand, as if by so doing she could keep the right word out of Toby's lips, and laughing softly the whole time.

'Meanwhile Toby, putting a hand on each knee, bent down his nose to the basket, and took a long inspiration at the lid; the grin upon his withered face expanding in the process, as if he were inhaling laughing gas.

' 'Ah! It's very nice,' said Toby. 'It an't—I suppose it an't Polonies?'

' 'No, no, no!' cried Meg, delighted. 'Nothing like Polonies!'

' 'No,' said Toby, after another sniff. 'It's—it's mellowier than Polonies. It's very nice. It improves every moment. It's too decided for Trotters. An't it?'

'Meg was in an ecstasy. He could *not* have gone wider of the mark than Trotters—except Polonies.

' 'Liver?' said Toby, communing with himself. 'No. There's a mildness about it that don't answer to liver. Pettitoes? No. It an't faint enough for pettitoes. It wants the stringiness of Cock's heads. And I know it an't sausages. I'll tell you what it is. It's chitterlings!'

' 'No, it an't!' cried Meg, in a burst of delight. 'No, it an't!'

' 'Why, what am I a thinking of!' said Toby, suddenly recovering a position as near the perpendicular as it was possible for him to assume. 'I shall forget my own name next. It's tripe!'

'Tripe it was; and Meg, in high joy, protested he should say, in half a minute more, it was the best tripe ever stewed.

' 'And so,' said Meg, busying herself exultingly with the basket, 'I'll lay the cloth at once, father; for I have brought the tripe in a basin, and tied the basin up in a pocket handkerchief; and if I like to be proud for once, and spread that for a cloth, and call it a cloth, there's no law to prevent me; is there, father?'

' 'Not that I know of, my dear,' said Toby. 'But they're always a bringing up some new law or other.'

‘ ‘ And according to what I was reading you in the paper the other day, father ; what the Judge said, you know ; we poor people are supposed to know them all. Ha, ha ! What a mistake ! My goodness me, how clever they think us ! ’

‘ ‘ Yes, my dear,’ cried Trotty ; ‘ and they ’d be very fond of any one of us that *did* know ’em all. He ’d grow fat upon the work he ’d get, that man, and be popular with the gentlefolks in his neighbourhood. Very much so ! ’

‘ ‘ He ’d eat his dinner with an appetite, whoever he was, if it smelt like this,’ said Meg, cheerfully. ‘ Make haste, for there ’s a hot potatoe besides, and half a pint of fresh-drawn beer in a bottle. Where will you dine, father ? On the post, or on the steps ? Dear, dear, how grand we are. Two places to choose from ! ’

‘ ‘ The steps to-day, my Pet,’ said Trotty. ‘ Steps in dry weather. Post in wet. There ’s a greater conveniency in the steps at all times, because of the sitting down ; but they ’re rheumatic in the damp. ’

‘ ‘ Then here,’ said Meg, clapping her hands, after a moment’s bustle ; ‘ here it is, all ready ! And beautiful it looks ! Come, father. Come ! ’

‘ Since his discovery of the contents of the basket, Trotty had been standing looking at her—and had been speaking too—in an abstracted manner, which showed that though she was the object of his thoughts and eyes, to the exclusion even of tripe, he neither saw nor thought about her as she was at that moment, but had before him some imaginary rough sketch or drama of her future life. Roused, now, by her cheerful summons, he shook off a melancholy shake of the head which was just coming upon him, and trotted to her side. As he was stooping to sit down, the Chimes rang.

‘ ‘ Amen ! ’ said Trotty, pulling off his hat and looking up towards them.

‘ ‘ Amen to the Bells, father ? ’ cried Meg.

‘ ‘ They broke in like a grace, my dear,’ said Trotty, taking his seat.

‘ ‘ They ’d say a good one, I am sure, if they could. Many’s the kind thing they say to me. ’

‘ ‘ The Bells do, father ! ’ laughed Meg, as she set the basin, and a knife and fork before him. ‘ Well ! ’

‘ ‘ Seem to, my Pet,’ said Trotty, falling to with great vigour. ‘ And where’s the difference ? If I hear ’em, what does it matter whether they speak it or not ? Why bless you, my dear,’ said Toby, pointing at the tower with his fork, and becoming more animated under the influence of dinner, ‘ how often have I heard them bells say, ‘ Toby Veck, Toby Veck, keep a good heart Toby ! Toby Veck, Toby Veck, keep a good heart Toby ! ’ A million times ? More ! ’

‘ ‘ Well, I never ! ’ cried Meg.

‘ She had, though—over and over again. For it was Toby’s constant topic.

‘ ‘ When things is very bad,’ said Trotty ; ‘ very bad indeed, I mean ; almost at the worst ; then it’s ‘ Toby Veck, Toby Veck, job coming soon, Toby ! Toby Veck, Toby Veck, job coming soon, Toby ! ’ that way. ’

‘ And it comes—at last, father,’ said Meg, with a touch of sadness in her pleasant voice.

‘ Always,’ answered the unconscious Toby. ‘ Never faila.’

While this discourse was holding, Trotty made no pause in his attack upon the savoury meat before him, but cut and ate, and cut and drank, and cut and chewed, and dodged about, from tripe to hot potatoe, and from hot potatoe back again to tripe, with an unctuous and unflagging relish. But happening now to look all round the street—in case anybody should be beckoning from any door or window, for a porter—his eyes, in coming back again, encountered Meg: sitting opposite to him, with her arms folded: and only busy in watching his progress with a smile of happiness.

‘ Why, Lord forgive me!’ said Trotty, dropping his knife and fork. ‘ My dove! Meg! why didn’t you tell me what a beast I was?’

‘ Father?’

‘ Sitting here,’ said Trotty, in penitent explanation, ‘ cramming, and stuffing, and gorging myself; and you before me there, never so much as breaking your precious fast, nor wanting to, when’——

‘ But I have broken it, father,’ interposed his daughter, laughing, ‘ all to bits. I have had my dinner.’

‘ Nonsense,’ said Trotty. ‘ Two dinners in one day! It an’t possible! You might as well tell me that two New Year’s Days will come together, or that I have had a gold head all my life, and never changed it.’

‘ I have had my dinner, father, for all that,’ said Meg, coming nearer to him. ‘ And if you’ll go on with yours, I’ll tell you how and where; and how your dinner came to be brought; and—and something else besides.’

Toby still appeared incredulous; but she looked into his face with her clear eyes, and laying her hand upon his shoulder, motioned him to go on while the meat was hot. So Trotty took up his knife and fork again, and went to work. But much more slowly than before, and shaking his head, as if he were not at all pleased with himself.

‘ I had my dinner, father,’ said Meg, after a little hesitation, ‘ with——with Richard. His dinner-time was early; and as he brought his dinner with him when he came to see me, we—we had it together, father.’

‘ Trotty took a little beer, and smacked his lips. Then he said, ‘ Oh!’—because she waited.

‘ And Richard says, father—’ Meg resumed. Then stopped.’

‘ What does Richard say, Meg?’ asked Toby.

‘ Richard says, father— Another stoppage.

‘ Richard’s a long time saying it,’ said Toby.

‘ He says then, father,’ Meg continued, lifting up her eyes at last, and speaking in a tremble, but quite plainly; ‘ another year is nearly gone, and where is the use of waiting on from year to year, when it is so unlikely we shall ever be better off than we are now? He says we are poor now, father, and we shall be poor then; but we are young now, and years will make us old before we know it. He says that if we wait: people in our condition; until we see our way quite clearly, the

way will be a narrow one indeed—the common way—the Grave, father.'

'A bolder man than Trotty Veck must needs have drawn upon his boldness largely to deny it. Trotty held his peace.

'And how hard, father, to grow old, and die, and think we might have cheered and helped each other! How hard in all our lives to love each other; and to grieve, apart, to see each other working, changing, growing old and grey. Even if I got the better of it, and forgot him (which I never could), oh father dear, how hard to have a heart so full as mine is now, and live to have it slowly drained out every drop, without the recollection of one happy moment of a woman's life, to stay behind and comfort me, and make me better!'

'Trotty sat quite still. Meg dried her eyes, and said more gaily; that is to say, with here a laugh, and there a sob, and here a laugh and sob together:

'So Richard says, father; as his work was yesterday made certain for some time to come, and as I love him and have loved him full three years—ah! longer than that, if he knew it!—will I marry him on New Year's Day; the best and happiest day, he says, in the whole year, and one that is almost sure to bring good fortune with it. It's a short notice, father—isn't it?—but I haven't my fortune to be settled, or my wedding dresses to be made, like the great ladies, father—have I? And he said so much, and said it in his way; so strong and earnest, and all the time so kind and gentle; that I said I'd come and talk to you, father. And as they paid the money for that work of mine this morning (unexpectedly, I am sure!), and as you have fared very poorly for a whole week, and as I couldn't help wishing there should be something to make this day a sort of holiday to you as well as a dear and happy day to me, father, I made a little treat and brought it to surprise you.'

'And see how he leaves it cooling on the step!' said another voice.

'It was the voice of this same Richard, who had come upon them unobserved, and stood before the father and daughter: looking down upon them with a face as glowing as the iron on which his stout sledge-hammer daily rung. A handsome, well made, powerful youngster he was; with eyes that sparkled like the red-hot droppings from a furnace fire; black hair that curled about his swarthy temples rarely; and a smile—a smile that bore out Meg's eulogium on his style of conversation.'—pp 16—29.

The conversation is here interrupted by the opening of the house-door, and the appearance of Alderman Cute,—evidently intended for a well-known city functionary,—and two other gentlemen. What ensues has a material influence on the course of the story, and is adapted to excite strong indignation against those who, under pretence of benefitting the poor, are their worst oppressors.

Toby is despatched by Alderman Cute with a letter to Sir Joseph Bowley, the type of a class who mistake professions of

kindness for its reality, and the payment of debts for the sum of human virtue. This letter, which was read in Toby's hearing, was to inform Sir Joseph, that one Will. Fern had come to London in search of employment; and to ask, whether it was his pleasure that the poor man should be detained as a vagabond. An affirmative reply was returned by the messenger, which, having been delivered at the house of Alderman Cute, Toby was returning home when he ran against some one, and was sent staggering into the street. What followed, is touchingly beautiful, and affords more than a glimpse of the virtues and sufferings of the poor.

'I beg your pardon, I'm sure!' said Trotty, pulling up his hat in great confusion, and between the hat and the torn lining, fixing his head into a kind of bee-hive. 'I hope I haven't hurt you.'

'As to hurting anybody, Toby was not such an absolute Samson, but that he was much more likely to be hurt himself: and indeed, he had flown out into the road like a shuttlecock. He had such an opinion of his own strength, however, that he was in real concern for the other party: and said again,

'I hope I haven't hurt you?'

The man against whom he had run; a sun-browned, sinewy, country looking man, with grizzled hair, and a rough chin; stared at him for a moment as if he suspected him to be in jest. But satisfied of his good faith, he answered:

'No friend. You have not hurt me.'

'Nor the child, I hope?' said Trotty.

'Nor the child,' returned the man. 'I thank you kindly.'

As he said so, he glanced at a little girl he carried in his arms, asleep; and shading her face with the long end of the poor handkerchief he wore about his throat, went slowly on.

The tone in which he said 'I thank you kindly,' penetrated Trotty's heart. He was so jaded and foot-sore, and so soiled with travel, and looked about him so forlorn and strange, that it was a comfort to him to be able to thank any one: no matter for how little. Toby stood gazing after him as he plodded wearily away; with the child's arm clinging round his neck.

At the figure in the worn shoes—now the very shade and ghost of shoes—rough leather leggings, common frock, and broad slouched hat, Trotty stood gazing: blind to the whole street. And at the child's arm, clinging round its neck.

Before he merged into the darkness, the traveller stopped; and looking round, and seeing Trotty standing there yet, seemed undecided whether to return or go on. After doing first the one and then the other, he came back; and Trotty went half way to meet him.

'You can tell me, perhaps,' said the man with a faint smile, 'and if you can I am sure you will, and I'd rather ask you than another—where Alderman Cute lives.'

'Close at hand,' replied Toby. 'I'll show you his house with pleasure.'

'I was to have gone to him elsewhere to-morrow,' said the man, accompanying Toby, 'but I'm uneasy under suspicion, and want to clear myself, and to be free to go and seek my bread—I don't know where. So may be he'll forgive my going to his house to-night.'

'It's impossible,' cried Toby with a start, 'that your name's Fern!'

'Eh!' cried the other, turning on him in astonishment.

'Fern! Will Fern!' said Trotty.

'That's my name,' replied the other.

'Why then,' cried Trotty, seizing him by the arm, and looking cautiously round, 'for Heaven's sake don't go to him! Don't go to him! He'll put you down as sure as ever you were born. Here! come up this alley, and I'll tell you what I mean. Don't go to *him*.'

'His new acquaintance looked as if he thought him mad; but he bore him company nevertheless. When they were shrouded from observation, Trotty told him what he knew, and what character he had received, and all about it.

'The subject of his history listened to it with a calmness that surprised him. He did not contradict or interrupt it, once. He nodded his head now and then—more in corroboration of an old and worn out story, it appeared, than in refutation of it; and once or twice threw back his hat, and passed his freckled hand over a brow, where every furrow he had ploughed seemed to have set its image in little. But he did no more.

'It's true enough in the main,' he said, 'master. I could sift grain from husk here and there, but let it be as 'tis. What odds? I have gone against his plans; to my misfortune. I can't help it; I should do the like to-morrow. As to character, them gentlefolks will search and search, and pry and pry, and have it as free from spot or speck in us, afore they'll help us to a dry good word! Well! I hope they don't lose good opinion as easy as we do, or their lives is strict indeed, and hardly worth the keeping. For myself, master, I never took with that hand'—holding it before him—'what wasn't my own; and never held it back from work, however hard, or poorly paid. Whoever can deny it, let him chop it off! But when work won't maintain me like a human creature; when my living is so bad, that I am hungry, out of doors and in; when I see a whole working life begin that way, go on that way, and end that way, without a chance or change; then I say to the gentlefolks 'Keep away from me! Let my cottage be. My doors is dark enough without your darkening of 'em more. Don't look for me to come up into the Park to help the show when there's a Birthday, or a fine speechmaking, or what not. Act your plays and games without me, and be welcome to 'em and enjoy 'em. We've nought to do with one another. I'm best let alone!'

'Seeing that the child in his arms had opened her eyes, and was looking about her in wonder, he checked himself to say a word or two of foolish prattle in her ear, and stand her on the ground beside him. Then slowly winding one of her long tresses round and round his rough forefinger like a ring, while she hung about his dusty leg, he said to Trotty.

‘ ‘ I’m not a cross-grained man by natur’, I believe; and easy satisfied, I’m sure. I bear no ill-will against none of ’em: I only want to live like one of the Almighty’s creeturs. I can’t, I don’t; and so there’s a pit dug between me and them that can and do. There’s others like me. You might tell ’em off by hundreds and by thousands, sooner than by ones.’

‘ Trotty knew he spoke the Truth in this, and shook his head to signify as much.

‘ ‘ I’ve got a bad name this way,’ said Fern; ‘and I’m not likely, I’m afeard, to get a better. ’Ta’nt lawful to be out of sorts, and I AM out of sorts, though God knows I’d sooner bear a cheerful spirit if I could. Well! I don’t know as this Alderman could hurt *me* much by sending me to gaol; but without a friend to speak a word for me, he might do it; and you see —!’ pointing downward with his finger at the child.

‘ ‘ She has a beautiful face,’ said Trotty.

‘ ‘ Why, yes!’ replied the other in a low voice, as he gently turned it up with both his hands towards his own, and looked upon it steadfastly. ‘ I’ve thought so, many times. I’ve thought so, when my hearth was very cold, and cupboard very bare. I thought so t’other night, when we were taken like two thieves. But they—they shouldn’t try the little face too often, should they, Lilian? That’s hardly fair upon a man!’

‘ He sunk his voice so low, and gazed upon her with an air so stern and strange, that Toby, to divert the current of his thoughts, inquired if his wife were living.

‘ ‘ I never had one,’ he returned, shaking his head, ‘She’s my brother’s child: an orphan. Nine year old, though you’d hardly think it; but she’s tired and worn out now. They’d have taken care on her, the Union; eight and twenty mile away from where we live; between four walls (as they took care of my old father when he couldn’t work no more, though he didn’t trouble ’em long); but I took her instead, and she’s lived with me ever since. Her mother had a friend once, in London here. We are trying to find her, and to find work too; but it’s a large place. Never mind. More room for us to walk about in Lilly!’

‘ Meeting the child’s eyes with a smile which melted Toby more than tears, he shook him by the hand.

‘ ‘ I don’t so much as know your name,’ he said, ‘but I’ve opened my heart free to you, for I’m thankful to you; with good reason. I’ll take your advice, and keep clear of this—’

‘ ‘ Justice,’ suggested Toby.

‘ ‘ Ah!’ he said, ‘If that’s the name they give him—this justice. And to-morrow we’ll try whether there’s better fortun’ to be met with somewheres near London. Good night. A happy New Year!’

‘ ‘ Stay!’ cried Trotty, catching at his hand, as he relaxed his grip, ‘Stay!’ The New Year never can be happy to me, if we part like this. The New Year never can be happy to me, if I see the child and you go wandering away you don’t know where, without a shelter for your heads. Come home with me! I’m a poor man, living in a poor place; but I can give you a lodging for one night, and never miss it.

Come home with me!' Here! I'll take her!' cried Trotty, lifting up the child. 'A pretty one! I'd carry twenty times her weight, and never know I'd got it. Tell me if I go too quick for you. I'm very fast. I always was!' Trotty said this, taking about six of his trotting paces to one stride of his fatigued companion; and with his thin legs quivering again, beneath the load he bore.

'Why, she's as light,' said Trotty, trotting in his speech as well as in his gait; for he couldn't bear to be thanked, and dreaded a moment's pause; 'as light as a feather. Lighter than a peacock's feather—a great deal lighter. Here we are, and here we go! Round this first turning to the right, Uncle Will, and past the pump, and sharp off up the passage to the left, right opposite the public-house. Here we are, and here we go. Cross over, Uncle Will, and mind the kidney pieman at the corner! Here we are and here we go! Down the Mews here, Uncle Will, and stop at the black door, with 'T. Veck, Ticket Porter' wrote upon a board; and here we are and here we go, and here we are indeed, my precious Meg, surprising you!'

'With which words Trotty, in a breathless state, set the child down before his daughter in the middle of the floor. The little visitor looked once at Meg; and doubting nothing in that face, but trusting everything she saw there; ran into her arms.

'Here we are and here we go!' cried Trotty, running round the room and choking audibly. 'Here! Uncle Will! Here's a fire you know! Why don't you come to the fire? Oh here we are and here we go! Meg, my precious darling, where's the kettle? Here it is and here it goes, and it'll bile in no time!'

'Trotty really had picked up the kettle somewhere or other in the course of his wild career, and now put it on the fire: while Meg, seating the child in a warm corner, knelt down on the ground before her, and pulled off her shoes, and dried her wet feet on a cloth. Aye, and she laughed at Trotty too—so pleasantly, so cheerfully, that Trotty could have blessed her where she knelt: for he had seen that, when they entered, she was sitting by the fire in tears.

'Why father!' said Meg. 'You're crazy to-night, I think. I don't know what the bells would say to that. Poor little feet. How cold they are!'

'Oh they're warmer now!' exclaimed the child. 'They're quite warm now!'

'No, no, no,' said Meg. 'We haven't rubbed 'em half enough. We're so busy. So busy! And when they're done, we'll brush out the damp hair; and when that's done, we'll bring some colour to the poor pale face with fresh water; and when that's done we'll be so gay, and brisk, and happy—!'

The child, in a burst of sobbing, clasped her round the neck; caressed her fair cheek with it's hand; and said, 'Oh Meg! oh dear Meg!'

'Toby's blessing could have done no more. Who could do more!'

'Why father!' cried Meg, after a pause.

'Here I am, and here I go, my dear,' said Trotty.

' ' Good gracious me ! ' cried Meg. ' He's crazy ! He's put the dear child's bonnet on the kettle, and hung the lid behind the door ! '

' ' I didn't go to do it, my love, ' said Trotty, hastily repairing this mistake. ' Meg, my dear ? '

' Meg looked towards him and saw that he had elaborately stationed himself behind the chair of their male visitor, where with many mysterious gestures he was holding up the sixpence he had earned.

' ' I see, my dear, ' said Trotty, ' as I was coming in, half an ounce of tea lying somewhere on the stairs ; and I'm pretty sure there was a bit of bacon too. As I don't remember where it was, exactly ; I'll go myself and try to find 'em. '

' With this inscrutable artifice, Toby withdrew to purchase the viands he had spoken of, for ready money, at Mrs. Chickenstalker's ; and presently came back, pretending that he had not been able to find them at first, in the dark. '—pp. 68—80.

The events of the day acted so powerfully on the imagination of the ticket-porter as to give a dark colouring to his dreams. He fell from the belfry, and was killed. The ominous and brutal predictions of Alderman Cute sowed suspicion between Meg and Richard, the latter became a confirmed drunkard, the former wore out her existence in squalid poverty, and then attempted to end it by suicide. The beauty of Lilian proved her ruin, and she died repentant yet wretched ; whilst her noble-hearted uncle, Will Fern, was reduced through successive steps to poverty, crime, and outlawry. One passage in the imaginative history of the last, we must quote as full of significance and truth. It speaks of the wrongs of the poor man in a strain from which wisdom may be learnt by statesmen. It was delivered on occasion of a festivity at Bowley Hall, in honour of Lady Bowley's birth-day. Many guests were assembled, and the tenantry of the baronet were admitted to the lower part of the hall.

' There had been some speeches made ; and Lady Bowley's health had been proposed ; and Sir Joseph Bowley had returned thanks ; and had made his great speech, showing by various pieces of evidence that he was the born Friend and Father, and so forth ; and had given as a Toast, his Friends and Children, and the Dignity of Labour ; when a slight disturbance at the bottom of the hall attracted Toby's notice. After some confusion, noise, and opposition, one man broke through the rest, and stood forward by himself.

' Not Richard. No. But one whom he had thought of, and had looked for, many times. In a scantier supply of light, he might have doubted the identity of that worn man, so old, and grey, and bent ; but with a blaze of lamps upon his gnarled and knotted head, he knew Will Fern as soon as he stepped forth.

' ' What is this ! ' exclaimed Sir Joseph, rising. ' Who gave this

man admittance? This is a criminal from prison! Mr. Fish, Sir, *will* you have the goodness—

‘‘A minute!’’ said Will Fern. ‘A minute! My Lady, you was born on this day along with a New Year. Get me a minute’s leave to speak.’

‘She made some intercession for him, and Sir Joseph took his seat again with native dignity.

‘The ragged visitor—for he was miserably dressed—looked round upon the company, and made his homage to them with a humble bow.

‘‘Gentlefolks!’’ he said. ‘You’ve drunk the Labourer. Look at me!’

‘‘Just come from jail,’’ said Mr. Fish.

‘‘Just come from jail,’’ said Will. ‘And neither for the first time, nor the second, nor the third, nor yet the fourth.’

‘Mr. Filer was heard to remark testily, that four times was over the average; and he ought to be ashamed of himself.

‘‘Gentlefolks!’’ repeated Will Fern. ‘Look at me! You see I’m at the worst. Beyond all hurt or harm; beyond your help: for the time when your kind words or kind actions could have done me good,’—he struck his hand upon his breast, and shook his head—‘is gone, with the scent of last year’s beans or clover, on the air. Let me say a word for these,’ pointing to the labouring people in the hall; ‘and, when you’re met together, hear the real Truth spoke out for once.’

‘There’s not a man here,’ said the host, ‘who would have him for a spokesman.’

‘‘Like enough, Sir Joseph. I believe it. Not the less true, perhaps, is what I say. Perhaps that’s a proof on it. Gentlefolks, I’ve lived many a year in this place. You may see the cottage from the sunk fence over yonder. I’ve seen the ladies draw it in their books a hundred times. It looks well in a picter, I’ve heerd say; but there a’nt weather in picters, and maybe ’tis fitter for that, than for a place to live in. Well! I lived there. How hard—how bitter hard, I lived there, I won’t say. Any day in the year, and every day, you can judge for your own selves.’

‘He spoke as he had spoken on the night when Trotty found him in the street. His voice was deeper and more husky, and had a trembling in it now and then; but he never raised it passionately, and seldom lifted it above the firm stern level of the homely facts he stated.

‘‘’Tis harder than you think for, gentlefolks, to grow up decent; commonly decent: in such a place. That I growed up a man and not a brute, says something for me—as I was then. As I am now, there’s nothing can be said for me or done for me. I’m past it.’

* * * * *

‘‘I dragged on,’ said Fern, after a moment’s silence,—‘Somehow. Neither me nor any other man knows how; but so heavy, that I couldn’t put a cheerful face upon it, or make believe that I was anything but what I was. Now, gentlemen—you gentlemen that sits at Sessions—when you see a man with discontent writ on his face, you says to one another, ‘He’s suspicious. I has my doubts,’ says you, ‘about Will Fern. Watch that fellow!’ I don’t say, gentlemen, it

ain't quite nat'ral; but I say 'tis so; and from that hour, whatever Will Fern does, or lets alone—all one—it goes against him.'

'Alderman Cute stuck his thumbs in his waistcoat-pockets, and leaning back in his chair, and smiling, winked at a neighbouring chandelier, as much as to say, 'Of course! I told you so. The common cry! Lord bless you, we are up to all this sort of thing—myself and human nature.'

'Now, gentlemen,' said Will Fern, holding out his hands, and flushing for an instant in his haggard face, 'See how your laws are made to trap and hunt us when we're brought to this. I tries to live elsewhere: and I'm a vagabond. To jail with him! I comes back here. I goes a nutting in your woods, and breaks—who don't—a limber branch or two. To jail with him! One of your keepers sees me in the broad day, near my own patch of garden, with a gun. To jail with him! I has a nat'ral angry word with that man when I'm free again. To jail with him! I cuts a stick. To jail with him! I eats a rotten apple or a turnip. To jail with him! It's twenty mile away; and coming back, I begs a trifle on the road. To jail with him! At last, the constable, the keeper—anybody—finds me any where, a doing anything. To jail with him, for he's a vagrant, and a jail-bird known; and jail's the only home he's got.'

'The Alderman nodded sagaciously, as who should say, 'A very good home too!'

'Do I say this to serve my cause!' cried Fern. 'Who can give me back my liberty? who can give me back my good name? who can give me back my innocent niece? Not all the Lords and Ladies in wide England. But gentlemen, gentlemen, dealing with other men like me, begin at the right end. Give us, in mercy, better homes when we're a lying in our cradles; give us better food when we're a working for our lives; give us kinder laws to bring us back when we're a going wrong; and don't set jail, jail, jail, afore us, everywhere we turn. There an't a condescension you can show the labourer then, that he won't take, as ready and as grateful as a man can be; for he has a patient, peaceful, willing heart. But you must put his rightful spirit in him first; for whether he's a wreck and ruin such as me, or is like one of them that stand here now, his spirit is divided from you at this time. Bring it back, gentlefolks, bring it back! Bring it back, afore the day comes when even his Bible changes in his altered mind, and the words seem to him to read, as they have sometimes read in my own eyes—in jail: 'Whither thou goest, I can Not go; where thou lodgest, I do Not lodge; thy people are Not my people; Nor thy God my God!'—pp. 117—124.

What a picture is here unfolded! and who shall say in how many cases the process described is perpetually going on! A vicious system has corrupted public feeling, and rendered us insensible to that which is passing before our eyes. But so it is; and even novelists can detect and expose the wrong done by our social system, whilst moral and religious men are insensible of the enormity, or heedless of its mischievous results.

We must indulge in one more extract. The father looks again upon his child, but, alas, how changed ! The buoyancy of her spirit is gone ; her bright eye is shaded, she is poor, half famished, and alone. Lillian has left her, and Richard, —but Mr. Dickens shall describe both.—

‘ The frame at which she had worked was put away upon a shelf, and covered up. The chair in which she had sat was turned against the wall. A history was written in these little things, and in Meg’s grief-worn face. Oh ! who could fail to read it ?

‘ Meg strained her eyes upon her work until it was too dark to see the threads ; and when the night closed in, she lighted her feeble candle and worked on. Still her old father was invisible about her ; looking down upon her ; loving her : how dearly loving her ! and talking to her in a tender voice about the old times, and the Bells. Though he knew, poor Trotty, though he knew she could not hear him.

‘ A great part of the evening had worn away when a knock came at her door. She opened it. A man was on the threshold. A slouching, moody, drunken, sloven : wasted by intemperance and vice : and with his matted hair and unshorn beard in wild disorder : but with some traces on him, too, of having been a man of good proportion and good features in his youth.

‘ He stopped until he had her leave to enter ; and she, retiring a pace or two from the open door, silently and sorrowfully looked upon him. Trotty had his wish : he saw Richard.

‘ ‘ May I come in, Margaret ? ’

‘ ‘ Yes ! Come in. Come in ! ’

‘ It was well that Trotty knew him before he spoke ; for with any doubt remaining on his mind, the harsh discordant voice would have persuaded him that it was not Richard, but some other man.

‘ There were but two chairs in the room. She gave him hers, and stood at some short distance from him, waiting to hear what he had to say.

‘ He sat, however, staring vacantly at the floor ; with a lustreless and stupid smile. A spectacle of such deep degradation, of such abject hopelessness, of such a miserable downfall, that she put her hands before her face and turned away, lest he should see how much it moved her.

‘ Roused by the rustling of her dress, or some such trifling sound, he lifted his head, and began to speak as if there had been no pause since he entered.

‘ ‘ Still at work, Margaret ? You work late.’

‘ ‘ I generally do.’

‘ ‘ And early ? ’

‘ ‘ And early.’

‘ ‘ So she said. She said you never tired ; or never owned that you tired. Not all the time you lived together. Not even when you fainted, between work and fasting. But I told you that, the last time I came.’

‘ ‘ You did,’ she answered. ‘ And I implored you to tell me nothing

more; and you made me a solemn promise, Richard, that you never would.'

'A solemn promise,' he repeated, with a drivelling laugh and vacant stare. 'A solemn promise. To be sure. A solemn promise!' Awakening, as it were, after a time; in the same manner as before; he said, with sudden animation,

'How can I help it, Margaret? What am I to do? She has been to me again!'

'Again!' cried Meg, clasping her hands. 'Oh, does she think of me so often! Has she been again!'

'Twenty times again,' said Richard. 'Margaret, she haunts me. She comes behind me in the street, and thrusts it in my hand. I hear her foot upon the ashes when I'm at my work (ha, ha! that an't often), and before I can turn my head, her voice is in my ear, saying, 'Richard, don't look round. For heaven's love, give her this!' She brings it where I live; she sends it in letters; she taps at the window and lays it on the sill. What *can* I do? Look at it!'

'He held out in his hand a little purse, and chinked the money it enclosed.

'Hide it,' said Meg. 'Hide it! When she comes again, tell her, Richard, that I love her in my soul. That I never lie down to sleep, but I bless her, and pray for her. That in my solitary work, I never cease to have her in my thoughts. That she is with me, night and day. That if I died to-morrow, I would remember her with my last breath. But that I cannot look upon it!'

'He slowly recalled his hand, and crushing the purse together, said with a kind of drowsy thoughtfulness—

'I told her so. I told her so, as plain as words could speak. I've taken this gift back and left it at her door, a dozen times since then. But when she came at last, and stood before me, face to face, what could I do?'

'You saw her!' exclaimed Meg. 'You saw her! Oh, Lilian, my sweet girl! Oh, Lilian, Lilian!'

'I saw her,' he went on to say, not answering, but engaged in the same slow pursuit of his own thoughts. 'There she stood: trembling! How does she look, Richard? Does she ever speak of me? Is she thinner? My old place at the table: what's in my old place? And the frame she taught me our old work on—has she burnt it, Richard! There she was. I heard her say it.'

'Meg checked her sobs, and, with the tears streaming from her eyes, bent over him to listen. Not to lose a breath.

'With his arms resting on his knees, and stooping forward in his chair, as if what he said were written on the ground in some half legible character, which it was his occupation to decipher and connect; he went on.

'Richard, I have fallen very low; and you may guess how much I have suffered in having this sent back, when I can bear to bring it in my hand to you. But you loved her once, even in my memory, dearly. Others stepped in between you; fears, and jealousies, and doubts, and vanities, estranged you from her; but you did love her, even in my

memory !' I suppose I did,' he said, interrupting himself for a moment. 'I did ! That's neither here nor there. 'Oh Richard, if you ever did; if you have any memory for what is gone and lost, take it to her once more. Once more ! Tell her how I begged and prayed. Tell her how I laid my head upon your shoulder, where her own head might have lain, and was so humble to you, Richard. Tell her that you looked into my face, and saw the beauty which she used to praise, all gone : all gone : and in its place, a poor, wan, hollow cheek, that she would weep to see. Tell her everything, and take it back, and she will not refuse again. She will not have the heart !'

'So he sat musing, and repeating the last words, until he woke again, and rose.

'You won't take it, Margaret ?'

'She shook her head, and motioned an entreaty to him to leave her.

'Good night, Margaret.'

'Good night !'

He turned to look upon her ; struck by her sorrow, and perhaps by the pity for himself which trembled in her voice. It was a quick and rapid action ; and for the moment some flash of his old bearing kindled in his form. In the next he went as he had come. Nor did this glimmer of a quenched fire seem to light him to a quicker sense of his debasement.

'In any mood, in any grief, in any torture of the mind or body, Meg's work must be done. She sat down to her task, and plied it. Night, midnight. Still she worked.

'She had a meagre fire, the night being very cold ; and rose at intervals to mend it. The Chimes rang half-past twelve while she was thus engaged ; and when they ceased she heard a gentle knocking at the door. Before she could so much as wonder who was there, at that unusual hour, it opened.

'Oh Youth and Beauty, happy as ye should be, look at this ! Oh Youth and Beauty, blest and blessing all within your reach, and working out the ends of your Beneficent Creator, look at this !

'She saw the entering figure ; screamed its name ; cried 'Lilian !'

'It was swift, and fell upon its knees before her : clinging to her dress.

'Up, dear ! Up ! Lilian ! My own dearest !'

'Never more, Meg ; never more ! Here ! Here ! Close to you, holding to you, feeling your dear breath upon my face !'

'Sweet Lilian ! Darling Lilian ! Child of my heart—no mother's love can be more tender—lay your head upon my breast !'

'Never more, Meg. Never more ! When I first looked into your face, you knelt before me. On my knees before you, let me die. Let it be here !'

'You have come back. My Treasure ! We will live together, work together, hope together, die together !'

'Ah ! Kiss my lips, Meg ; fold your arms about me ; press me to your bosom ; look kindly on me ; but don't raise me. Let it be here. Let me see the last of your dear face upon my knees !'

'Oh Youth and Beauty, happy as ye should be look at this ! Oh

Youth and Beauty, working out the ends of your Beneficent Creator, look at this !

‘ ‘ Forgive me, Meg ! So dear, so dear ! Forgive me ! I know you do, I see you do, but say so, Meg ! ’

‘ She said so, with her lips on Lilian’s cheek. And with her arms twined round—she knew it now—a broken heart.

‘ ‘ His blessing on you, dearest love. Kiss me once more ! He suffered her to sit beside his feet, and dry them with her hair. Oh Meg, what Mercy and Compassion ! ’

‘ As she died, the Spirit of the child returning, innocent and radiant, touched the old man with its hand, and beckoned him away.’—pp. 124—134.

Our young readers must not imagine that the tale ends thus wretchedly. Toby suddenly awakes to the happiness and festivity of a new-year’s wedding-day, and all the dramatis personæ are disposed of just as a kind heart would have them be.

We need not recommend the volume, as Mr. Dickens’s name will have sent it to the extremities of the kingdom before our pages are read. The *illustrations* are exceedingly appropriate, and are skilfully executed ; and the ‘ getting up ’ of the volume is tasteful and elegant.

Art. VII. 1. *Denkschrift der homiletischen und Katechetischen Seminarium der Universität zu Jena vom Jahre 1824. Unter Auktorität der theologischen Facultät herausgegeben.* Von Dr. H. A. Schott, Prof. der Theologie, Director des homilet. Seminariums und des Academ. Gotsdienstes. Jena, 1824. [Memoir of the Homiletical and Catechetical Seminary of the University of Jena, for the year 1824. Edited, under the authority of the Theological faculty, by Dr. H. A. Schott, Professor of Theology, and Director of the Homiletical Seminary and of the Academical Divine Services. Jena, 1824.]

2. *Die Bedeutsamkeit des evangelisch-theologischen Seminares in Wirtemberg, und die Frage über das Rathsame seiner Aufhebung oder Schmälerung, beleuchtet,* von Dr. J. C. F. Steudel. Tübingen, 1827. [The Importance of the Wirtemberg Seminary for Evangelical Theology, and the question of the advisableness of suppressing or reducing it, illustrated by Dr. J. C. F. Steudel. Tübingen, 1827.]

3. *Ueber Predigerseminarien. Mit Berücksichtigung der zu Herborn, Loccum und Wittenberg vorhandenen, und in Bezug auf die Errichtung eines solchen im Grossherzogthum Baden.* Von Th. W. Dittenberger, Litentiaten und Privat-docenten der Theologie an der Universität zu Heidelberg. Heidelberg, 1835. [On Seminaries for Preachers,

- with reference to those now existing at Herborn, Loccum, and Wittenberg, and the establishment of a similar one in the Grand Duchy of Baden. By Th. W. Dittenberger, &c., &c.]
4. *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten. Mit einem Vorworte, enthaltend: Acht Tage im Seminar von St. Euseb. in Rom.* Von Dr. Augustin Theiner. Mainz 1835. [see next work.]
 5. *Histoire des Institutions d'Education Ecclesiastique.* Par Augustin Theiner, traduit de l'Allemand par Jean Cohen, Bibliothécaire à St. Geneviève, Paris, 1841. [In two volumes.]
 - 6, 7. *Assemblée Générale de la Société Evangélique de Genève.* 5^{ème} anniversaire. Genève, 1836. 6^{ème} anniversaire. Genève, 1837.
 8. *Outline of the Course of Study pursued by the Students of the Theological Seminary, Andover, in the department of Christian Theology, with references to the principal books in the library, pertaining to that department, for the use of the Students.* Andover, 1830.
 9. *Laws of the Cincinnati Law Seminary.* Cincinnati. [No date.]
 10. *Plan of the New York Theological Seminary, founded on the 18th of Jan. A.D. 1836.* New York, 1837.
 11. *Laws for the government of the Protestant Dissenting College, at Hmerton.* Hackney, 1831.
 12. *Circular of the College Committee, appointed by the Commission of Synod of the Presbyterian Churches in England (professing the principles of the Free Church of Scotland) for the establishment of a Theological Seminary in London.* London, 1844.
 13. *Congregational Magazine for Dec. 1844.* [Document relating to the Congregational Theological Colleges of England and Wales, presented to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, at their 6th autumnal session, held at Norwich, Oct. 15th and 16th, 1844, and ordered to be printed.]

THE array of books and documents here enumerated, the dates of some of them, and the nature of others, will already have suggested to many of our readers that the object of this article is not so much to draw attention to their literary character, as to make use of them in connection with the present movement of the Congregational Union respecting their theological schools. That there is such a movement we are devoutly thankful to Him who has the hearts of all men in his hands; and we shall look, with no small interest, for some effect from it upon our Baptist brethren, believing that the moral strength and influence of both denominations, and, consequently, the cause of that 'one faith' which we believe in common, would be considerably advanced by a judicious advance in this direction. That our colleges have hitherto received far less attention than they require or deserve, is a proposition which, though it will probably be questioned by some, can be satisfactorily proved.

It arises, partly, from causes which may be considered accidental; but is probably still more the result of wilful ignorance and prejudice.

The first and most obvious cause of this neglect (accidental, perhaps, as respects the ordinary members of our body, but not so as respects those whose duty it has been to urge the claims of our colleges upon our people), has been the want of any regular and efficient advocacy of their object, necessity and claims. The other hindrances are still more painful to mention. Of these the first and greatest, doubtless has been, the wilful ignorance which has existed among our people on the subject. That such ignorance receives any countenance from the principles of Congregationalism, in the larger acceptation of the term, we cannot for a moment admit. That these principles recognize the utter worthlessness of human learning without the teaching of the divine Spirit is indeed true; it is also true that they recognize the sufficiency of that teaching to qualify for some of the most essential relative duties of believers to each other: but they by no means recognize the sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching, as it is imparted to private individuals to discover to them the way of salvation, and *as it is distinguished from the teaching granted, in the first age of the church, for public purposes*, to qualify for all the duties of the christian ministry: neither do they take for granted, that there are such promises of *official* grace, in the form of special spiritual gift, as will justify pastors, teachers, or evangelists, in relying on the Spirit's teaching only without private diligence and study. It is also well known by those who have any knowledge on the subject, that the restorers of primitive independency were many of them among the most diligent and successful students of the very literature which it is the object of our colleges to promote; that the scholarship of Ainsworth, in the commencement of the seventeenth century, was worthily followed up by that of Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, Clarkson, Howe, and others, towards the close of it; and that the learning as well as the ability of the dissenting brethren (as the Independents were called) in the Westminster Synod, was the admiration of the whole assembly. The distrust of literature, which we sorrowfully admit has since appeared, here and there, in the Congregational body, is neither the consistent result of Congregational principles, nor the reproach of its more influential or useful ministers. It is in part the natural consequence of those difficulties which the laws of our country put in the way of non-conformist learning, by excluding dissenters from the national universities; and, for a time, forbidding them even to teach in any public or private school. On this subject, the document read at the Norwich meeting gives some curious information;

as it does, also, respecting the means employed, after the Revolution, to preserve in our ministry that literary proficiency for which the Independents of the ejection period were so honourably distinguished. The value of these means, inferior as it must be admitted they were to those at our command now, was evinced in the character and usefulness of the ministers they helped to produce. To such comparatively private academies we are indebted, in part, for Watts, Doddridge, and all the most valuable ministers who adorned the first half of the eighteenth century, and whose number would have been far greater, had not the difficulty of obtaining competent tutors, and the expense of providing for the maintenance of all their different institutions, which dissenters have always had to bear, in addition to the various charges levied on them in common with others, for the support of the national establishment, been too great for the times. Hence the academies, being one step further removed from the sympathies and affections of the people than the existing ministry was, were far too much neglected; and those which have depended upon voluntary contributions, have at times had a very precarious subsistence. To this, however, another cause has, since the rise of methodism, in some degree contributed. It pleased God in that age of revival, to call out, in his providence, from the masses, various individuals who were endowed with remarkable gifts for addressing the multitudes on the great concerns of eternity; and it has required no small amount of experimental proof to convince the bulk of such as received their first impressions of divine things under an uneducated ministry, that the gifts which were adapted to awaken sinners were, in the order of means, insufficient for the permanent and growing edification of the church. Indeed, this is just the lesson those have yet to learn who are opposed to the education of the ministry. They suppose that the modicum of gifts which sufficed for the itinerant ministry of Whitefield's zealous companions, will carry a man honourably through all the duties of a stationary pastorate; that the knowledge which enabled the methodists of the last century to meet the various prejudices and objections of that shallow age would be found sufficient to meet all the emergencies and demands of this. Preposterous and lamentable delusion!

There is, we are sorry to say, one other cause by which the prejudice we have just attempted to expose has for some years past been confirmed. This is the unwarrantable manner in which our academical institutions have been, *and still are*, spoken of by some who have been invested with the sacred office among us. These persons are for the most part incompetent ministers, who having disgracefully neglected their acade-

mical advantages, and being confirmed in indolence by their inability to build upon the poor foundation which they laid at college, have made a shameful failure of it ever since, and strive to hide their shame by charging their incompetency upon the institution whose bread they eat, but whose work they did not do. These men are known by another sign; their jealousy and dread of students. There are too many colleges, forsooth. Why? Because the time is come, when those who are driven from one station for incompetency, find it hard to obtain another. The churches will not have those who have been tried and found wanting, when there is a fresh supply of hopeful students. There are instances, we know, of worthy men who have found the same difficulty of re-settlement, and therefore we earnestly beg that our description may be applied to those only to whom it manifestly belongs; but these '*murmurers, complainers*,' as Jude called those who had '*crept in unawares*' in his day, may be known by their fruits; and this is their description,—'they are clouds without water, carried about of winds; trees, whose fruit withereth, without fruit; . . . raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; *wandering stars*.' But as their occupation goes, their credit will go with it, and we trust that this evil will soon be numbered with the things that have been.

The foreign publications we have named above attest the interest which theological seminaries have excited, of late years, throughout Europe and America. The Roman apostasy, the Lutheran and Calvinistic, (or, to adopt their own designations, the Evangelical and Reformed communions), the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of America, are represented in the works enumerated. We must, in this article, content ourselves with those incidental notices of them which our object shall require. The work of Theiner is on the whole the most remarkable; being curious in respect both of the subject and the author. It is the supererogatory quarantine of a Romanist, who had fallen under the censure of the apostolic see, after his return and reconciliation, and who has detailed in a preface extending to several sheets, the successive steps of his conversion. We relinquish that preface now, with the intention to return to it in an early number. The editor's advertisement to the French translation, which informs us that it had previously appeared in Italian, contains, however, a summary of the original work, which will serve at once to inform our readers of the general contents and character of the book, and introduce the matter we shall then wish to lay before them. 'Without pretending to criticise the work here,' say they,—

'We shall be permitted to say that it will interest and even instruct all who may peruse it. In fact, it abounds in curious details; it relates in succession all the efforts, varying with the exigences of the times, which popes, the holiest bishops, councils, nay, the whole church, have unceasingly made to give a solid and various training to her ministers, at the same time that she was forming them to severity of manners, and a heroic devotion to the christian priesthood.

'In this narrative great glory redounds to the African church of the first ages, and to St. Augustine,—to St. Augustine, whose virtues and intelligence now live again in another pontiff* set over the same region.

'But the great Bishop of Hippo is no more; and soon the African episcopacy, persecuted and broken down by death and exile, sends to Europe several of her members, who seem to escape persecution only to endow us with the holy institutions † which had been first developed in their dioceses. God grant that they may now be restored in flourishing condition to the places where they had their birth!

'The epoch of Charlemagne is also very memorable in the history of ecclesiastical institutions †; a prominent place is therefore given to it in Dr. Theiner's work. We follow with a lively interest Boniface, the great and prodigious Boniface, Boniface and the other apostles who evangelise Germany with him. They are at once masters, missionaries, and confessors of the truth. Disciples flock around them, hear their instructions, and accompany them in their labours. They are walking seminaries, seminaries quite apostolical, schools in which one learns and preaches at the same time, in which one gives himself to prayer, and dies for the faith of Jesus Christ.

'Ecclesiastical seminaries then decline for a season, it is the era in which universities are founded and enlarged; they absorb, so to speak, all education.

'But the Jesuits, St. Charles Borroniceo, the Cardinal of Berulla, St. Vincent de Paul, and the venerable M. Ollier, apply themselves, with the approbation and under the direction of the Roman pontiffs, to revive the ancient institutions for theological education everywhere. The Council of Trent confirms or determines all these holy and glorious efforts.

'Dr. Theiner's work appears then to be very complete. He brings down the history of the establishments for ecclesiastical education from the commencement of the church to our own days.

'We wish it, however, to be observed, that it seems to us, that in such a book St. Dominick and St. Francis—the institutions which these great men created, and which have exercised so great an influence over

* The newly consecrated prelate of Algeria. It will not escape the notice of the intelligent reader, that in this and the following sentences he is reading the words of a Frenchman, whose vanity is interested in connecting the glories of the Gallicano-Roman hierarchy with the successes of the French arms, and the extension of the French power on the coast of Africa.—*Rev.*

† *i.e.*, seminaries: this is what is meant, though we have thought right in our translation to adhere to the word in the original.—*Rev.*

the scientific and moral education of the clergy, deserved a more extended mention.

'We also regret that Dr. Theiner has excluded, if we may so say, the eastern church from his researches.

* * * * *

'As to the rest,—Dr. Theiner, following the custom of German authors, has enriched his work with numerous and very interesting notes, as well as with many confirmatory documents (*pièces justificatives*) which everybody will be glad to read.

'Among these documents there are bulls of sovereign pontiffs for the institution and improvement of different seminaries, particularly of the German college at Rome. These are accompanied by an immense and noble list of all the celebrated men who have come forth from this great and glorious school of the Jesuits.

'The contemporaneous resuscitation of the catholic university of Louvain should also have found a place there.

'For our own part, we have added the beautiful pastoral instruction of the Archbishop of Paris, published this very year for the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical conferences and the institution of a faculty of theology. This 'instruction' has met with neither censure nor opposition; it has been well received by all; it has been the object of universal commendation.'

We have lately been compelled by the most mysterious,—we may say disastrous,—events which have transpired in the South Seas, to see to it that papal Jesuitry does not supplant our Protestant missions throughout the whole Pacific; what have we now to say to these demonstrations of the new life infused into the ecclesiastical seminaries of Rome? Speaking as Congregationalists, whose boast is to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and confining our view to the efforts of the papacy abroad, and of the various parties in the national hierarchy at home, it would seem scarcely too much to say that the world was up in arms against the cause we have at heart. And it is certainly true, that if we would not be worsted, we must, under God, revise and strengthen our own institutions. Things, however, are not quite so bad as would be inferred from this restricted view; and the presbyterian churches in particular have given unequivocal tokens as well of their growing attachment to the cause of christian liberty, as of their zeal in the defence of the gospel. To the latter cause we owe the establishment of the seminary conducted by Professors Gaussen, Galland, and D'Aubigné at Geneva, under the auspices of the 'Evangelical Society' of that city; and to the former, that coming out of the 'free church' from the national establishment of Scotland, of which we are to reap the fruit in England, in the institution of a new presbyterian college in London, under the sanction of the Commission of Synod, appointed by

the presbyterian church in England; which holds the principles of the free church of Scotland. What will be the immediate result of the recent ecclesiastical convocation in Prussia, it is yet impossible to foresee; but that its ultimate issue will be favourable to the cause of truth and liberty we have no doubt whatever. Altogether the signs of the times are such as to shew that the Congregational Union could not have done a better thing at this juncture of affairs, than draw attention to our colleges; and with this conviction, we must, in fairness say, that wisdom and good feeling have never, to our knowledge, been better exemplified in any public arrangements, than in those for the projected conference. The conductors of this delicate business, have acted with the most transparent honour. They have assumed no authority, they have invaded no rights; and when the conference is held, but one sentiment, we are persuaded, will be expressed by the representatives of all our colleges on this subject. We must now invite attention to the document submitted to the Norwich meeting; and those 'points,' as since published by the committee of the Union in the Congregational Magazine for December, 'on the practical working of the colleges,' which they think may advantageously be considered by the conference.

The first mentioned paper opens with a very lucid and interesting historical survey of our existing institutions. This is followed by a series of statements, suggestions, and inquiries, in ten sections, respecting,—I. The relation between the demand and supply of academical candidates for the ministry; II. The methods of approving and admitting candidates into our colleges; III. The propriety of the uniform course of training generally adopted in our colleges; IV. The propriety of restricting the time of residence in our colleges by fixed laws; V. The sufficiency of the instruction imparted to our students concerning our 'church principles;' VI. The local position of our colleges, and the proportion their students bear to the surrounding population, and the churches of our faith and order; VII. The amount of interest taken by our students in the missionary work that is to be done at home; VIII. The vigilance and influence exercised to advance the personal religion, social usefulness, and public acceptance of the students; IX. The financial difficulties which affect our colleges, and proposals for their relief; X. The manner in which the student passes from the college to the full exercise of his public ministry, and the fellowship of his ministerial brethren.

If it has appeared unnecessary to recite the particulars of a document which was not only read before a public meeting of ministers and messengers of churches, but has since been for a

month in the hands of the readers of the Congregational Magazine, we shall only say, that this paper is the basis of all that is now in progress for the advancement of our theological institutions. We differ from one or two particular opinions which are expressed in it, but do not hesitate to say, that, if properly followed up, it will be regarded, in succeeding times, as the spring of one of the most important and beneficial movements which our body ever made. We heartily concur, and believe that, before this, the great majority of the readers of the Congregational Magazine have concurred, in Mr. James's declaration at the Norwich meeting, that a more important or valuable document had never been submitted to the Union, and that the denomination was deeply indebted to the brother who had drawn it up.

Of the ten particulars above specified, the second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, and tenth have been selected for consideration at the proposed conference. The first, it will be obvious, was a subject for the churches generally to consider ; while the sixth and eighth belong rather to individual colleges, and the seventh to the students under education. Besides, however, the six questions selected from Mr. Blackburn's paper, and which are marked 6, 4, 7, 8, 11, and 5, in the programme of 'points' we have referred to, this programme comprises five additional ones. 1. 'Plans to secure adequate preparatory training for young brethren to whom it is needful, so that they may enter the colleges qualified for their studies and advantages ; and so that the committees might uniformly require a specified advance in learning as an essential qualification for entrance.' 2. 'Arrangements to reserve at least the latter two years of the collegiate course, in all instances, principally for theological and cognate studies ; and in particular to prevent efforts for literary honours from being ever prolonged into those two years.' 3. 'Some effectual method for retaining the students in the colleges during the full term appointed.' 9. 'Whether, in some of the colleges, young men of approved character, not intended for the ministry, might not be received, with many advantages, to unite with the ministerial students in branches of study common to both.' 10. 'The desirableness of a central committee of correspondence among the various colleges in matters of concernment common to them all, such as plans of finance, openings for the settlement of students in the pastoral office, etc. ; such central committee being formed of representatives appointed by the committee of the several colleges.'

When we commenced this article, it was our intention to have given our thoughts, in brief, upon some of the arrangements proposed in these documents. On consideration, we have

determined to defer these remarks till our February or March number: we think it more respectful to the conference to avoid anything which might have the appearance of a desire to dictate to it, or forestall its deliberations. We shall therefore, with one exception, confine ourselves, in the remainder of this article, to a few considerations which affect not so much the arrangements which are proposed, as some which now exist. The exception, we intend, relates to point 10, recited in the last paragraph, and we make the exception because we think that that proposal involves a fallacy. It suggests the desirableness of a central committee of correspondence among the various colleges on matters of concernment *common to them all*, and then specifies as one of these matters, 'openings for the settlement of students in the pastoral office.' Now we should have thought it as plain as that two and two make four, that the settlement of students in the pastoral office cannot by any possibility be a matter of common concernment to the colleges. Strictly speaking it is no college concern at all. Colleges do not even educate but on the recommendation, conveyed in some form or other, of churches; and the churches which sanction a youth's desire to devote himself to the ministry, and especially when they do not merely sanction, but excite that desire, are, of all parties, those on whom it most properly devolves to introduce their candidate to active service. Tutors and committees having indeed, from circumstances, a more extensive knowledge than others of the state of congregations in their vicinity, and being usually thrown into closer connection with destitute congregations, often have it in their power to recommend a student to occupy a vacant charge, and are very frequently requested to do so. But in every such case their influence arises principally from the conviction which the churches have of their knowledge of the individuals they recommend; and in the absence of such knowledge, or its supposed absence, they would have no more weight than any other persons. It is therefore impossible that the colleges should make this a matter of common interest. Their interest in those they recommend is and must be personal, and the influence they have with the churches arises mainly from the conviction that it is so, and that it is, at the same time, both an honest interest, and the interest of those who have had familiar opportunities of knowing the persons in whose favour they exert themselves.

Among the suggestions in the preceding documents, to which no exception, we imagine, can reasonably be taken, there are two which we shall notice here, because they have been anticipated either in the working or the theory of some of our colleges. The first is the proposal that 'the last two years of the

collegiate course should be reserved, in all instances, principally for theological and cognate studies; and that efforts for literary honours shall not be prolonged into those two years.' It speaks for itself, that it has been impossible, hitherto, to act upon this regulation. It is only four years, or a little more, since any of our colleges were connected with the University of London by the Queen's warrant. The students who have since taken their B.A. or M.A. had, therefore, most of them either already entered upon their more immediately theological studies, or entered upon them soon after. It was impossible in their case to forbid their reading for their degrees simultaneously with their prosecution of their theological studies, unless they were denied altogether the privilege of taking degrees: all the colleges, therefore, whose students have graduated, have permitted this, in itself, undesirable consociation of studies. That it, however, was a concession to necessity, and not a precedent for all times, at least in some of our colleges, we can show from the printed regulations of one now lying before us. These regulations (we quote from a report printed nearly two years and a half ago) having prescribed that candidates applying for admission to the theological course only, [there being in this college a previous general course,] shall be examined in the Hebrew of Genesis, or the Psalms, and all the books and subjects included in the B.A. pass-examination of the University of London, excepting chemistry, physiology, botany, and modern languages, the following note is appended to the regulations: 'as the rule of — college is, that no student shall be permitted to go up for his B.A. degree later than the *first B.A. examination*, which occurs after his admission to the theological course, [this brings it within six weeks of his admission to the course,] the eighth regulation is necessary to equalize the conditions of admission to that course, in the case of candidates who have pursued their general studies elsewhere, with those required of the students of this college graduating in the university.' Under this regulation students who have matriculated in the university since their admission into the college have, though their attainments are superior, been kept three years in the general course that they might take their B.A. degree in the *first term* of their theological course, and one whose wish to enter the college was known for a twelvemonth, perhaps, before, was not encouraged to apply for admission till his B.A. degree had been taken. The object of these arrangements was of course to secure the chief attention of students to their theological studies after they have entered their theological course; and this object is still further secured by the committee having since given the sanction of a law to a suggestion before thrown out by the

tutors, that every student who takes his B.A. degree shall be expected to go up the following year for the certificate of theological proficiency, unless there is any sufficient reason preventing it; and that no student shall, under any circumstances, be allowed to go up for the M.A. degree, (which must in any case be taken nearly two years before he leaves the college,) unless he have obtained that certificate.

The second suggestion we referred to is, the one recommending that, in certain cases, 'a further term of residence and study in college should be allowed after the completion of the usual curriculum.' This, also, is thus anticipated in a document published six years and a half ago by one of our colleges. 'For the encouragement of biblical and theological learning, and, especially, to preserve their students during the last and most valuable year of their theological course from unnecessary distraction of mind, or undue anxiety with regard to their future settlement, it is in the contemplation of the committee to grant to such of them as may, at the close of the usual term of study, be either conscientiously desirous of further improvement, or from circumstances involving no discredit to their character or talents, may have no immediate prospect of a ministerial engagement, permission to reside in the college for one, or even two additional sessions without charge, for the purpose of continuing their studies with the advantage of the tutors' advice and of the college library. To guard this privilege from abuse, it will, however, in no instance be granted, unless the student have preserved an unblemished character for piety and the consecrated use of his talents, have obtained first class testimonials at the two preceding examinations, and his application to the committee be sanctioned by the concurrent recommendation of his tutors.' The reasons of this provision are, it is true, somewhat different from those which suggested the proposal in the paper of the Union, but the coincidence in other respects is rather remarkable. It must be admitted, also, that the privilege has never actually been conferred: but it is also a fact that it has not been wanted. No student has yet completed his course who has not been appointed to a charge, either before he left the college, or within a few months of his so doing.

So far our remarks, with one exception, have involved no dissatisfaction with any statement or suggestion in these papers. We must now make one small complaint. It was stated by several ministers at the Norwich meeting that the representation given in the paper then read, respecting the neglect of our church principles in our colleges, was not correct, so far as the colleges they were connected with were concerned, and that the alleged indifference of the tutors to those principles was not a

fact. Yet the assertion, a mild one certainly, is repeated without mitigation or exception. Our friend Mr. Blackburn's honesty in the matter is undoubtedly sheltered by his having reported in their place the explanations given at Norwich. But then up comes the charge again in number eight of the other paper! We fear that the effect of this will be to authenticate the previous complaint, which, as a *universal* one, was, to our own knowledge, made in ignorance of the facts.

And here we shall for the present pause, wishing the expected conference that wisdom which is profitable to direct. We hope to resume the topic when the result of their deliberations shall have been made public. Meanwhile, as we have left almost untouched several very instructive foreign publications named at the head of this article, we propose to give a bibliographical account of them and of their contents in our February number, in preparation for our subsequent prosecution of the subjects opened in this article.

Art. VII. *The League, Nos. 58 to 62.*

THE advocates of Free Trade have not unfrequently been branded with opprobrious epithets, and classed among the most selfish worshippers of mammon. Cotton Lords and the Millocracy, who trade in the thews and sinews of the operative classes, and inflict on white victims a slavery more odious than negro bondage, are terms and representations in common use with the partisans of monopoly? Contemptuous sneers about utilitarian philosophy and the iron-heartedness of political economy, malthusian theories, and rural emigrations; for a while served instead of arguments or refutation. Queen's letter collections, charity balls and subscriptions, were played off against manufacturers and commerce; agricultural prizes and dinners, farming premiums and lectures on the improvements of husbandry, breeding cattle and land allotments, were placed in contrast with the machinery, and labour of cotton mills.

The county meetings held by free traders, the investigation of the condition of the rural peasantry, the descriptions given by eye-witnesses, and from the lips of yeomen farmers, in 'the League,' and at the crowded assemblies of Covent Garden; the details proved and proclaimed of the wages of farm labourers, their pauperised and famished families, served for other purposes than retaliation—they prepared the country

to understand the origin of incendiary conflagrations in the rural districts, whilst they increased discontent among the misguided and victimised agriculturists. They have placed in contrast the wages of the labourer, who toils on the land, and of the operative who works out the purposes of the manufacturer; shewing that the ordinary weekly income of the farming workman, whether in the East or West, in Suffolk or in Wilts, does not exceed eight shillings, with but few additions of juvenile or female industry: while the average wages of the younger factory workers equals the farming man, and that of the skilled artisan excel the gains of the tenant farmer. The sympathy and zeal of the Anti-Corn Law leaguers for the reduced and starving mechanic in 1842 was imputed to selfishness and avarice; and ungenerous attempts were made to identify the capitalist manufacturer with the desperate and fitful struggles of the maddened victims of misgovernment and monopoly. Calmly, however, and with deliberation did the confederate free-traders urge their principles, and plead the cause of commerce and the sacred claims of the people. They demanded not eleemosynary contributions, nor the niggard dole of an ostentatious charity, but the administration of justice, the rights of industry, and the equal privileges of the constitution for all classes.

More recently they have established their title to the distinction of *farmers' friends* and the *peasants' benefactors*. Though they deemed it incumbent to prove that a diminution, to the number of 40,000, occurred in farming occupiers and labourers between 1831 and 1841, not because agriculture was without *adequate protection*; and have appealed to the facts, that foreign corn only came in when provision was at famine prices; and that low prices were occasioned only by fruitful seasons at home; they have demonstrated that the farmer's distress is caused by exorbitant rents, fixed according to a scale of prices much higher than he actually obtains for his produce; while his system of cultivation is adapted only to high prices—hence the deterioration of the labourers' condition. They have accurately stated the question thus:—'The owners of land passed a law intended to procure a fixed price for the produce of that land, and they let their fields to their tenants on an estimate of the average produce sold in the market, at the supposed fixed price. *Rent*, however, was the only thing fixed; since price is a matter beyond legislative controul, and finds its average in the market from the proportion of demand and supply.' This position they have established from the statements made in the '*Occupations Report*,' which clearly proves that the corn law system affords protection neither to labourer nor farmer—since it shews that hundreds of the agri-

cultural labourers would perish, inevitably, but for the means of subsistence provided in the manufacturing districts to which they are induced to migrate. Nor is the condition of the farmers less affected by the corn laws, as is shewn in the same report. No better test of a farmer's prosperity could be found than the number of labourers in his employ. The progress or decay, therefore, of the farming interest has been measured by the number of agricultural labourers in successive periods; and it is undeniably established that the relative strength of such population has diminished, and that, therefore, a most ruinous sacrifice of farming capital has occurred; while, though in some districts the population has increased, the means for their accommodation have been lessened: the food used by the people has been diminished in quantity, and deteriorated in quality—the home consumption of farm produce being daily diminishing. These might be the obvious deductions of reason; but they have received the confirmation of irrefutable figures.

It will enrich our pages to transfer an extract from 'the League,' on the statistics of our British population; shewing their relative occupations. It first gives the proportions which the agricultural, the commercial, and the miscellaneous classes bore to each other, in

	Agricultural.		Commercial.		Miscellaneous.	
' 1811	..	35	..	44	..	21
1821	..	33	..	46	..	21
1831	..	28	..	42	..	30
while they were respectively in						
1841	..	22	..	46	..	32

' In 1831, the number of occupiers of land and labourers above twenty years of age in Great Britain, was 1,251,751; and in 1841 the number was 1,215,264; showing a *diminution* of about forty thousand.

' In 1831, the number of persons engaged in commerce, trade, and manufactures, 20 years of age and upwards, was 1,572,292; and in 1841, the number was 2,039,409; showing an *increase* of more than 400,000. It must be further remembered that the year 1841 was one of severe manufacturing distress, when several large establishments were closed, and consequently that the number of persons employed in manufactures must since that time have been considerably increased.

' Compared with the whole population, we find that the agricultural class forms not quite 8 per cent. of the entire, while trade and manufacture employ 16 and half per cent. When we take into account that the agricultural labourers in their capacity of consumers are not less interested in obtaining cheap food than the manufacturing operatives, we find language fail us to describe adequately the perverse folly as well as the prepenal crime with which the corn laws sacrifice the many to the few.

' The counties which have sent the largest proportions of surplus

population to seek employment elsewhere are Buckingham, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Oxford, Suffolk, Westmorland, and Worcester. Thus, while the agricultural counties annually export a large portion of their population to seek employment in the manufacturing districts, their representatives vote for the perpetuation of a system by which the amount of manufacturing employment is restricted within the narrowest possible limits. We are almost tempted to exclaim, that these facts go beyond the wildest imaginings of fancy.

‘The total number of persons engaged in the textile fabrics of Great Britain, including cotton, hose, lace, wool, silk, and flax, is 800,246. They may be thus classified :—

Males above 20 years of age	..	344,121
„ under 20 years of age	..	109,260
Females above 20 years of age	..	211,070
„ under 20 years of age	..	135,795

‘The number of persons engaged in the manufacture of iron is nearly 30,000, and of iron-miners 11,000. The number of persons employed under-ground in mines, amounts to 193,825, being very nearly an eighth of the number of persons employed in the cultivation of the surface. Of these, far the larger proportion, that is to say, 118,233, are returned as engaged in coal-mines.

‘We find that 24,774 persons are engaged in the Potteries; and there can be no doubt that this branch of British industry would be very greatly extended under a system of free trade. If we are inferior to the French and Saxons—which, however, is somewhat doubtful—in the manufacture of the finer kinds of porcelain, we are far superior to the rest of the world in the ordinary earthenware (*faïence*) of general use; and nothing but our preposterous policy could have prevented us from supplying the markets of the whole world with the articles of pottery which unite in themselves the luxury and the economy of ordinary life. Glass gives employment only to 7464 persons. The progress of this manufacture in England has been much checked by its being subjected to the operations of the excise.

‘It appears that 16,550 persons were engaged in the manufacture of engines and machines when this census was taken. Our own inquiries have shewn us that this amount has been considerably increased within the last two years, and this beneficial result has been entirely produced by the operation of Free-Trade principles, permitted to work freely by the repeal of those laws which prohibited the exportation of machinery. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this branch of industry, which comprehends the most intelligent and best paid class of persons, both as masters and handicraftsmen. The general activity of trade and manufactures is essential to their prosperity, and the commercial restrictions by which both are fettered greatly impede the development of inventive intelligence, as well as the increase of physical wealth in this class of the community. The general results of the inquiry are presented to us in the following table :—

EMPLOYMENTS.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Isles on the British Seas.	Total.
Commerce, trade, and manufactures	2,619,206	473,581	17,589	3,110,376
Agriculture, including farmers & graziers, labourers, gardeners, nurserymen, and florists	1,261,448	229,337	8,493	1,499,278
Other labourers, miners, quarriers, porters, messengers, &c.	673,922	84,573	3,373	761,868
Navy, merchant service, watermen, &c.	95,193	24,359	2,279	121,821
Navy and merchant seamen afloat	"	"	"	96,799
Army, <i>half-pay</i> , and East India Company's service	36,763	4,631	840	42,234
Army abroad	"	"	"	89,230
Professions, clerical, legal, and medical	53,041	9,709	434	63,184
Educated persons in other pursuits	123,878	18,099	859	142,836
Government civil service	14,088	2,777	94	16,959
Parochial and law officers, police, &c.	22,125	3,085	66	25,275
Domestic servants	999,048	158,650	7,535	1,165,233
Returned as independent	445,973	58,291	7,176	511,440
Alms - people, pensioners, paupers, lunatics, & prisoners	176,206	21,690	1,173	199,069
Ditto, afloat	"	"	"	957
Residue of population	9,390,866	1,531,402	74,130	10,996,398
Afloat	"	"	"	1,467
Total of population, including army & navy abroad and afloat	15,911,757	2,620,184	124,040	18,844,434

'This table gives us the occupations and pursuits of 7,846,500 persons actively employed in Britain, and the report thus accounts for the remainder:—

'The 'Residue' of the population whose occupations are entirely accounted for amounts to 10,997,865, which would at first appear to be a large proportion. It must, however, be remembered, that this comprehends both sexes and all ages; and it will be found, upon examination, that of this number only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent are males above 20 years of age. The males under 20, and the females above and under 20, make up respectively about 31, 32, and 33 per cent. of the remainder. For the large number under 20 of each sex, without any occupation, it is obviously easy to account, comprehending, as it does, infants and children of tender age. The number of women above 20 years of age, without any occupation, returned, consists generally of unmarried women living with their parents, and of the wives of professional men or shopkeepers, living upon their earnings, but not considered as carrying on the occupations of their husbands. The small number of males above

20 years of age who have been returned by the enumerators as not pursuing any occupation (nor as being persons of independent means, nor as paupers), amounting to 272,732, in a population of 18,655,981 souls (a proportion of only 1·46 per cent.), may be supposed to consist of sons who continue to reside with their parents, and perhaps to assist in their business, without being returned as carrying on the same trades, of husbands supported by the labour and industry of their wives, and of persons temporarily out of employment.'

Discussion proceeds, inquiries are awakened, and information is elicited and diffused; not alone among politicians, statesmen, and the more wealthy classes of society. Protection Societies made their appeal to the predilections and selfishness of the tenant class among the farmers; but the stroke has rebounded, and the monopolist has overshot his mark. Agricultural labourers have begun, in public meeting assembled, to state their grievances in a peaceful and constitutional form, and to trace their sufferings and privations to the operation of the corn laws. It is no doubt better that they should speak out, though we question whether their *superiors* have much relish for the accents in which their complaints are uttered, than that they should harbour in their breasts, or keep smouldering in their secret intercourse, such sentiments as have occasionally been expressed by some of them.

The half famished labourers of the South of England are exposed to every circumstance of physical and moral deterioration, amidst all their boasted protection. Their moan of distress has been unheeded by the lords of the soil; who have spoken loudly of their benevolence for the *victims* of the factory and of the rights of *free* labour in the colonies. But 'the annals of the poor,' whether 'short and simple,' or complicated with distress and suffering, have lost the music of poetry, and need not the aids of fiction. The utmost powers of human endurance have been tested, and another recipe must be speedily prescribed. A scene has opened on the eyes of monopolist landlords in Goat-acre; and we are not ashamed to proclaim that it was presented within the walls of an Independent Chapel; every part of which was closely packed by labourers, their wives and children; while crowds unable to obtain an entrance, hung round the doors and windows. We are told it was a spontaneous movement on the part of these labouring agriculturists themselves; the chairman was of their own selection; and the assembly was addressed chiefly, if not wholly, by persons of their own class. They stated their grievances in temperate and manly language, and revealed tales of suffering which cannot be read without horror. The speech of the first speaker may serve as a specimen:—

‘ Charles Gingell, of Preston, in the parish of Lyneham. He said he felt great distress and grievances, but could scarcely find words to express himself. For the last twelve months his wages had amounted to £19. 2s. He was thirty-four weeks working for 7s. a week, and eighteen weeks for 8s. per week. This gave an average of about 7s. 4d. a week. Out of these *great wages* he had to maintain himself, his wife, and six children. If he could spend all that sum for food he would not grumble; but there were many other things to be paid for—£3 a year rent; the shoe bill of the family he could not put at less than 1s. per week; and 1s. a week for firing, *reducing the sum to about 4s. a week, or 6d. per head, for food per week*; to say nothing of tea, sugar, butter, soap, candles, &c. He wished to pay everybody their own, but he could not do it. It was high time some remedy was provided to alter the condition of the labourer; and he thought, if they could once get Free Trade, the condition of the people would altogether alter and improve. Eighteen years ago he married a wife from the manufacturing districts, and women at that time were earning 12s. a week. At that rate his family would earn 26s. a week, while his wages from the land would increase. Was not Free Trade, then, desirable? (‘ Yes, yes,’ and cheers.)’

Other meetings have been held, and, at some of them, women have been conspicuous pleading for their offspring, and telling the peculiar sufferings of their sex. Their stories of domestic privation and family misery ought to pierce the heart of their landlords. Their appearance on such a stage is a novelty in England, and it is a signal proof how severe the wretchedness of the agricultural labourers has become, and how bitterly it is felt. We were much struck by the report of Mrs. Ferris’s address, and need not ask for it the attention which it is sure to command:—

‘ Mary Ferris, of Chalcot, then stood up to speak, and, in language such as only a woman and a mother could use, addressed the meeting. She said the fathers did not know all the distress which was endured. When her husband was at work, her children were frequently crying for food. Last year her husband earned 8s. a week. The rich knew nothing of the misery which they endured. They thought if they saw the labourers with a decent smock frock on that there was no distress among them. She had often gone to bed, and laid awake for hours with the stomach-ache for want of food. She had three children: one 13 years old, ought to earn 5d. a day; another, 10 years, ought to earn 4d. a day; and the third, 8 years old, ought to earn 3d. This would add 6s. a week to her income, and then they would not complain of being badly off. If the factories were now open, as they were thirty years ago, the elder children would have employment in them, leaving the younger to fill their places on the farm. Now her husband frequently had the ‘ trembles’ so from want of food that he could hardly do his work. (Voices, ‘ I’ve often had the trembles too.’) Her children were dirty and ragged: for she could neither buy soap nor firing to wash them or

their clothes properly. This woman gave many other affecting details respecting their sufferings, and called earnestly on other mothers to follow her example in telling them. Her tale was received with the greatest interest by those present.

'She was followed by an elderly woman named Mary Hatt, whose opening words were sufficient to excite the sympathy and attention of all who heard her. 'I can say nothing of my income,' said she, 'because it is nothing!' She went on to state that her husband and two grown-up sons were all out of work, and could not obtain any. If it were not for the little bit of ground they rented of the Marquis of Lansdowne they should be starved. Last year her husband broke his leg, and she then received relief from the parish for fifteen weeks. He had not done any work since. Her son went yesterday to a farmer to ask for work. He told him to go to America. (Voices, 'They'd drive us all there if they could'. 'We heard them say they wished they could 'pit up' the labourers like potatoes, in the winter.') She was for Free Trade, and then there would be more work and more food. (Loud cheers.)'

The resolutions unanimously adopted at the Goatacre meeting convey valuable instruction both to the advocates and the opponents of the Corn Laws.

'Resolved, 1st. That we, the labourers, at this meeting assembled, have met to make known our distress and our wants, trusting that our statements will meet the public eye, and reach the hearts of our legislators, to the end that they may pass such measures as shall secure to industry its full and fair reward, and thus improve the condition of ourselves and our fellow-countrymen.

'2nd. That we meet not to ask for charity but for justice, in the shape of profitable and independent labour, so that we may supply ourselves and our families with the comforts and necessities of life, which we find at present to be utterly impossible in consequence of the scarcity of employment and the lowness of wages.

'3rd. That we firmly believe the restrictions imposed upon industry by the Corn and Provision Laws are a principal cause of our destitute condition, inasmuch as scarcity, dearness, and uncertainty are the results of tampering with the people's food; and that we further believe, if those laws were abolished, remunerative employment would be more abundant, competition for labour less severe, the farmer rendered more secure, by steadiness of price and fair rentals, and the happiness and prosperity of all classes of society materially and permanently advanced.'

There is yet another subject on which statistical information is valuable, and sufficient to bring conviction to the unbiassed mind. 'The League' professes not to have originated or conducted the inquiries, but it has brought their results to light. Mr. John Bright, M. P. for Durham, the ardent and generous friend of the poor and honest operative, developed the facts in his own town, amidst the most enthusiastic response of his

neighbours. But we mark them as permanently recorded in 'The League.' Mr. Bright spoke with exultation of the improved condition of the operative in vivid contrast with the saddened and sickening state of the rural peasant; and in yet more striking comparison with the operatives' own state in the year 1841 and 1842. The futility of monopolists' assertions, that a rise in the price of bread is not injurious to the operative classes, because the price of that staple article regulates the price of labour and of all other commodities, was thus clearly evinced. The general advance of wages now, or recently in progress in almost every manufacturing district, whilst the price of bread has been falling, must, to all candid and disinterested minds, be sufficiently conclusive of the absurdity of this pretence. The appalling effects of scarcity and high prices of food, and the parties by whom these effects are most acutely felt, are discriminately and fearfully demonstrated by the other means to which we have referred. Emigration returns supply the following figures: showing—

'That as the price of food advanced during the recent years of deficient harvests, the number of our countrymen who sought a home in foreign lands steadily and rapidly increased, and that, so soon as the scourge of famine was abated by the goodness of Providence, the tide of emigration received a check. The number of emigrants from 1838 to 1843 is as follows:

1838	33,222
1839	62,207
1840	90,743
1841	118,592
1842	128,344
1843	57,242

'When we consider how terrible was the pressure upon the country from 1838 up to the harvest of 1842, we shall not be surprised that increasing multitudes fled from a land which, however dear to them by the ties of birth and association, denied them the first of all rights, that of earning their bread by the sweat of their brows. And of what class were these emigrants composed? The emigrant is drafted from the masses, from the men who toil, and toil incessantly that they may live in honest independence; it is in the cottage of the artisan, and not in the mansion or the palace, that the emigrant ship finds her sorrowing freight; and the tears which fall upon her deck are the tears of the poor, whom a cruel and heartless policy has driven out as strangers upon the earth.

'But the emigration returns stand not alone in the testimony they offer against the Corn Law. The voice which speaks from our courts of justice proclaims the misery it inflicts. The number of commitments in England and Wales from 1837 to 1843 is as follows:

1837	23,612
1838	23,094

1839	24,443
1840	27,187
1841	27,760
1842	31,309
1843	29,591

'The variation is not important during the years 1837, '38, and '39. In the last-mentioned year the pressure of famine rapidly increased, and from that period to 1842 the number of commitments increased from 24,443 to 31,309, whilst in 1843, when the price of food had considerably fallen, the commitments also fell to 29,591.

'The tables of the Registrar-General also tell their tale of woe in the muster-roll of evidence against the laws which decree starvation. We have before us the returns of the number of deaths in nine divisions of the north-western district for the years 1840 and 1843; they are as follows :

	1840.	1843.
Bolton	2,900	2,576
Bury	2,170	1,832
Rochdale	1,688	1,531
Preston	2,637	1,938
Blackburn	2,140	2,031
Wigan	2,144	1,832
Prescott	1,155	920
Manchester	6,489	6,283
Ashton	4,873	4,391
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	26,196	23,334

Showing a diminution of not less than 2,862 deaths during the cheap year 1843, as compared with the dear year in 1840, in nine districts out of 115 to which the report refers.

The 2,862 human beings whose removal from life is noted in the return for 1840, and is in excess of the number who died in 1843, were of the poor, may we not say of the poorest of our population.

'Have the working classes of this country, then, no interest in the repeal of the Corn Law? Deficient harvests would not have brought famine if the corn law had not stood in the path. Our artisans were producing goods of almost every kind; the world begged that they might buy them from us and sell us food in exchange; but our bread-taxing lords and squires interposed, lest if the people were thus fed, rents should fall. But the working men and their families suffered. From their ranks the corn law picked its victims: they loaded the emigrant ship—they stood in the felon's dock—they were consigned prematurely to the grave! The friend of the corn law is the enemy of the artisan, and of every man who lives by the reward of his toil. The League is the foe of the corn law, and every blow which tends to break down this grievous usurpation of the landowners, by so much contributes to give independence, and comfort, and happiness to the labourer.'

But to pass on to our more immediate object. The League tells us what the free traders have been *doing* while their adversaries were shouting mutual congratulations on the alleged

failure of the confederacy. For ten weeks their forces were withdrawn from the public parade ground, to fight the battle of free trade at close quarters with the enemy in the registration courts. Election contests there were none; aggregate meetings in Covent Garden Theatre or in the Free Trade Hall had been suspended. There were no great field days; but recruiting was most successful and drilling most efficient, and the effective strength was never greater or more prepared to occupy advantageous positions in a fair field so soon as a general election shall come. The bitterest antagonists of the League now confess that it never was more powerful or its operations more to be dreaded. In a hundred and forty boroughs it has exercised a healthful and constitutional influence; suggesting, counselling, and even directing registration procedure: and in the greater number has added not only to the numerical strength of free-trade voters, but to the probability of parliamentary success when the trial of strength shall come. It was wise to render, as far as possible, their electoral power impregnable in the county which may be called *their own*, and the result is that out of twenty-six members returned by the Duchy of Lancaster, twenty-one are certain to be free traders at the next election. Lancaster and Clitheroe, where the Tory Chairman of Ways and Means and a prospective President for a 'would but dare not be' free trade Tory Board of Trade, have their seats, are in a position to dictate terms of surrender from such representatives. Blackburn and Warrington have also retrieved their strength. And even in Liverpool the anti-monopolists have registered this season 452 more than their opponents. The Southern Division is no longer at the beck of Lord Francis Egerton or of a monopolist squirearchy; 1751 added to the previous number of free traders on the poll will secure the triumph of the good cause at the next contest. The Northern Division is in process of preparation and will assuredly follow.

They are not now afraid to proclaim what their antagonists say and do; neither do they hesitate to avow their own policy. They aim not at success by any *coup d'état*: the conviction of the public mind and the hearty assent of enlightened citizens is deemed essential to permanent triumph. Their progress among the people they believe to be all but complete; reason and conviction are with them, principle and action will soon follow. When the masses have the power, and are free to deliberate, they do not long hesitate between monopoly and free trade. The common sense admissions of Sir James Graham, and the abstract rectitude of free trade principle of Sir R. Peel, are not more significant and cheering than is the blunt and frank acknowledgment of Lord Londonderry, who is reported to have recently told his *tenantry*, 'He did not understand how any minister

who thought right to introduce into his policy free trade at all—he did know how that minister could make corn an exception. They had seen during the last twenty years many changes—they had seen the minister by the force of circumstances, by the pressure from without—obliged to follow out a course of policy which was contrary to his mind to pursue; and having seen *that* he could not sit down without impressing on them that similar things might take place with regard to the Corn Laws. He wished them to bear in mind that when every thing else was free, they could not expect that corn alone would be an exception.’ When the light of such truths breaks in upon nobles, proverbially obtuse and benighted by obsolete prejudices, the advocates of free trade may well hope that the dawn of a triumphant day is breaking; when the liberty of commerce, and the abolition of the Corn Laws will be realised. From the peer to the peasant, from the hereditary senator to the newly enfranchised elector, or those qualified to become such, opinion, confirmed by religion and experience, will find an echo and response: all that remains is to give them organization in the community and due representation in the legislature. This then is the object of the League’s present movements.

The Council of the League contains many strenuous promoters of other liberal principles, and some who are Complete Suffragists in the fullest sense of the term. But they do not expect that the mere outcry of unenfranchised millions will prevail. The presentation of petitions has already been tried, and their prayers signed by three millions, have been contemptuously rejected. Though lords fear the issue as a class, they will not aid the cause; and a free constituency has not been realised strong enough to extract from them the concession. The sovereign of Great Britain is not a despot; and the will of our Queen is under the control of her Cabinet. She cannot, if she would, come to the delivery of her suffering people, till they can help themselves. The policy of the League is, therefore, to extend the constituency, to encrease their parliamentary strength. Three years ago they commenced this procedure. They deprecate *faggot* votes, and can place no reliance on the suffrage of tenants-at-will. They imagine that their antagonists have split farm votes and registered their menials to nearly the ultimate verge of their power; and they step forward to persuade the middle classes and better-paid workmen to purchase county qualifications. The strength of trade and of the League resides in boroughs—the strength of monopoly is in an oligarchy of 30,000 landlords. The advocates of free trade were reproached with the adverse strength of the counties, and taunted to try the agricultural districts, where they were assured they would

not find, and could not secure a hearing. They accepted the challenge, made the trial, and farmers and labourers who were sent to disturb, remained to hear and to be convinced. The county free trade meetings and triumphs of Messrs. Cobden and Bright shewed the propriety of attending to the county registrations. Appearances favoured the hope of success in South Lancashire; and the increased strength which was realised was a fresh encouragement to watch and work the electoral registers; by which this division of the county is *now* secured for free trade. An impulse has thus been given, and, to make assurance doubly sure, the acquisition of *bond fide* forty-shillings freeholders is sought to counterbalance tenant-at-will votes. Other counties have eagerly followed the example, and North Lancashire, North Cheshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Middlesex, &c. have now a rational prospect of ranking as the homes of free men. The constituencies of other parts may be stimulated to the like efforts; and a fresh infusion of youthful energies may yet help to redeem the country from a vassalage, which is derogatory to freemen and injurious to the empire.

The measure advocated by 'the League' is of such practical importance, and so capable of being employed as a precedent, that we deem it expedient to dwell a little more at large upon its details and the reasons for its adoption. We shall not anticipate that any objections to the scheme are gravely entertained by our readers. Indeed we seriously apprehend that the country and the cause of freedom and nonconformity are in such a condition, as to suggest the propriety of a similar course to the better paid operatives and middle classes, of dissenters and reformers. The Church will never be dissevered from the State, or the franchise be extended to the people, but by a decree of the senate; and the senate will never be or do anything but as the people bring their influence to bear upon it. The assumption is not unwarrantable that dissenting congregations are composed of the intelligent, moderately wealthy, or industrious and better paid mechanics and tradesmen. They ought to be, and we think generally are, the most independent members of society. There are in England and Wales four thousand Independent and Baptist congregations; besides, perhaps, five thousand others belonging to the different sections of the Methodist body. The adult members of these congregations are probably as numerous as the whole electoral body of England.—How few of them are, and how many of them ought to be, enfranchised, would be an interesting statistical question—but it would be more to our present purpose could we demonstrate how many might, by the forty-shillings freehold qualification, be placed upon the county register. That it would be altogether *uncanonical* for ministers

and deacons to look into this subject, and most inexpedient for them in such character to interfere is clear; but we may suggest that the Council or the Executive of the Anti-State Church Conference, and the Complete Suffrage Union, will find no inconsiderable accession of power and influence from the application of this constitutional resource.

On this important subject Mr. Cobden's statement—which was received with the most enthusiastic approbation by more than five thousand free traders in the town of Manchester—demands the consideration of every advocate of an extended suffrage. The honourable member for Stockport is no visionary projector, but one whose clear and practical judgment cannot probably be exceeded among the politicians of the day. The scheme is his, though commended by the council of the League; and we give it in his own words. He affirms, and, we think, truly,—

'The counties are more vulnerable than the small pocket boroughs; if we can rouse the free traders, the outcry will be a systematic effort such as we have exercised in the case of South Lancashire. In many of the small boroughs there is no increase in the numbers, there is no extension of houses, the whole property belongs to a neighbouring noble, and you can no more touch the votes which he holds through the property than you can touch the balance in his banker's hands. Now the county constituency may be increased indefinitely. It requires a qualification of 40s. a year in a freehold property to give a man a vote for a county. I think our landlords made a great mistake when they retained the 40s. freehold qualification; and mark my words, it is a rod in pickle for them. I should not be surprised if it does for us what it did for catholic emancipation, and what it did for the reform bill—give us the means of carrying free trade; and if it should, the landlords will, very likely, try to serve us as they did the 40s. freeholders in Ireland, when we have done the work. The 40s. franchise for the county was established five or six centuries ago. At that time a man in the constitutional phraseology of the time was deemed to be a 'yeoman,' and entitled to political rights provided he had 40s. a year, clear, to spend. That was, at that time, a subsistence for a man, probably it was equal to the rental of one hundred acres of land. What is it now? With the vast diffusion of wealth, among the middle classes, which then did not exist, and among a large portion, I am happy to say, in this district of the superior class of operatives too, that 40s. franchise is become merely nominal, and is within the reach of every man who has the spirit to acquire it. I say, then, every county where there is a large town population, as in Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, South Staffordshire, North Cheshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and many other counties I could name; in fact, every county bordering upon the sea coast, or having manufactures in it, may be won, and easily won, if the people can be roused to a systematic effort to qualify themselves for the vote in the way in which the South Lancashire people have reached to the qualification. We find counties can be won by that means and

no other. It is the custom sometimes for many to put their savings into the savings' bank. I believe there are fourteen or fifteen millions, or more, so deposited. I would not say a word to lessen the confidence in that security, but I say there is no investment so secure as the freehold of the earth, and it is the only investment that gives a vote along with the property. We come, then, to this; it costs a man nothing to have a vote for the county. He buys his property—sixty pounds for a cottage is given—thirty or forty pounds in many of the neighbouring towns will do it—he has then the interest of his money; he has then the property to sell when he wants it; and he has his vote in the bargain. Sometimes a parent wishing to teach a son to be economical and saving, gives a set of nest eggs in a savings' bank—I say to such a parent, 'make your son, at twenty-one years, a freeholder; it is an act of duty, for you make him thereby an independent freeman, put it in his power to defend himself and his children from political oppression; and you make that man, with £60, an equal in the polling booth to Mr. Scarisbrick with his eleven miles in extent of territory, or to Mr. Egerton. This must be done. In order to insure the next year's register, it requires only that you should be in possession of a freehold before the 31st of next January. We shall probably be told that 'this is very indiscreet—what is the use of coming out in public and announcing such a plan as this, when your enemies can take advantage of it as well as you?' My first answer to that is, that our opponents, the monopolists, cannot take advantage of it as well as we. In the first place very few men are, from conviction or prejudice, monopolists, unless their capacity for inquiry or their sympathies have been blunted by already possessing an undue share of wealth. In the next place, if they wish to urge upon others of a rank below them to qualify for a vote, they cannot trust them with the use of the vote when they have got it. But apart from that, I would answer those people who cavil at this public appeal, and say, 'you will not put salt upon your enemy's tail—it is much too wise a bird.' They have been at this work long ago, and they have the worst of it now, have our opponents. What has been the conduct of the landlords of the country? Why they have been long engaged in multiplying voters upon their estates, making men farmers—taking their sons, brothers, and nephews to the register—making them qualify as many as the rent of the land will cover; and they have been making their land a kind of political capital ever since the passing of the reform bill. You have, then, a new ground opened to you, which has never yet been entered upon, and from which I expect, in the course of not more than three years from this time, that every county (if we persevere as we have in South Lancashire) possessing a large population, may carry free traders as their representatives to parliament.

On the same subject *The League* adds some remarks alike interesting and important. Referring to Mr. Cobden, they say:

'He proposes to increase the number of small freeholders on the old constitutional principle, which gave the right of franchise to every man having a clear income of forty shillings from land. This is a matter of immense importance, not only to the political constitution, but to the

social condition of the empire. During the meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, the subject was brought forward in the statistical section, and men of all parties unanimously agreed that to *facilitate* the creation of small freeholds would be a most efficacious means of elevating the moral condition of the working classes. It would place before them an object of ambition attainable by honest exertions, and would at the same time lead them to consider what are their duties as citizens and members of a free state. The freehold cottage and the freehold plot of ground have ever been among the best and purest features in our county constituencies; and it was for this reason that too successful an effort was made to swamp them with dependent tenants-at-will. The restoration of such freeholders to their former influence would not only lead to something like a political regeneration of the constituencies, but would greatly add to the independence, the happiness, and the comfort of the great body of the nation.'

Mr Cobden has not invited his colleagues to a visionary project—a mere castle in the air. The subject is tangible, and capable of being reduced to practical and comprehensible dimensions. The county representation is the power by which the landowners retain their ascendancy in the House of Commons: but for the 252 county members, Mr. Villiers would, in less than two years, have a majority in parliament. Were only a fourth part of them converted to free-trade principles, or supplanted by free-trade members, the present ministry would be in a minority. The voters who constitute the county power of the landlord are the £50 tenants-at-will. The defeat of the free traders in Lancashire, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, or in North Cheshire, has been proved, by an analysis of the poll, to have been occasioned by such voters. The same class preponderating in Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, &c., render a popular contest in such rural counties almost hopeless. To attempt to swamp them would be a bootless task, and the only hopeful alternative is to neutralize them in the electoral field by an equal number of independent voters. Such a scheme is demonstrably *practicable*. The late census returns farmers and graziers, who are adult males, at 230,155; including, of course, all the small dairy farmers, and many paying a rental less than £50 a year. It has been computed that these may be about a tenth of the entire number, being about 200,000, tenants-at-will, whose votes turn the scale at the election of 158 members, the representatives of the 52 English and Welsh counties. Another deduction might, however, be made of, perhaps, one tenth, for the tenants of those landlords who either do not influence their tenants, or who are opposed to the corn monopoly; so that the net strength of the poll which monopolist-landowners can command, may be reckoned at about 180,000 voters in all these

counties. A fourth part of these 52 counties, containing but a small proportion of town population, and therefore wholly under the control of the landlord, being set aside as unassailable, there remain the seats of 119 members subject to a sufficiently numerous body of middle-class voters in the towns to give scope for the favourable operation of this scheme. According to the calculation, it remains to provide 155,000 persons, willing and able to qualify themselves as county voters, to neutralize the power of the monopolist-landlords in three-fourths of the English and Welsh counties. The field which opens to the patriotic citizen, wherever his residence, thus to counteract the chicanery and oppression of an unscrupulous oligarchy, is inviting and accessible to multitudes, who may thus extend their sphere of usefulness, by enlarging their political power, at so cheap a rate, that it is accessible to all but the poorest of the population.

A single county will show the vast importance of this movement, especially in such as are most populous, and therefore most open to the operation of this undertaking. County meetings were designated by the term 'Farce' in the abrupt language of the greatest *anomaly* among living statesmen; but county elections have never been so regarded, even among the greatest adversaries of popular representation. The election of Mr. Wilberforce for Yorkshire *doomed* the slave trade; and how many generous spirits then sought to be enrolled among the freeholders in that county! The aristocracy have always set a high price on the voice of a county. It was the election of Henry Brougham—then not a *peer*—that gave the *coup-de-grace* to the rotten-borough system, and made way for Reform. It was the defeat of Lords Morpeth and Milton, for the same county, which signalized the overthrow of the Whig cabinet. How that disaster was incurred, it boots not now to inquire: enough for us, that many friends of freedom mourned their own supineness, and regretted that they did not then possess the franchise for Yorkshire. Sir Robert Peel saw the full force of his victory in the success of his party in the West Riding; and when the new parliament assembled in 1841, placed in the hands of Mr. Stuart Wortley—

'The motion for an amendment to the Address, declaring a want of confidence in the late Ministry. 'It is not long,' said the latter in the commencement of his speech, 'since Her Majesty put a question to the country, and asked them to return an answer that might serve as some guidance to her in the future conduct of her government. Now, I appear here as the bearer of a portion of that answer, and I hope that, without presumption, I may say I appear as the bearer of not the least significant portion of that answer.' Loud and long were the cheers with which the speaker was greeted by the monopolist majority; and well

might they cheer, for they knew that whilst the West Riding sent such an answer, monopoly was secure.'

It is reasonable that such importance should attach to the constituency of York: its population exceeds the inhabitants of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Hereford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Oxford, Rutland, and Westmoreland,—ten counties, which send twenty-five members to parliament. The twelve Welsh counties contain a population of 240,000 less than the West Riding of Yorkshire. Its registered voters exceed the aggregate constituencies of twenty-two Irish counties, returning forty-four members; and on a similar comparison, outnumbers twenty-eight Scotch counties. The nearest approach to it is London or South Lancashire, which contain each about 20,000 registered electors: but the West Riding possesses equal to one and a half of either, that is, 30,000 enfranchised citizens who can vote for a knight of the shire; while the free traders within its bounds might increase it one-third more. If any person is inclined to doubt our accuracy,—

'Let him take a map of the county, and run his eye over the district, from Sheffield, in the extreme south, to Pateley Bridge, in the north, and from Saddleworth, in the south-west, over that chain of populous towns and villages running north-east, and including Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Huddersfield, let him count the numbers, estimate the wealth, and remember the spirit and liberality of this great manufacturing community, and then ask himself if it be possible that such a population will submit to be imprisoned and fettered by the squirearchy, who dimineer over the comparative wastes and wildernesses of the county?'

There are facilities for free traders in this county which are not possessed in other parts of the kingdom. Here are many towns which do not possess the borough franchise, and whose electoral power lies in the county, while almost all these towns are dependent on trade with foreign countries. All occupiers of their own freeholds in Barnsley, Rotherham, Saddleworth, Holmfirth, Dewsbury, Hebden-bridge, and such other unenfranchised towns, as well as the villages, are entitled to be on the county register. Many might conveniently invest in a freehold qualification (by clubs, or other means) £40 or £50, who perhaps could not afford, or might not wish, to occupy a £10 house in a borough. The League holds out encouragement to their coadjutors in Yorkshire in the following terms: and we quote it because of its utility and practicableness elsewhere. It is a common cause, and involves the nation's prosperity, as well as the expansion of the popular power.

'At the last revision for the West Riding we had a gain of less than one hundred upon the register of 30,000 names, whilst in South Lancashire the free traders gained upwards of 1,700 upon a register of only

19,000, which was accomplished by a bold, determined, and successful effort to win the county. Whatever can be done in Lancashire, Yorkshiremen can do. The task to which they have to set themselves is to qualify at least 2,000 new voters before the 31st of January. Nothing less than this must be aimed at. There are sixteen *manufacturing* polling districts; an increase on an average of 130 in each will more than give the required number. This can, and, we have no doubt, will be done. Then there are our friends across the borders in Lancashire, the North Riding, and in Westmoreland; we have no doubt they will send their contingent of new qualifications from Clitheroe, Colne, Rochdale, Oldham, York City, Kendal, &c., to swell the noble army of freetraders at the next general election. The Manchester leaguers have, we take it for granted, all qualified, or are preparing to do so, for the West Riding. We tell them, for their encouragement, that Messrs. Wortley and Dennison's stronghold is in the non-resident monopolist voters, their friends and partisans in all parts of the north of England having been induced to qualify.'

We gather from 'The League,' that the project of increased qualification has been embraced with cordiality and zeal in not only north and south Lancashire, in north Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, but that our Metropolitan county is also the scene of vigorous operations, which promise a speedy rescue from the power of monopoly. The circumjacent counties will provide a wholesome accession to its free trade electors, Bedfordshire and Bucks will co-operate with the city of London in the glorious struggle to restore Middlesex to its once proud eminence: while Surrey may share in the sympathy and generous efforts of the champions of free trade from all contiguous districts, metropolitan or rural. South Staffordshire also has begun an organization which will yield a supply of enlightened coadjutors whose *bond fide* qualification will give authority to the advocates of unshackled commerce, on the floors of the Senate House. The question has been started, Which county should come first in this legitimate strife, and the 'League' has answered—

'In forming our opinion, we have had an eye to the town population in each, to the present representation, to the contests since 1832, and to other data, for judging of the state of parties. We look to the extent of town population as the first point for consideration, because, whatever may be the present state of the register, if there be a numerous middle class in the county, not qualified to vote, the free-traders may, by purchasing 40s. freeholds, possess themselves of the representation. The following list of thirty-three English counties, and divisions of counties, comprises those which appear to us at once the most important and the most vulnerable: in fact, just in proportion to the importance which they derive from the extent of their population is the power which that population possesses to carry out our plan:—

West Riding of Yorkshire,	West Worcestershire,
South Lancashire,	South Cheshire,
Middlesex,	North Staffordshire,
North Lancashire,	South Leicestershire,
North Cheshire,	South Derbyshire,
East Surrey,	North Nottinghamshire,
North Derbyshire,	Rutlandshire,
North Durham,	South Northumberland,
South Stafford,	West Cumberland,
East Gloucester,	North Warwickshire,
West Gloucester,	East Kent,
East Cumberland,	West Kent,
West Surrey,	South Hants,
East Somerset,	Cornwall,
South Durham,	East Sussex,
North Wiltshire,	East Norfolk,
East Worcestershire.	

‘ There may be local circumstances with which we are unacquainted, affecting some of these counties ; but looking at them from a distance, with a map and the last census tables in hand, we should say there is not one in which the landed monopolists might not be easily beaten by the 40s. freeholders.’

Some of the counties however may be deemed more hopeless than they really are—the registers may exhibit an exaggerated idea of the actual strength of the adverse party—they have seldom been subjected to a thorough revision ; while the partisan procedure of overseers in the court of the revising barrister has been unwatched, many names have been enrolled which would be struck off under the vigilant operations of a free trade committee. This is a consideration which ought to give weight to the urgent appeal of the Free Traders when they plead :

‘ But the good work must not be confined to particular districts. Wherever an individual Free-Trader may happen to reside, be it in Kent, Devon, or Northumberland, let him make it his first duty, after having provided himself with the franchise, to urge all his neighbours and friends, who are favourable to our cause, to qualify themselves with the 40s. freehold. Let him not be deterred by the apparent weakness of our party upon the present register. *Ours is a growing body.* Let nobody, therefore, omit to possess himself of a vote, from the notion that it will be useless ; nor must anybody hesitate to qualify, merely because there happens to be no organization in the neighbourhood for aiding him in the formal business of registering his vote. If every Leaguer in the country will only do his best to secure possession of a 40s. freehold before the 31st of January, and induce such of his friends and neighbours as are Free-Traders to follow his example, we undertake to furnish them afterwards with ample instructions how to enrol their names upon the county list, and to retain it there.’

The objection has been taken by the party whose strongholds are assailed, that this course is *unconstitutional*, and an attempt has been made to stigmatise electors thus qualified as ‘faggot voters.’ The *tu quoque* argument might be brought to bear on assailants whose party have qualified their footmen, retainers and tenants as far as their means or power extend, and who first fought *their* battle in the registration courts not by *bond fide* freeholders, but by representatives of the landlord’s pleasure. The ‘League’ however answers such imputations in a bolder tone, and with confidence in the wisdom and integrity of their course.

‘What! is it not constitutional to place ourselves within the electoral pale, by conforming to the letter and spirit of the Reform Act? That act decides that a man, possessed of a freehold of 40s. a year, is entitled to vote for knights of the shire. We say to every unenfranchised Free-Trader who is able to invest 50*l.* at good interest, *buy a freehold cottage, and become a free citizen.* Lay out as much more as you please, or as is convenient, in the purchase of lands, or houses; but, at all events, let your first investment be in that description of property, and to that amount, at least, which the law prescribes to be necessary to secure a county vote. Our scheme involves no agitation for an alteration of the law: we desire to induce a few hundred thousand persons to conform to the spirit and letter of the Reform Act. Our project requires less of public agitation or exciting demonstrations than of close, earnest, and business-like application; and we hope to see our friends, in all parts of the kingdom, rivalling the Leaguers of Lancashire, in their quiet but effective mode of carrying out a plan which appears to us, the more we consider the matter, to be by far the most important, from its practicability, of any that has been put forward by the League: a plan which, if persevered in for a few years, will solve the problem of—How can just and equal legislation be extorted from the landowners of this country?’

There are others who fancy they have discovered a weak point in the measure adopted by the League, alleging that as it is a game that two can play at, the victory will be with the richest: that is with the monopolists. Were the dependance of free traders on wealth, some weight might be allowed to this objection—but their confidence is in public opinion, in the suffrage of the many, in the diffusion of right principles: and in the ultimate adherence of freemen, of enfranchised citizens. Whatever therefore encreases the number of voters, favours the free trade party. It is notoriously the policy and aim of the monopolists to restrict the franchise as well as commerce: since it is far casier to manage a small than a large constituency; and free traders have more chance in the ten thousands of Lancashire, the West Riding, or in Middlesex, than among the hundreds of Rutland, Bucks, or Monmouth. But the Leaguers have another answer, more as a matter of fact than of opinion—

they affirm that the monopolists have played *out* their game—the land agents of the aristocracy have worked the Chandos clause in the rural districts to the last available vote; while not only have the inhabitants of county districts practically forgotten that there was such a clause or principle in the law of parliamentary election as the 40s. freehold qualification, but the middle classes in the cities and boroughs have looked on, unconscious of the power which this principle gives them to outnumber the tenants-at-will in the polling booth.

‘To quote an illustration or two from the register for the West Riding of Yorkshire:—There is Huddersfield, containing by the last census a population of 38,454 souls, with only 104 votes on the county register; whilst the obscure rural township of Thome can boast its 181 electors in a population of 3,507. Barnsley, the great seat of the linen manufacture, without the borough franchise, has been so indifferent to the possession of the only vote within its reach, that out of a population of 12,310 there are only 285 county electors. Rotherham, one of the largest unenfranchised towns in the kingdom, with a population of 13,439, contributes 127 voters to the county list; whilst the land-agents in the unheard of agricultural township of Tickhill have contrived to place 163 electors on the register, out of a population of 2040.

‘There are, we venture to say, 500 Free-Traders in Huddersfield, and half as many at least in Barnsley or Rotherham, who are able and, we have no doubt, willing immediately to purchase property which will give them the county qualification; and there are hundreds of places in England and Wales similarly circumstanced. All that has been wanting is, that their attention should be called to the privilege they possess. This could only be done by a public appeal, and, in making it, we must take the risk of rousing a few of our enemies along with the multitude of our friends.

Another mode of monopolist resistance has been anticipated. The landlords, it has been said, may increase their voters indefinitely by granting on their estates *life-rent charges*. But how many of these landlords possess uncontrolled disposal of their estates? and where the property is free, where are the men to be found in sufficient numbers to whom *conservative* landlords would dare trust their property or their vote? The farmers are already registered as tenants-at-will. The squires will hesitate before they invest agricultural labourers, such as Lawrence Eborns, with a 10*l.* life annuity. The operative Conservative Associations or Orange lodges, may not afford the safest or most profitable materials for such investment. The respectable members of the tory party in towns may for a time give a vote *to their friends* on the day of election, even should it uphold the corn laws; but they will give no active support in the organization of such a movement in towns, no vigorous efforts to qualify voters, or counteract the exertions of the Leaguers. Their

better judgment wars with the system which their party upholds. Landlordism is at a discount, especially just now in the manufacturing boroughs, where free trade principles are tacitly admitted, if not advocated by men of all parties. The three great essentials for success in a public movement are lacking, for the landlords,—men, money, and enthusiasm. Thus the League may challenge their monopolist antagonists—‘Increase the number of county voters if you dare, the better chance will there be for some of them to escape from your ranks at the poll.’ They can go farther and defy them to compete in the registration courts. An extensive land agent has furnished strong testimony on this head—he says :

‘I could name landed estates with which I am connected, the rent of which amounts to 16,000*l.* a year, worth at thirty years’ purchase 480,000*l.*, and which make 68 votes. Now, 3000*l.* invested in cottage property, in any manufacturing town in Lancashire or Cheshire, would pay 6*l.* per cent. interest at least, and qualify 70 votes, or more than are registered from half a million of property in land.’ The same writer adds :—‘You possess the power of increasing the number of county voters which the landlords dare not exercise; but what is more, and I speak with a full knowledge of the class, *they have not the spare money.*’

On the authority of the same writer, it is computed that 50*l.* expended for the purchase of cottage property in town, will confer as much electoral power for the counties, as would 5,000*l.* invested in land beyond the bounds of a borough; and though land remains unenlarged, houses are continually multiplying in towns, and whilst it requires 40 or 50 acres to confer a vote upon a tenant-at-will, every twelve yards square of freehold land in a town, if only covered with a cobbler’s stall, or butcher’s shambles, will give the owner a county vote. Let the League then proceed in the plan marked out, and sustained by the popular co-operation they must speedily prevail.

Sometimes sayings are dropped casually, which are so apt and apothegmatic as to become proverbs in a language and household in their appropriation. They are axioms in speech, and are far more expressive than any periphrasis. So has it been with a phrase used by the ‘Times.’ Equally true in its philosophy as in its historical aptitude, was the description given of the League as a ‘GREAT FACT,’ in one of those eloquent papers which now and again appear in the London ‘Times.’ The League is the phenomenon of the age, not merely attracting the attention of all classes in every country throughout the civilized world; but holding out warnings to rulers in every clime, and exhibiting a model of action and a stimulus for exertion, to the benefactors of mankind in their various schemes of usefulness. We do not say the Council of the League con-

templated from the beginning either the emergencies which should arise, or the measures which would be requisite in each successive stage of their procedure. This would be to ascribe to them more than human intelligence; but we affirm, that while almost ceaseless prudence and energy have distinguished their conduct, they have served to develop not only the soundest philosophical principles, but the wisest course for the ultimate and permanent triumph of their cause, and the liberty and dignity of man in all lands. We can say it without offence, the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. They have not sought success, nor have they been deterred from action by the apprehension that they should fail of success in any momentary struggle. They have courted and grappled with difficulties, rather than postponed till another day the entire removal of the impediment. They have not shunned diversity and contrariety of opinion, but have invited inquiry and sought discussion. They have diffused knowledge, that they might form the people for the era, prepare them not only to embrace the sentiment, but also to be able to inculcate the doctrine among the youth of a new generation. It has been their aim to train up and indoctrinate the childhood of to-day, that it might become in truth a 'young England' for commerce and liberty; and their appeal has been to first principles, to equal rights, to free thought, to universal knowledge, and to the suffrage of mankind.

The League *has* formed public opinion, and extorted from statesmen and rulers admissions to principle and avowals of facts, which are a sure prelude to final triumph. The Peel tariff, and the colonial policy of our government; the exhortations and premonitions of landlord and protection societies; the concessions about game and the discussions about long leases; the negotiations with foreign countries, especially the Brazils, and the election of Mr. Polk as American president, are all signs of the times, and elements of the 'great fact' which is to be the phenomenon of the first half of the nineteenth century. Dissenters, Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, mark and ponder the instructive lesson—but before you expect to reap the fruit, remember the *seed* must be sown; before you propose to imitate or equal their measures and success in the Registration Courts—look to cultivate, and direct public opinion. The League has been at work seven years—you may benefit by their experience and example, but you have also an apprenticeship to serve.

Brief Notices.

A New Hebrew English Lexicon, containing all the Hebrew and Chaldee words in the Old Testament Scriptures, with their meanings in English.
London : Samuel Bagster and Sons, Paternoster Row.

This is the most beautiful, and at the same time the most correct and perfect manual Hebrew Lexicon we have ever used. Having purchased Leopold's when it appeared, and from its convenience to the pocket, had frequent, we might say habitual, occasion to consult it, or use it in imparting instruction, we are able to affirm that Mr. Bagster's Lexicon amply fulfils the promise made in the preface, of giving all that is valuable in Leopold, with some important improvements of its own. We highly approve of the discarding of the fictitious roots, that is, those which are really fictitious: for we can hardly apply that epithet to all the verbal forms which, happening not to occur in the Old Testament, have, in the Lexicons, been placed at the head of the various derivatives. Where, for instance, there is enough of any family of words in both languages to prove the close relationship of several derivations to each other, we should not hesitate to supply a deficient Hebrew root from the Arabic. But we do not consider this a fiction: it is merely calling up a surviving brother to testify to the former existence of one who is dead and buried. On this point, therefore, we entirely agree with the editor; and consider that his method is a great recommendation of the work. Those for whose use the Lexicon is chiefly designed will also be glad that the proper names are not omitted. It is also very desirable that the Hebrew student should habitually use a lexicon which renders the significations *in English*, for even if the English do not come closer to the Hebrew than the Latin, which we sometimes fancy it does, the impression produced by the meaning is certainly more natural and lively. On this account we do not hesitate to recommend even those students who are accustomed to use the larger works of Gesenius and Winer, to procure this, and substitute the use of it, *ordinarily*, for the use of theirs. When it is desirable to see all the principal occurrences of any given word, or when any other point requires fuller information than the present manual gives, let them be referred to for it, but even then it will aid a natural and a lively impression of the general meaning of a word to look it out first here, and afterwards refer to those larger lexicons for the stricter study of it. We regret to have delayed our notice of this unpretending volume for some weeks, having intended to introduce some cognate matter; but our readers who may purchase it on our recommendation will, we are persuaded, never regret that they have taken our advice.

Sketches of Christianity in North India. By Rev. M. Wilkinson, missionary. London: Seeleys.

Protestant Missions in Bengal Illustrated: being the substance of a Course of Lectures delivered on Indian Missions. By J. J. Weitbrecht, Church missionary. Second Edition. London: John F. Snow.

THE first of these volumes contains a chronological account of Pro-

testantism in India, from the arrival of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar in 706 to the present time; respecting, however, chiefly, and in the latter part almost exclusively, the labours of the Church (of England) Missionary Society. The second is more comprehensive. It treats of the sacred writings, mythology, and customs of the Hindoos, of the peculiar character of teaching rendered necessary by these, and has a final chapter on the success which has hitherto attended endeavours to propagate the Gospel, and on the prospects for the future. Mr. Weitbrecht's illustrations have not only the usual interest of such narratives, but are written in a most catholic spirit. Other missions than that with which the author is connected are mentioned—mentioned heartily—their success is rejoiced in, and their labourers are spoken of as brethren beloved. Recollecting some of the recommendations of episcopal authority while yet young in India, we must rejoice at this; not, of course, that we set any value upon recognitions or fraternisations of the sort, as conferring or confirming the title of the evangelists of unendowed sects to teach the heathen, but because we know well how hard it is for the members of a secularised communion to act in the recollection that the acknowledgment of one Master makes all his disciples brethren.

The Domestic Prayer Book; or a Course of Morning and Evening Prayers for one Month, with occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings. By George Smith, Minister of Trinity Chapel, Poplar, London. London: Ward and Co. 1844.

THIS beautifully printed volume will be a welcome accession to a class of publications which has increased of late years among protestant non-conformists. In following the steps of some of our most honoured fathers, the writer will have the satisfaction of contributing to the supply of a want which is felt in many families. Even where the book may not be needed as a form, it may still answer a most useful purpose in suggesting petitions and modes of expression. We have derived advantage from it in exciting those religious and domestic affections which, amid the distractions of commercial or professional activity, are too much in danger of subsiding. The tone of humble, earnest, and charitable devotion which breathes through every prayer, can scarcely fail to make the frequent reading of the volume an occasion of spiritual refreshment. In many other ways we can conceive of its being useful. Might it not, for example, be profitably studied by persons who engage in social prayer? For the purpose at which it aims, it is well adapted. As the practice of family prayer rests, as the author observes in his preface, 'rather on general principles than on any express precept in the sacred scriptures,' so it would seem the manner must be guided by the comprehensive canon which requires us to do everything of this kind '*for edification.*' There may be a form where no book is used. There may be the absence of a form, without the power of that calm and devout spirit, which is the life of prayer. And a book like this it has been our happiness to observe, has been often used by humble minded heads of families, so as gradually to acquire ability and confidence for offering their family prayer without

such aid. We cheerfully commend this little manual to those who would be glad—and we know there are many—to have an additional domestic form, assuring them that these prayers are *evangelical*, simple, brief, and free from any peculiarities that could justly offend the cultivated taste or the religious predilections of any class of christian worshippers.

St. Lucia: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive. By Henry H. Breen, Esq. (Thirteen Years a resident in the Island). London: Longmans, 1844.

ST. LUCIA, one of the West Indian Islands, is chiefly important to Great Britain as a military post of observation on the French colony of Martinique. It has secure anchorages and fine scenery; in other respects, bearing the family likeness of the group. The author is too fond of alliteration, but his descriptions of the face of the country, and of the manners of the coloured population are not without interest. In all relating to the island, the book must stand alone as an authority. Great pains have been taken with the statistical tables, yet it would be unsafe to draw general conclusions without corresponding information respecting the neighbouring colonies. The main lesson respects, we think, the advantages resulting from a compulsory registration of mortgages and titles to land, instituted by Mr. Jeremie, when President of the Court of Appeal. St. Lucia, including its mountainous tracts, contains only about 160,000 acres; yet, according to this registration, there were debts upon the soil to no less an amount than £1,189,965. A law of sale and distribution was the sole remedy for such a system of confused and unlimited credit—and under it almost every estate in the island has been judicially sold, with little real hardship to the nominal owners, and great general benefit to the colony, since in place of impoverished planters at the crisis of emancipation, its proprietors were men of independent means. The same experiment is surely worth trying in others of our West Indian possessions.

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac, for 1845. Compiled pursuant to a Vote of the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. London: Jackson and Walford.

The Complete Suffrage Almanac and Reformer's Manual, for 1845. London: Davis and Hasler.

The former of these Almanacs, as the title-page shews, is compiled pursuant to a vote of the Congregational Union, and is designed, in addition to the usual information given in such Manuals, to contain lists of the associations, seminaries, and public societies belonging to the Congregational body. Considerable labour has evidently been expended on its preparation, and the work richly merits the patronage of the body for which it is designed.

The latter Almanac, as the title denotes, is political in its complexion, and will be found a valuable companion, rather than a rival to the preceding. It consists of 64 pages, is prepared with much skill, and

contains a fund of information and sound political science, of which no British subject should willingly be ignorant.

Dissent : its Character, its Causes, its Reasons, and the way to effect its Extinction. London : Jackson and Walford.

A BRIEF history of Nonconformity in England, in its double aspect as hostile to any establishment, and as holding Episcopacy unwarranted by Scripture. It is temperately and clearly written. The style does not overlay the argument; and is, therefore, a good book for distribution. The cure for Dissent recommended is, of course, the abolition of compulsory conformity. When will it be seen that unity in difference is far to be preferred before division in uniformity?

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Adam Clarke Pourtrayed. By James Everett. Vol. II.

Egypt, and the Books of Moses; or, the Books of Moses Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt. With an Appendix. By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident Theol. Sem., Andover. With Additional Notes by W. Cooke Taylor, Esq., L.L.D., M.R.A.S. of Trinity College, Dublin.

Elementary Education; the Importance of its Extension in our own Country. With a Sketch of the State of Elementary Education on the Continent. By Henry Edwards, Ph. D.D.D.

The Church in the Navy and Army: including Original Autobiographies of Officers in both Services. A New Series.

Letters on the Psalms. A short and familiar Introduction to Sacred Criticism. By the Rev. G. H. Stoddart, A.M.

Bokhara: its Amir and its People. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff. By the Baron Clement A. de Bode.

Tahiti. Containing a Review of the Origin, Character, and Progress of French Roman Catholic efforts for the destruction of English Protestant Missions in the South Seas. Translated from the French. By Mark Wilks.

The French in Rheinstadt: a Romance of the Day. A Friendly Voice from the Avon's Banks to the Nations of Germany. With other Poems. By James Nisbett.

The Nature, Grounds, and Claims of Christian Humility. By the Rev. Henry Edwards, Ph. D.D.D.

The Jubilee Services of the London Missionary Society. Held in London in the Month of September, 1844. With a brief Introduction by the Directors.

An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, Theoretical and Practical: with an Appendix on Probabilities and Life Annuities. By J. R. Young, Professor of Mathematics in Belfast College.

The Christian Gleaner. Consisting of Original and Selected Pieces.

The Law a Rule of Life to the Christian. Considered in Eleven Lectures on the Decalogue. By the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, M.A., F.L.S.

Political Dictionary. Containing all the General Terms, whether Historical or in Present Use, of Constitutional and Ecclesiastical Law, of Civil Administration, of Political Economy and Social Relations. Vol. I. Part I.

The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., &c. Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition. The First Volume by Robert Southey, Esq., P.L., L.L.D.: the last two by his Son, the Rev. C. C. Southey, B.A. 3 vols. 8vo.

A Journey from Naples to Jerusalem by way of Athens, Egypt, and the Peninsula of Sinai; including a Trip to the Valley of Fayoum. Together with a Translation of M. Linant de Belleford's 'Memoire sur le lac Mœris.' By Dawson Borrer, Esq.

The History of British India. From 1805 to 1835. By Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S.

Travels in Luristan and Arabistan. By the Baron C. A. de Bode. Vol. II. Notes, Critical, Illustrative, and Practical, on the Book of Job: with a New Translation, and an Introductory Dissertation. By Albert Barnes. Vol. I.

The Sabbath Question Illustrated. By a Roadside Enquirer.

Difficulties of a Young Clergyman.

Reality of the Gracious Influence of the Holy Spirit. By the late John Jamieson, D.D., F.R.S. and F.S., A.S., Author of the Scottish Etymological Dictionary, &c. &c. With Memoir by the Rev. Andrew Somerville, Dumbarton.

Life of Sir Thomas More. By the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh.

The Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James Duke of Monmouth, &c. to his Capture, and Execution. With a full account of the Bloody Assize, and copious Biographical Notices. By George Roberts, author of the History of Lyme Regis, &c. In two volumes. Vol. I.

The Glory of the Redeemer in his Person and Work. By Octavius Winslow.

The Amelioration of Ireland Contemplated, in a series of papers. The questions of Repeal and Federalism considered.

Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ. The Anglican Reformed Church and her Clergy in the Days of her Destitution and Suffering, during the great Rebellion, in the Seventeenth Century. By the Rev. George Wyatt, L.L.B., F.S.A.

Shepperton Manor; a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrewes. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, B.A.

Letters on Church Reform. By the Rev. W. Carlisle.

Logic: Designed as an Introduction to the study of Reasoning. By John Leechman, A.M.

A New View of Insanity. The Duality of the Mind proved by the Structure, Functions, and Diseases of the Brain, and by the Phenomena of Mental Derangement, and shewn to be essential to moral responsibility. With an Appendix. 1. On the influence of religion on insanity. 2. Conjectures on the Nature of the Mental Operations. 3. On the Management of Lunatic Asylums. By A. L. Wigan, M.D.

The case of David Salomons, Esq., being his Address to the Court of Aldermen, on applying for admission as Alderman of the Ward of Portsoken, on Tuesday, Oct. 15, 1844. Revised by himself.

Sermons for the Season of Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany. By the Rev. G. R. Cleig, M.A.

The Religion of Ancient Britain: or a succinct Account of the several Religious Systems which have obtained in this island, from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest: including an investigation into the early Progress of Error into the Christian Church, the introduction of the Gospel into Britain, and the State of Religion in England till Popery had gained the ascendancy. By George Smith, F.A.S.

The New Englander. October.

The Institutions of Popular Education. An Essay to which the Manchester Prize was adjudged. By the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, L.L.D., DD.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR FEBRUARY, 1845.

Art. I. *The Sacraments. An Enquiry into the Nature of the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments.*
By Robert Halley, D.D. Part I., Baptism. 8vo. pp. 620. London :
Jackson and Walford.

AMONGST the natural tendencies of the human mind by which it has in all ages, and among men of all races, been swayed to the adoption of corrupt and carnal systems of religion, there are two to which we may, without much fear of error, assign the chief place. These are the tendency to prefer what is outward and sensible to what is spiritual, and the tendency to exchange a personal for what has been happily styled a vicarious religion. These two tendencies we find so universally operating, that we may justly call them natural to man ; and whilst each of them has sufficient power of itself to do incalculable mischief to the best interests of the race, their impulse is so invariably directed along the same line, that they are seldom if ever found alone, but almost universally in co-operation.

That in religious matters there should be in the human mind a tendency towards what is merely formal will not appear surprising, if we reflect that, in our present state, we are altogether more the creatures of sensation than of reflection. The outward senses are the inlets of a very large portion of the knowledge we are daily receiving, so that they are making continual demands upon our attention. External objects, moreover, are so much more readily apprehended by us, than objects of pure thought, that it requires an effort to detach the mind from the former, and engage it with the latter, such as the majority of

men are usually unwilling to make. Hence, from the force of mere habit, and through a sort of indolence, the mass of mankind are content to confine the range of their interests and engagements within the sphere of the material and the sensible. They find it far more easy to observe than to reflect—to imitate than to plan—to take things in the gross than to analyse them into their component principles. Facts they can easily gather, and therefore facts are plentifully gathered; but ideas they can obtain only by a continuous mental process, and hence their stock of ideas is, for the most part, small. They are more at home in a museum, than in a laboratory. They are more fitted to excel in the senate or the forum than at Tusculum, or amid 'the groves of Academe.' They place great faith in the maxim, that 'seeing is believing,' and can little comprehend either the possibility or the pleasure of 'living by faith and not by sight.'

The habit of pondering abstract relations being thus one of the last which men generally are disposed to acquire, it ceases to be surprising that the religion of the mass should tend universally toward a mere outward form. At first sight, indeed, nothing would seem more irrevocably placed beyond the sphere of the merely sensible than the religious relations of man. Here all is essentially spiritual; or, if anything material be introduced, it can be only in the capacity of an instrument or adjunct. Perhaps, however, this very circumstance only the more directly induces in man a disposition to carnalize his religious system; for when the alternative is proposed between a purely spiritual system and no religion at all, the almost certain result will be that man, following the bent of his native impulses, will adopt neither side of the alternative, but will construct a religion for himself that shall effect a compromise between his conscience and his senses—between his inability to do without a religion and his unwillingness to embrace one that constrains him to deal with spiritual things as realities. In point of fact, we find that it is so, for, wherever man has been left to form a religion for himself, whether out of materials supplied by revelation, or from such resources as tradition and nature could supply, it has been invariably the case that the formal has usurped the place of the spiritual, and that the adjunct has been substituted for the essential. In systems of purely human origin all is material; the object of worship is himself symbolised, and the worship offered comes to be a mere outward form, sometimes a superficial farce. Where revelation has shed its light, the grosser parts of this material system are relinquished, the spirituality of Deity is admitted; the necessity of moral rectitude in his sight is conceded; but after all, wherever

the natural tendencies of the human mind have been allowed to operate in determining the kind of religion which should really and practically be embraced, the mind has invariably swerved from spirituality of sentiment and worship, to take refuge in rites and ceremonies, penances and mortifications. These, however burdensome, or however painful, it would seem are preferable in the estimation of mankind generally, to a religious system which demands reflection, meditation, self-examination, and the exercise of the higher functions of our intellectual and moral nature.

In close and active co-operation with this tendency towards a merely ritual religion, is the second influence to which we have above referred—the tendency to prefer a vicarious to a personal religion. Whether it be that man is not fond of viewing himself *directly* in his relation to Deity, or that he finds personal religion too serious and difficult a subject for him to deal with, or that he feels more composure in transferring his anxieties to, and reposing his confidence in another, of whose follies, imperfections, and sins he has not that painful consciousness which he has of his own; the fact itself appears unquestionable, that there is a strong tendency in men generally, to settle their relations with God through the medium of a priest, rather than on grounds involving their own personal responsibility. Now this tendency, coexisting in the mind with a natural tendency towards mere ritual worship, not only accords with the latter, but electively coalesces with it, and a mutual action goes on between the two. For if there be rites and penances, there must be some one to perform the rites and exact the penances; and though, under certain circumstances this might be done by the person himself, yet the tendency to transfer all matters involving responsibility to a priest, naturally leads to the reposing in his hands the duty and the power of settling such points. On the other hand, where people have transferred their religious responsibilities to another, they have, *ipso facto*, invested the latter with a right to demand of them implicit obedience to his appointments; and, moreover, as a vicarious religion can be carried on only by means of something which the responsible party *does to* or *for* those who have placed the care of their souls in his hand, his appointments come of necessity to have respect exclusively to matters of outward performance. Thus a ritual system grows naturally out of a vicarious system, and a vicarious system naturally craves the aid of a ritual system. Between the two, man becomes the votary of a religion, from which all spiritual vitality has been withdrawn; which is of the earth earthy; and which, instead of improving and elevating its followers, seldom fails to make them the slaves of superstition,

the tools of the priesthood, and the prey of all that is sensual and devilish in our fallen nature.

It would be easy, we think, to illustrate these remarks very fully by an appeal to the history of corrupted Judaism and corrupted Christianity. Without entering, however, on so wide a field at present, we need only to point to those ordinances of the Christian church which form the subject of Dr. Halley's work, now on our table. No person can reasonably pretend that the place assigned in the New Testament to these ordinances is other than secondary and auxiliary. They form no part of the essence of saving truth, or of the religion, strictly so called, recommended to us by God. Whatever disadvantages the neglect or the wrong observance of either of them may inflict (and on this point we are far from holding latitudinarian sentiments), neither by the express words of scripture, nor by the general spirit of christianity, are we justified in maintaining that these amount in any case necessarily to a forfeiture of the essential privileges of the christian church. With all the wise and gracious adaptation of these ordinances to our spiritual well-being, they are nevertheless mere adjuncts of the far more important and essential part of christianity—viz., the adaptation of divine truth to enlighten the understanding, relieve the conscience, and purify the heart of man.

How different from this the place which many assign to the sacraments, it is unnecessary that we should at any length describe. Every one knows that under the sacerdotal system of the Roman Catholic church they have been elevated into the place of divine mysteries, and made primary and essential parts of christianity. It is by them that the thaumaturgic deeds of the priesthood are chiefly wrought. By the waters of baptism the priest regenerates the sinful child of Adam; by the elements of the eucharist he offers sacrifice for him, and confirms, strengthens, and fructifies the grace implanted in the regenerated soul. By the one he washes away the birth-stain which man brings with him into the world; by the other he atones for the guilt which man has actually committed in the world, and sends him out of it with a comfortable viaticum for his journey to the next. Wielding the sole power of the former, the priest holds the keys of the church below; wielding the sole power of the latter, he holds the keys of the church above. The christianity of Catholicism thus becomes a religion of external observance and of vicarious responsibility. It is not by a great change wrought in him through his own apprehension and appreciation of divine truth, under the influence of the divine Spirit, that the Catholic is taught to expect salvation, but by a change effected upon him in consequence of something done to him by his priest.

The sacraments are thus made the means of gratifying, at the expence of genuine christianity, the two propensities to which we have already referred as naturally operating in man to the deterioration of his religious views and habits. As sensible rites they are adapted to his love of an external religion ; and as the implements of priestly therapeutics, they render unnecessary a personal, and gratify the love of a vicarious religion. They offer man an easy and sensuous road to heaven. He can be religious without the labour of thinking, or the trouble of reasoning, or the mortification of self-examination. He can dispense with the burden of anxiety altogether as respects his religious state and prospects, by transferring the care of his soul to his priest. It is by what the priest does to him in baptism that he is regenerated ; it is by what the priest does for him in the sacrifice of the eucharist that he is justified. The whole affair is a matter of vicarious operation, in which personal obligations and responsibilities are, for the most part, left out of sight, and that which is spiritual in christianity becomes entirely superseded by the inordinate and misplaced importance attached to what is ritual.

Against this gross and ruinous error of sacramental salvation, Dr. Halley has directed the battery of his clear and cogent argumentation in several parts of the volume now before us.

As in this volume he deals only with the ordinance of baptism, his remarks on sacramental efficacy are almost exclusively devoted to the exposure and refutation of the Roman Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration ; but he promises a subsequent volume, in which the ordinance of the Lord's Supper shall form the leading topic of discussion. The question of sacramental efficacy, however, forms only a small part of what Dr. Halley has undertaken to examine. His plan includes the consideration of all the questions which have divided professed christians regarding the sacraments. Their nature, their permanency, their origin, and the mode in which they are to be administered, no less than the uses they are designed to serve, fall within the field which Dr. Halley has marked out for himself. To traverse so wide a space with anything like intelligent and satisfactory scrutiny, he has found impossible in one course of eight lectures, the number which custom seems to have prescribed for the congregational lecture ; and accordingly he has divided his course into two, expanded his allotted eight lectures into fourteen, and taken his place by the side of his single-volumed colleagues, with the enviable distinction of having secured, what most of them have deplored the want of,—a sufficient space to say all he has thought necessary for the adequate discussion of his subject.

Since Dr. Halley had made up his mind to occupy so wide a field, it might, perhaps, have been deemed ungracious on the part of the committee with whom the management of the Congregational Lecture rests, had they sought to stint him to narrower limits than, in his own opinion, justice to his subject required. But that Dr. Halley should have chosen so wide a field as the subject of a congregational lecture, we greatly regret. For one thing, as this lecture is designed 'to partake rather of the character of academic prelections than of popular addresses,' we are sorry to see it made the vehicle of discussions which are literally vulgarly popular, which no learning or talent can ever invest with academic dignity, and upon which an able writer would find a hearing as readily without as with the assistance of the Congregational Committee, and the *prestige* of a Congregational Lectureship. Our principal cause of regret, however, is, that Dr. Halley should, like most of his predecessors, have been ambitious rather of being at the head of a department than of doing the work of a laborious official, whose aims are bounded by the desire to leave nothing belonging to his allotted task undone. The design of such an institution as the Congregational Lecture, we take it, is not only to procure treatises on important subjects, in which the popular mind is not sufficiently interested to make the writing of books on them a safe speculation, but to have these subjects discussed in that elaborate, minute, and exhaustive method which, however distasteful to the mass, gives to a book, in the eye of a real student, its chief value. The bounty of this institution, in our opinion, should be directed to encourage the publication of works which the bookseller would not venture to patronise, but which would be inestimable treasures to the man who reads not merely to pass the time, nor merely to pick up what is useful, as it may chance to occur, but to settle his mind upon some important questions — to enable him to form a precise and definite conclusion on some point of moment. Of single books that would suit the purpose of such a student, there is in our British literature a melancholy lack ; and unless the managers of the different lectureships take the thing into consideration, and act rigidly on the principle of allowing their lecturers only one subject at a time, we see not how it is to be remedied. Hitherto the Congregational Lecture has been almost profitless in this respect. When we look at the capacity of the different lecturers, we cannot but deplore the loss which theological literature has sustained by such men spreading their efforts over fields which the undivided energies of a life-time would barely serve to cultivate thoroughly, instead of concentrating them upon one or two points of importance, and discussing these so exhaust-

ively that to a student wishing information upon them, one might have been able to say—‘read Mr. ——’s Congregational Lecture, and you will find all you desire.’ With hardly an exception, the volumes already published are all too popular and too diffuse. Some of them, indeed, are avowedly fragmentary, and imperfect; others of them are no less avowedly addressed to the popular mind, and intended to bring the subject discussed before the public in a popular manner; whilst others of them aim at discussing a whole series of subjects, both popularly and scientifically. To this latter class Dr. Halley has, we think, unfortunately chosen to belong. All that he has written in this volume bears the marks of high intellect and sound scholarship; but after all, it is the work of a popular preacher or controversialist, not that of a purely scientific enquirer. Had he selected one part of his subject—say that of sacramental efficacy—had he brought all the keenness of his logic and all the resources of his learning to bear upon this one point, the result would, we have no doubt, have been the production of a work which would have become *standard* upon the evangelical side of the question, so as to render it unnecessary for any one to write again upon it. As it is, Dr. Halley’s able paragraphs on this subject are mere *contributions* towards a settlement of the question, distinguishable from many others only by their superior vigour and brilliancy.

We have another cause of regret, arising from the wideness of the field which Dr. Halley has selected; and that is, that it has led him to devote a considerable part of the volume before us to controversies which have divided congregationalists themselves. We allude especially to the questions which have been raised as to the proper subjects and the proper mode of baptism, on both of which he bestows a lengthened notice. On this subject the writer of the present article feels the more at liberty to express his opinion from the circumstance that he stands upon the same side of these questions with Dr. Halley, though he is free to confess that he would much rather have seen this discussion in a separate shape, than as forming part of the Congregational Lecture. It should be the aim, surely, of such an institution, to occupy as much as possible ground that is common to all evangelical congregationalists, and especially to avoid whatever might cause it to be regarded as an instrument for strengthening the one section of the congregational body at the expense of the other. Why should not the volumes produced by this lectureship be such as that by the congregationalists who practise only adult baptism by immersion, no less than by the congregationalists who practise both adult and infant baptism, without being scrupulously careful whether it be done

by immersion, or sprinkling, or pouring, they should be held in honoured estimation, as defences of great common principles, and sources of credit and strength to the whole denomination? In this light Dr. Halley's book cannot be regarded; for on no part of it has he apparently bestowed more care and labour than on that in which he argues against the advocates of adult baptism by immersion alone; and by these, consequently, his work can be viewed in no other light than in that of a hostile battery, which either they must silence, or before which they must capitulate.

We shall now proceed to give our readers a brief outline of the contents of the volume, pausing to make an occasional remark or two on such points of interest as may present themselves.

The first lecture is 'on the term 'sacrament,' and the several institutions to which it has been appropriated.' Here the author lays down and maintains the position, that baptism and the Lord's Supper are 'both of them symbolic representations of evangelical truths.' The word *sacramentum* he argues, came to be applied to these rites from its being used to designate *sacred truths*, and hence, by an easy transition, the *symbols* of such truths; an hypothesis which seems to us by much the most satisfactory which has yet been offered in explanation of this usage, only that it still leaves unexplained the process by which this word, originally used to denote a sum of money deposited by parties in a suit in the hands of the Pontifex Maximus, to be forfeited by the losing party to a sacred purpose, came to be applied to designate a sacred truth. Perhaps the process was this:—the money deposited in such cases might assume a two-fold aspect: it might be viewed as a pledge for the sincerity of the parties in the suit, indicating that it was no idle litigiousness that had brought them into court, but a *bond fide* case of difference necessitating an appeal to the law; and at the same time it might be regarded as the consecrated symbol of a yet unuttered verdict of which, when uttered, it became, so to speak, the practical exponent. From the former of these aspects the Romans seem to have deduced the usage of the word to denote generally any sacred pledge; and from the latter we would suggest they derived the usage of the word to designate a sacred truth. What seems to confirm this view is, that Apuleius speaks of the 'sacramentum judicii,' by which he means the judicial sentence pronounced in a cause. His words are, 'ad gravissimum judicii vestri sacramentum eum curavi producere,' (*Metam. iii. sub. init.*) where *sacramentum* cannot mean either the pledge of the suitors, or (as Cicero often uses it) the suit itself, but must denote the sentence of the judges. If this theory be admitted, it would so far affect Dr. Halley's doctrine, as to reverse

the order in which he has arranged the descent of meanings ; for, instead of the word coming to denote the symbol of truth from its first denoting the truth itself, the order in this case would be that the word used to denote the symbol came frequently to designate the truth symbolised, or generally any sacred truth or mystery. Be this, however, as it may, the fact remains indisputable that the word was used by the ecclesiastical writers in both these senses, and it does not matter much as regards the sense in which we are to understand it when used of baptism and the Lord's Supper, which of the two had the precedence in point of time ; the important point is, that in applying this designation to these sacred rites, the early christians meant to convey the idea that these were to be regarded as the symbols of sacred truth. That such really was the light in which they were viewed, may, we think, be justly inferred, from the express words of Augustine, when he styles a sacrament, '*verbum visibile*,' and describes it as a sign of truth.

From ascertaining the meaning of the word sacrament, Dr. Halley passes on to consider the objects to which this term has been applied. Here he is principally occupied in examining the doctrine of the Romanists, that there are seven sacraments, and showing that the church of England, whilst professing with other protestant communions to repudiate five out of the seven, viz., *Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction*, virtually retains, by the judgment of her own formularies, all except the last two, 'not regarding matrimony as a sacrament, and repudiating extreme unction.' This part of the lecture is full of the soundest logic and acutest discrimination.

The concluding part of the lecture is devoted to the subject of the ancient *Agapæ* : these Dr. Halley thinks were entertainments provided at the expense of the wealthier members of the church, or of some wealthy individual member, for the relief of the poor and destitute in the church ; and he even goes so far as to suggest, that there was appropriated for this purpose one house at least in connection with each church. For this view of the subject we greatly desiderate sufficient evidence. That such houses were attached to the Jewish synagogues, and such entertainments provided in them, affords to us no reason for believing that the same holds true of the christian churches, for we are by no means satisfied that the synagogue was the model in all things for the church ; and further we suspect that *Agapæ* were frequently observed when the christians were not in circumstances to have either fixed places of worship or stated houses of entertainment. Dr. Halley asks whether it is credible that a christian church should celebrate 'the propitious and glorious festival of the resurrection, while her poor were dis-

pressed with the cravings of hunger.' We answer, certainly not ; but we would remind him that to prevent this there was the apostolic ordinance of the *κοινωνία*, *the fellowship*, instituted in the church at Jerusalem from the very first, and for the proper management of the fund formed by which the office of deacon was instituted. Further, when Dr. Halley quotes Rom. xvi. 23, to prove that Gaius was in the habit of providing for the whole church of which he was a member, a frequent if not a regular agapè, he does not appear to have adverted to the fact that the church in question was that at Corinth, of which on many grounds it is highly improbable that one individual could be the entertainer. To us it appears much more likely that all which Paul meant by the expression *ξένος μου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας* *δλῆς* was that Gaius not only hospitably entertained him, but all who, like him, were travelling for the cause of Christ. It seems quite clear that Gaius could not be the host of the whole church at Corinth in the same sense in which he was Paul's host, unless we suppose that Paul means nothing more by calling him his host than that he occasionally provided him with a meal (which according to our author is all that we must understand in the case of the church, by his being called the host of the whole church) ; a supposition which we think very incompatible with the Apostle's words. If, moreover, the Gaius mentioned by Paul in this place be, as Dr. Halley thinks, the same with the Gaius referred to by John in his third epistle, the commendation bestowed on the latter for his hospitality to 'travelling preachers' (as the lecturer explains *ξένους*) would seem to us to favour the interpretation we have given above of Paul's words. We are not the least moved by the appeal made to John's use of the word *ἀγάπη* as descriptive of that which formed the chief topic of the testimony borne by these *ξένοι* in favour of Gaius ; for we are quite sure that, delivered from the seductive influence of having a theory to support, Dr. Halley would be the last man gravely to propose that we should translate John's words, 'who have borne witness of thy *love-feast* before the church.' We can hardly forgive our friend for suggesting to us the idea of the primitive preachers returning from their self-denying labours full of grateful reminiscences of Gaius's feast, attesting its abundance and savouriness before the whole church, and conveying to the mind of the venerable apostle such a sense of its excellence, as led him to make it the subject of commendation in an inspired epistle.

After all, where is the evidence that these Agapæ had any existence in the apostolic churches, or that they were ever connected, as Dr. Halley and many others think they were, with

the observance of the Lord's Supper? In the church at Jerusalem, it is clear, from the narrative in the second chapter of the Acts, that there was a great deal of social intercourse among the christians, and that, prevented by circumstances from meeting together in large numbers 'to break bread'—a technical phrase for observing the Lord's Supper (compare Acts ii. 42; xx. 7)—they were accustomed to do so, κατ' ἑξῆς, in private houses; but where is the evidence that the social meal and the sacred rite were ever united, or observed as consecutive parts of the same ceremony? That this was the case at first, and during the earlier ages of christianity, has been very generally assumed, but we are quite unable to see on what grounds. The unvarying practice of the churches of the second and third centuries was to observe the Lord's Supper by itself; and the social meal, where any such was provided, was partaken of at a different time. Justin Martyr, whilst formally describing the worship of the christians, gives no hint whatever of an Agapè as forming any part of their service.* In the African church, which of all others adhered most rigidly to primitive forms, we find that the social meal had no connexion with the eucharist, but was an entertainment *sui generis*; † and in the account given by Pliny of the services of the christians, we are expressly told that after they had met in the morning of the sabbath, and bound themselves by a sacrament, they 'were wont to separate, and afterwards to come together again to partake of food, and that of the ordinary kind, and quite harmless.' ‡ In opposition to this array of evidence in favour of the opinion that the Agapè was not observed along with the Lord's Supper, we have found positively nothing that is deserving of a moment's consideration. On what ground, then, we ask again, is it affirmed so confidently and so constantly, that in the mother church at Jerusalem, and among all the earlier churches this practice prevailed?

The only passage in the New Testament where these Agapæ are supposed to be named, is in the twelfth verse of the Epistle of Jude, with which Dr. Halley compares 2 Pet. ii. 13, where he proposes to read ἀγάπαις for ἀπάταις. That these two passages refer to the same class of persons, that they affirm the same things concerning them, and that consequently the reading in both should be the same, we have no doubt. But the question remains, which is to be altered? whether shall we

* Apol. i., c. 65.

† Tertull. Apol., c. 39.

‡ Quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque cocundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.—*Ep. ad Troj. Imp.* Bingham translates *promiscuum*, 'common to all;' but we have Augustine's authority for taking it in the sense we have given.

change ἀπάταις into ἀγάπαις in Peter, or ἀγάπαις into ἀπάταις in Jude? Our author seems to think there can be no question about the matter, but with us it is a grave and serious question. He appeals to the readings of the MSS.; how, then, stands their evidence? The answer is, that it is pretty nearly alike on both sides. The reading ἀγάπαις, in Peter, has in its favour the authority of the Vatican MS. and the Alexandrian by a correction, of the Peschito-Syriac version, the margin of the Philoxenian, the Arabic, and the Vulgate. The reading, ἀπάταις, in Jude, is supported by the Alexandrian MS., the Codex Regius, a MS. of the 11th century in the British Museum, and one of the 15th. The evidence thus furnished will be admitted to be nearly on a par; or if a preference be allowed, it will be in favour of that reading which is supported by two uncial MSS. over that which is supported by only one, and the correction of another; to say nothing of the doubt which attaches to all various readings adduced on the authority of the Vatican MS., from the very imperfect collations which have hitherto been made of it. So far, nothing is certain, but that the reading of the text in the one passage has affected the readings of the other; which was the original reading, remains still in doubt. Happily, however, there is one circumstance which may serve as an *instantia crucis* to guide us here; and that is, that the various reading in Peter is *incomplete*, and therefore bears on its face evidence of having been an after correction, whilst that in Jude is complete. It is obvious, that if the true reading be ἀγάπαις, the pronoun following must be ὑμῶν, and not αὐτῶν, and if the true reading be ἀπάταις, the pronoun following must be αὐτῶν, and not ὑμῶν, for ἐν ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν and ἐν ἀπάταις ὑμῶν are alike meaningless. In none of the MSS., however, and in none of the versions which read ἀγάπαις in Peter, have we ὑμῶν; all give αὐτῶν, except the Arabic of the Polyglot, which omits the pronoun altogether. All the MSS., on the other hand, which read ἀπάταις in Jude, read also αὐτῶν for ὑμῶν. On the assumption, then, that the original reading was the same both in Peter and Jude, this seems to us to decide the question as to what that reading was; for the question comes to be, whether we shall alter the passage in Peter into ἐν ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν, and so make nonsense of it, or alter the passage in Jude into ἐν ἀπάταις αὐτῶν, which makes a very good sense, for we should translate the passage thus: 'These are by their own deceiving (or deception) stumbling-blocks, revelling together without fear, feeding themselves,' &c.

So much for this point in textual criticism; if our remarks be sound, they will go to deprive Dr. Halley and those who agree with him, of the only case in which the Agapæ are sup-

posed to be mentioned directly in the New Testament. If, however, the reading in Jude be retained, it will still remain for him to prove, that by ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν the apostle did not mean simply the Lord's Supper. That this ordinance was sometimes so designated, is proved, we think, by a passage in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (§ 8), where he says that 'in the absence of the bishop it is not lawful either to baptize or to observe the Lord's Supper (ἀγάπην ποιῆν).' Dr. Halley, indeed, contends, that Ignatius refers here to the love-feast; but this we think very improbable on many grounds, and among these is that which our author adduces in support of his interpretation, viz., that Ignatius had just before referred to the eucharist, for such a repetition is altogether Ignatian.

By almost all who have written on the Agapæ, reference has been made to 1 Cor. xi. 20—22, as affording evidence that such observances were recognized by the apostle, who is here supposed to be reproving an odious abuse of them. Dr. Halley tells us that, he 'must speak with some hesitation' on this point; but he evidently inclines to the opinion that the apostle really had these love-feasts in his eye, in writing this part of his epistle. He seems to think, that our only choice lies between viewing the object of the apostle's strictures as an abuse of the Lord's Supper, and viewing it as an abuse of the Agapæ. Were this the case, we should be inclined to agree with him in the conclusion to which he comes; but we suspect, that it is to neither the one nor the other of these that Paul refers. It is rather a suspicious circumstance attaching to the conclusion our author has adopted, that, in order to reach it, we must suppose that the practice of the Corinthians, in reference to the Agapæ, differed from that of all the other churches so far as we know; for it is clear, as Dr. Halley remarks, that if it is the love-feast which Paul here refers to, the observance of it must have *preceded* the observance of the Eucharist, whilst the testimony of ecclesiastical writers is uniform in affirming that the Agapæ *followed* the Eucharist. This naturally induces the suspicion, that it is not an abuse of the Agapæ which the apostle reprehends in the Corinthians, but the observance of some custom peculiar to themselves, and not under any form agreeable to the mind of the apostle. This is confirmed by the consideration, that had he been occupied here in reprehending an abuse of some practice harmless, if not commendable in itself, he would hardly have given the censure without following it up with some intimation of how it became them to observe the practice so as to preserve it from leading to the evils of which he complains. Nothing of this sort, however, is done; the censure is delivered, and the apostle passes on to describe the institution and design of the

Lord's Supper, and to tell them how they should observe it. All this seems to us to point to the conclusion that the practice which had crept into the church at Corinth, was one altogether unlawful on Christian grounds in itself, and which had come to supplant and supersede that true feast of love which the Lord had appointed for his people. With this view, the apostle's words appear to accord. He is speaking before of 'the coming together' of the Corinthian church, and declares, that though the assembling of believers was designed to be for their mutual advantage, yet with the Corinthians it proved the opposite, for they came together not for the better, but for the worse. How was this? Because they did not come together for the purpose for which other churches came together, viz. to eat the Lord's Supper. This was in the apostolic churches the main object for which the brethren assembled in church (*ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* = in their congregational capacity, ver. 18. Comp. Acts xx. 7.) But, for this purpose, the Corinthians did *not* assemble. On the contrary, they came together in groups, to observe a practice which necessarily produced schism and bad feeling in the church, by displaying invidiously the distinction of the rich and poor in a place where all such distinctions should be merged. This the apostle accordingly denounces, and having done so, proceeds to tell them the true object for which they should come together, and the proper mode of assembling for that object. Such we conceive to be the train of the apostle's remarks in this context, and with this, the supposition, that the object of his reprehension was something which ought not in any form to have been tolerated in the church, fully accords. What the practice censured really was, has been well described, we think, by Rappheilius in his note on this passage, where he traces it to the old Greek custom of having banquets to which each guest brought his own provisions, and the abuse of which to results much the same as those described by Paul, Socrates, in his day, sought to remedy, (*Xenoph. Mem. Lib. iii. 14. 1.*)

We have now glanced at the passages usually adduced to prove the existence of the Agapè as a regular observance in the apostolic churches, and our firm conviction is, that no sufficient evidence of such a practice can be adduced. As for the Agapæ mentioned by the ecclesiastical writers as practised at a subsequent period, they appear to us to have grown out of the mere tendency, so common to all men, to cement the bonds of friendship and brotherhood by eating and drinking together. Meetings for this purpose were common national customs in all those countries where the Christians resided, and it is not to be wondered at that they should have followed so simple and so natural a mode of expressing their mutual affection, more especially as

it afforded an excellent opportunity for the rich to dispense of their abundance for the advantage of the poor. This much at least is certain, that these Agapæ had no connection whatever with the observance of the Lord's Supper, which took place at a different time, and anterior to the Agapè. In addition to the evidence above afforded of this from Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Pliny, we would simply quote the following passage of Chrysostom:—'When all the believers come together, after they have heard instruction, after prayers, after the fellowship of the mysteries, and after *the assembly is dissolved*, they do not forthwith go home, but the rich and wealthy bring food and meats from home, invite the poor, and prepare common tables, common feasts, and common symposia in the church itself.'*

With these somewhat hasty remarks we must now dismiss this subject, on which, perhaps, some of our readers may think we have dwelt too long. The question, we grant, is not one of very high importance, but having expressed our dissent from the opinion most commonly held, we felt constrained to append to that expression some of the reasons on which our dissent is founded.

To the first lecture, Dr. Halley has added three long and valuable appendices on the following topics, 'the difference between the ancient discipline and the Romish Sacrament of penance;' 'Unction not the Sacrament of the Dying;' 'On the Service of the Synagogue as affecting the Institution of the Christian Church.' Amid much that is highly valuable, there are one or two points in these Appendices, especially the last, on which we should feel inclined to break a lance with the author, did not our rapidly diminishing space warn us that it is time to proceed to the other parts of his work.

Lecture II. is 'On the Perpetuity and Design of the Sacraments.' In the former part, the author maintains, chiefly against the Society of Friends, the perpetual obligation of baptism and the Lord's Supper as ordinances of the Christian religion. In no part of the work has he displayed more successfully his logical vigour and sound scholarship. We have seldom seen the argument based by the anti-ritualists on our Lord's words to the woman of Samaria, (John iv. 21—24), more successfully disposed of than in our author's remarks on Barclay's inference from this passage, 'That every system of worship by ceremonial observances, like that of the Jews or the Samaritans, being entirely abolished, the worship of the Christian church is exclusively spiritual, without any external rite or symbolic ordinance whatever.'

* Homil. 54, cited by Suicer Thes. Eccles. in 'Ἀγανη. Com. also Hom. 27 in Ep. I. ad Cor.

In the latter part of the Lecture, Dr. Halley maintains the position that, 'the sacraments are significant rites—emblems of Divine truth—sacred signs of the evangelical doctrine—designed to illustrate, to enforce, or to commemorate the great and most important truths of the Gospel,' in opposition to those who regard them as the instrumental causes of salvation, and to those who view them as seals of salvation. Neither of these views, he endeavours to show, accords with the acknowledged character of the rites of the former dispensation; or is compatible with the apostolic doctrine of salvation by faith alone. His reasonings on both these points appear to us perfectly conclusive. The only ground on which the reasonableness of the Old Testament rites can be at all shown is, that they were signs of religious truths, the outward and perishable symbols of spiritual and everlasting verities; and that they were neither the means nor the attestations of inward religious vitality, is demonstrable from the fact that a man might observe them all, and yet not be a true Israelite, or a Jew inwardly and from the heart. With regard to the second position, all protestants will admit that with the doctrine of justification by faith, the popish doctrine of an *opus operatum* by means of the sacraments is at utter variance; but there are many who will be disposed to dispute the justice of Dr. Halley's charge, when he imputes the same consequence to the opinion that the sacrament is designed to be a seal to the worthy recipient of God's grace. To such, we recommend the careful consideration of the following passage.

'If they are represented as seals or ratifications of saving blessings conferred upon the recipients, we have to inquire, In what sense is this representation to be understood? They are assuredly not seals of spiritual blessings to those who do not spiritually receive them—not seals of deceit and delusion to unregenerate men. It must, therefore, be intended that the worthy observance of the sacrament, the observing of it with spiritual dispositions, is the obsignation of grace. And what is this but making the worthy reception, the good work of the man, the seal and assurance of eternal life, so that, instead of looking entirely and exclusively to Christ Jesus, to his spotless obedience and atoning sacrifice, he is looking upon himself amidst the deceitfulness of his own heart, for seals and verifications of his own justification? The more simply and directly he fixes his attention upon the work of Christ, the more justly assured he becomes of his title to everlasting life. A sacrament *in itself* is no seal of pardon or salvation, because it may be unworthily received. To call the worthy reception of it the seal of pardon or of salvation, is to exalt a good work to the high place of the witness of Christ's fidelity, or of his sufficiency, in saving believers, and so to reverence it not only as the arbiter of our own justification, but as the authentic verifier of the truth of Christ. Invited, every day and every hour of my life, to confide entirely on Christ, as able and willing to save

me, what have I to do but to accept the generous invitation in the full assurance of faith? Burdened with a sense of guilt, the message of the Gospel is to me the good news of great joy; and in the assurance of the truth of God, which I cordially believe, I can admit no seals or verifications other than his own testimony. A sacrament offers no assurance, no word of encouragement to me in my unbelief; and in my belief the verbal and express assurance of God is the object of my faith; and that assurance is, that in Christ Jesus, my only Saviour, I have everlasting life. 'This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.' That record believed is its own demonstration, and no symbolical service can be either an attestation of its general truth, or a seal of its specific application to individuals. 'He that believeth hath the witness in himself.' Besides, this doctrine of sealing God's grace to individuals by a sacrament can amount to no more than a hypothetical sealing—a sealing of God's grace upon the supposition that the person is already possessed of that grace; a seal which, to be of any worth, must be itself accredited or attested by the grace which yet it is said to seal or ratify. But what seals are these? The sacraments worthily received are said to be seals of an inward and spiritual grace, or of spiritual blessings consequent upon it; but that inward and spiritual grace is to us the only assurance of the worthy reception of the sacraments. The outward sign seals the inward grace, and the inward grace attests the outward sign. To this *reductio ad absurdum* may be brought the notion that the sacraments are seals of the favour of God to those who worthily receive them. The proper assurance, the great seal of the love of God to sinners, which every sinner may specifically apply to himself, is the gift of God's own Son, whom he hath given for the life of the world, and to this no other assurances—no minor seals—can add any confirmation. To introduce their aid is to cloud and obscure the only Object of faith in the justification of the ungodly.—pp. 104—107.

Whilst, however, we agree with Dr. Halley in his reasoning here, we think he has laid down his position somewhat too absolutely and sweepingly. He has affirmed it as *dictum simpliciter*, whereas we think he was only entitled to affirm it as *dictum secundum quid*. In other words, whilst we agree with him in repudiating the idea that by either of the Sacraments God's grace is sealed or attested to us, we are not prepared to admit that there is *no* sense in which these can be called sealing ordinances. The sacraments appear to us to possess a threefold design according as they are viewed as *symbols*, as *signs*, or as *seals*. Under the first aspect they are designed to exhibit divine truth; under the second, to indicate the submission of the recipient to the authority of the Divine Author of that truth; and under the third, to confirm and strengthen the recipient in his confidence in the truth which they exhibit. All these purposes the sacraments rightly observed, we take it, do answer, and all of them we believe they were designed by our Lord to answer. If the last two be excluded, and their sole design be

held to be the exhibition of truth, we cannot see why the observance of them by *persons* alone should have been enjoined. For aught we can see to the contrary the lesson of baptism, for instance, which Dr. Halley says is merely 'the sign of purification,' that is, as we understand him, the emblem of the gospel doctrine of purification, might have been taught by the washing of cups and platters, or any other material objects, quite as well as by the baptism of persons; in the same way as the doctrine of purification was signified under the former dispensation. The specification that this ordinance as well as that of the Lord's Supper is to be observed only in reference to persons, seems to us to prove that both must have, beyond their symbolical character, a significancy in respect of the personal relations and interests of those by whom they are observed.

Lecture III. enters upon the *questio vexata* of Jewish proselyte baptism; of the existence of which, anterior to the birth of Christ, Dr. H. is a decided advocate. Besides the testimony of the Talmudists—in this case, he contends, worthy of credit, as it respects a mere custom of their nation, and one which they had not the slightest conceivable reason to feign, had it not really existed among them—the reasons he urges are the readiness with which men of all parties in Judea resorted to the baptism of John without seeming to view it as a new thing; our Lord's expressed surprise in his conversation with Nicodemus, that a master in Israel should not know what was meant by being born of water and the Spirit—a surprise which Dr. Halley thinks would not have been felt had not there been 'some prevalent usage of their nation to illustrate these words,' and this usage he thinks was proselyte baptism; the dispute about purifying between John's disciples and the Jews (John iii. 25, 26), as indicating that the nature of baptism was fully understood by the Jews; the address of Peter to the assembled crowds of foreign Jews on the day of Pentecost, in all of whom he must have presumed upon an acquaintance with the meaning of baptism, when, without explaining it, he said, 'Repent and be baptised every one of you;' and some confirmatory passages from Arrian and Josephus. Dr. Halley has conducted his inquiry with great firmness and ability, and we feel bound to say that, whilst the subject is involved in much uncertainty, we think the evidence, so far as it goes, manifestly in favour of the side he has espoused. At the same time, some of his arguments are such as we cannot assent to. Especially do we differ from him in his remarks on our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus. His argument, as we understand it, runs thus: Nicodemus ought to have understood clearly what our Lord meant by a man's being born again by water and the Spirit; but he could

not do this unless there had been some custom of his nation which these words express; and supposing proselyte baptism to have been practised, he would have had in it the custom required, for by being born again the Jews understood the man's becoming a proselyte, and by being born again of water, nothing can be meant but being baptised. Now it strikes us that on this reasoning Nicodemus is made out to be one of the most stupid and turbid of mortals, not only unworthy of the honours of a master of Israel, but not fit to occupy a stool in the class of the most unskilful of the rabbis. If it were a Jewish custom to baptise proselytes, if a man on becoming a proselyte was familiarly said by the Jews to be born again, and if to be born again by water can mean nothing but to become a proselyte by baptism, on what principle does Dr. Halley account for Nicodemus being so inconceivably dull as not to comprehend language which on this shewing must have been as familiar to every Jew as 'household words'? To us it appears clear that our author, in his zeal to press this passage into his service, has been so exceedingly over-pressing, that he has rendered it unfit to do duty in his cause.

In adducing this argument, he has made certain assumptions, none of which he can well dispense with, but all of which we think are false. The first is, that our Lord could not justly express surprise that Nicodemus, a master in Israel, should not understand his words unless there were some custom in the nation to which these words referred. Now, as already hinted to us, it appears on the other hand quite evident that had our Lord referred to a mere national custom when he spoke of being born again of water, he could not have expressed his surprise at the ignorance of Nicodemus on the subject, that the latter was a *master* in Israel, for such a man would be an unworthy of any Jew. His doing so, but that something deeper in his words than mere national custom, but not so deep as that a rabbi should not apprehend it. It is well known that the fame arose from his ability to 'unravel' (as it were) the *parables* and the interpretation, the words 'sayings;' and that when rabbis met, frequently was to propose such to each other. In all occasions they conversed together in the same style, of which they alone had the secret. Our Lord was a Rabbi, and so was Nicodemus, and to learn from Christ himself his doctrine, it is language of the same kind as that which our Lord used to his disciples. If we had their words, then, we should have no difficulty in understanding our Lord's words, then.

tive here ; but the figure is one which a Jewish rabbi, familiar with such modes of phraseology and with the language of the Old Testament, should have had no difficulty in understanding. Hence our Lord's reproach.

Dr. Halley further assumes, and here he is not singular, that Nicodemus really did not comprehend our Lord's words, and that his almost puerile question, 'How can a man be born when he is old?' was a *bonâ fide* expression of helpless ignorance. We have more respect for the intelligence of the worthy rabbi than to give in to such an idea. A very little acquaintance with the forms of Oriental controversy, or discussional conversation, will serve to convince any reader, that in this question the ruler expressed not his ignorance of our Lord's meaning, but his dissent from his doctrine, or at least his doubt of it. The drift of his rejoinder we take to be, 'I can understand how such a change as you speak of is necessary for one who has never been spiritually born at all ; but that a man who is old, that a man who was born into the kingdom of heaven when he entered the world, and has all his life long continued in it, that such an one should be told he requires regeneration seems to me absurd and unreasonable.' To this our Lord rejoins by reaffirming his former assertion with an explanatory addition to the effect that his doctrine was, that let a man's position by natural descent be what it might, a spiritual change was further necessary before he could be saved. Still Nicodemus expresses his polite dissent by asking, 'How can these things be?' and it is in reply to this that our Lord addresses to him the implied rebuke contained in the words, 'Art thou a master in Israel,' &c. As a learned Jew he ought to have understood his own scriptures better than to call in question such a doctrine. In what follows, our Lord, we think, plainly shows that he did not regard Nicodemus as ignorant of his meaning so much as opposed to his doctrine, for while he shows the utmost anxiety to convince the rabbi, he offers not one word of explanation of what he had said, but goes on to assert in solemn terms his own authority as a divinely commissioned teacher, and his perfect certainty of the truth of what he affirmed ; after which, dropping the style of figurative speech in which their conversation had commenced, he proceeds to announce to Nicodemus, in plain terms, the way of salvation through himself as the Son of God. Whatever, therefore, may be built upon the supposed ignorance of Nicodemus in this conversation, we must regard as resting upon a very doubtful basis.

But the most important assumption made by Dr. Halley in his reasoning on this passage is, that by being 'born of water' nothing else can be meant than being baptised with water. No

proof, however, is offered by him, either that his own exegesis is right, or that the interpretations proposed by others are wrong. He has not shown us how it comes to pass that 'to be born of water' *must* refer to baptism. It is of no use to quote passages from the rabbis to show that they spoke of a proselyte as one new-born; for the question is not as to what is implied in being born again, but as to what is implied in being born again *of water*. Could it be shown that, in the days of our Lord, the Jews were accustomed to describe the *baptism* of proselytes by saying they were regenerated of water, it would both settle the question of proselyte baptism, and justify Dr. Halley's exegesis. In defect of this, however, we must hold the latter to be purely gratuitous. As for other interpretations, the lecturer summarily settles them by affirming that 'no other satisfactory interpretation of the passage has ever been suggested.' We should have felt more conviction as to this had he attempted to prove his assertion by an examination of those which have been offered. We should like, for instance, to know his objections to that which supposes here, as in Matt. iii. 11, a hendiadys, and which explains being 'born of water and Spirit' as equivalent to being born of that Spirit which cleanses like water.*

In one part of the lecture Dr. Halley has partly anticipated some of these strictures; for in reply to the question, 'If the baptized proselyte was regarded by the Jews as new born, how should the ruler in Israel reply to our Lord, 'How can a man be born when he is old?' &c., he explains the question of Nicodemus as expressive rather of his surprise that our Lord should deem regeneration necessary for a Jew, than of ignorance of the meaning of his words. But what in this case comes of the argument raised on this passage in favour of Jewish baptism? That argument rests, as far as we can see, entirely on the supposed ignorance of the ruler. Such ignorance was held by our Lord to be remarkable and blame-worthy, because, says Dr. Halley, 'there was some prevalent usage of their nation to illustrate' our Lord's words. The existence of this prevalent usage then is an inference from the blameworthiness of the ruler's ignorance. But if there was no ignorance in the case, what comes of the inference? It will not do to substitute in this reasoning the word '*prejudice*,' or the word '*obstinacy*,' or aught similar for the word 'ignorance;' for if the ruler's question was prompted by 'prejudice' or any other cause of a moral character, our Lord's reproof can be accounted for, without at all resorting to the supposition that any 'prevalent usage' formed the subject of his remarks. We humbly think, therefore, that our learned

* See Alexander's Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical, p. 300.

friend's 'second thoughts' on this passage are not only better than his first, but annihilatory of all that his first have been urged to prove.

In the course of this lecture, Dr. Halley 'taking high ground' maintains that there was a general baptism of the Israelites by Moses, and adduces 1 Cor. x. 1, 2, as affording apostolic sanction to this opinion. We should be glad could this point be established, as with us it would settle the question respecting the antiquity of baptism; but we are constrained to say, we have perused Dr. Halley's comments upon the statement of the apostle without conviction. Our space does not allow us to enter at large into the subject; we shall, therefore, simply, from Dr. Halley's own remarks, draw out an analogy which will, we think, at once express the apostle's meaning, and show the fallacy of our author's reasoning. It is this:—as the eating of the manna is to the observance of the Lord's Supper; so is the baptism of the Israelites, at the Red Sea, to Christian baptism. Was then the eating of the manna the same kind of thing as the eating of the Lord's Supper? If not; on what grounds is it concluded that the baptism at the Red Sea was the same kind of thing as Christian baptism? Have we not in both cases a mere historical event, possessing, as all events in the history of the typical people possessed, a spiritual significance, adduced as supplying an *argumentum à fortiori* in favour of the due observance of an express and sacredly appointed ordinance?

We have already exceeded due bounds, and must consequently content ourselves with merely noticing the remaining Lectures. The fourth is 'On John's Baptism; and is chiefly occupied in a reply to the late Mr. Hall's reasons for thinking John's baptism not Christian baptism. Here we think the author fails on one point, and that the most important of all, the turning point in fact of the entire controversy; viz. the rebaptism of John's disciples, mentioned Acts xix. 1—5. Dr. Halley labours hard to get over the testimony of this passage against his position, that the two baptisms were identical. For a statement of his reasonings we must refer our readers to the work itself. To us, they appear to result in this, that John's baptism was valid, if administered before our Lord's death; but not if administered after that event. What is this, but to say that John's baptism was valid for his own, but not for the Christian dispensation? than which we can require no more evidence that his baptism was not Christian baptism. Nothing would appear to us more clear than that if John's dispensation was not the Christian dispensation, the baptism whose validity expired with the former, was not that baptism which was appointed to be the initiatory rite under the latter.

Lecture V. is on 'Baptismal Regeneration,' and is, to our judgment, one of the best and most valuable in the volume. In Lecture VI. Dr. Halley enters upon the subject of 'the mode of Christian baptism,' and, in a long appendix, replies to the work of the late Dr. Carson. Lecture VII. discusses the question of 'the subjects of Christian baptism,' and is followed by two appendices, one on the Codex Laudianus, and the other on Dr. Carson's interpretation of the Baptismal Commission. The subjects handled in these two concluding lectures are such, that even had our space permitted, the peculiar character of this journal as the representative of both parties in the baptismal controversy among dissenters would have precluded our entering upon them. It is the aim of the 'Eclectic' to preserve a strict neutrality upon these questions, and this characteristic of our journal we are the more solicitous to preserve, now that the aspect of the present time seems imperatively to demand union among all sects of evangelical dissenters.

We have freely given utterance to our dissent from some of Dr. Halley's opinions, but we cannot part from him without an assurance of the deep impression the perusal of his work has left upon our minds of respect for his learning and talents, and of esteem for him as a man and a minister of Christ.

Art. II. *Mémoires de B. Barère ; Membre de la Constituante, de la Convention, du Comité de Salut public, et de la Chambre des Représentants, publiés par Hippolyte Carnot, Membre de la Chambre des Députés, et David d'Angers, Membre de l'Institut.* 4 vols. Paris : J. Labitte, quai Voltaire.

THREE years ago, in a city at the foot of the Pyrénées, an old man, the last survivor of the principal actors in the most eventful drama recorded in the annals of any country, closed his long and agitated career, without one feeling of remorse, almost without a regret, and full of confidence in Divine Providence. Two days afterwards, the whole population of Tarbes followed to their last resting-place the remains of their fellow-citizen ; and, before the coffin was lowered into the grave, one of the principal inhabitants, the chairman of the council of barristers, addressed the spectators in the following terms :—

'In this place, where to bestow mendacious praises would be sacrilege, I can solemnly affirm that never, in any man, was found a purer disinterestedness, more affectionate family feelings, a more enthusiastic love for the fine arts, and more honourable principles of sociability.

'It was a great consolation for the old man to see himself elected a member of the general council of his department; but, at the same time, it was great cause of surprise, to his fellow citizens, to see the old man so long and so unsparingly tormented, preserving a calm and dignified mind; an exquisite benevolence, a lucidity of understanding, and a freshness of imagination, which youth might envy; constantly employing himself in elucidating history, which will receive from him many precious documents and important revelations. The pen dropped from his hand with his last sigh, and in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

'Men, feeble men as we are, let us be just and merciful, standing as we do on the brink of a grave.

'As citizens and Frenchmen, let us be grateful to those sons of France who broke her fetters, defended her independence, and founded her liberties, at the price of their tranquillity, of their life, and of their reputation.

'Old man, now in presence of the Eternal God, thy country salutes thee, and posterity listens to thee!'—vol. i., p. 197.

Most of our readers will hear with astonishment, that the subject of this emphatic encomium, the old man to whom this affectionate farewell was addressed, was no other than the 'VIEUX DE LA MONTAGNE,' the 'Reporter of the Committee of *Salut public*,' the—alas! too illustrious **BERTRAND BARÈRE**. Yet, such is the fact. The man who, in almost all Europe, was, and is still considered as the personification of all the revolutionary atrocities; whose emaciated and tottering frame, notwithstanding the placidity of his features, the mildness of his aspect, and his venerable figure, appeared to the new generation as the relic of a dreadful race of vampires who had preyed upon their forefathers,—this man, in his native town, had retained the esteem and affection of men of character and eminence, who, after standing by him, in his old age, against half a century of incessant accusations, remained faithful in death, proclaimed over his corpse the services of the citizen, and engraved on his tombstone the oak-crown of patriotism.

It was not in his native town only that Barère was held in general esteem. The whole department participated in this feeling; and from 1789 to 1841, never missed an opportunity of showing their confidence in his character. In 1789, the electors chose him for their representative in the general states, which soon afterwards became the constituent assembly. Barère was then thirty-four years of age.

At the expiration of his legislative functions, in 1791, his department elected him a judge in the Court of Cassation.

In 1792, he was chosen a member of the National Convention.

In 1797, although almost an outlaw, and hiding himself to escape the exile decreed against him by the convention, without

any trial, he was again elected a member of the council of Five Hundred.

In 1805 and 1810, he was chosen, by the same department, as their candidate for the 'Corps Legislatif,' in spite of the opposition of the imperial government.

In May 1815, he was elected a member of the Chamber of Representatives; and at the very first election which followed his return from exile, in 1831, he was again proposed as a candidate for the representation, and his election would have been carried, had he consented to leave Paris, to present himself to the electors.

Finally, in 1832, immediately after his return to his native place, he was repeatedly chosen a member of the general council of the department, which function he resigned only in 1840, the year which preceded that of his decease, and when his old age and bodily infirmities no longer permitted him to fulfil his duties with his customary regularity.

Thus, during a period of time embracing more than half a century, Barère was constantly invested with the highest and the most confidential offices at the disposal of his fellow-citizens, under every government—nay more, in spite of the hostility of every government; and in contempt, we may say in defiance of the general opinion, in France and the rest of Europe, of both native and foreign historians; and of the universal reprobation which the mere mention of his name was sure to call forth in the whole world.

Such a contrast, between the opinion so generally entertained of Barère and the opinion of a locality in which his real character must have been better known, cannot but strike every impartial mind. Such a constancy, on the part of the population of the 'Hautes Pyrénées,' and of the electoral body, composed, as it is in France, of men of property, is a fact so startling, that we endeavoured to account for it, and to explain its causes, by a reference to the electioneering arts and practises now in use in France, still more than in this country. We were soon convinced that the test was not applicable. Barère never had a bribe to give, a favour to grant, a benefit to confer, in return for the votes of his constituents. At the time of his affluence and of his power, all the civil and judicial functionaries were elected by the people; and, even after his downfall, in 1795, the electors who voted for him did so with the certainty that they had nothing to expect from the succeeding government, through the intervention of their obnoxious representative. The only conclusion we could arrive at, therefore, is, that the political conduct of Barère had given full satisfaction to his constituents, who, by their suffrages, continued to sanction and

to reward the acts of his political career, to the last moments of his life.

If these acts were so many abominable crimes, if Barère was, as represented by almost all modern historians, an execrable monster, whose only pleasure was either to order or to applaud the effusion of innocent blood, we naturally infer that the approvers, the abettors, the admirers of such a man, must have been sadly deficient in reason, in morality, and humanity; and we should declare the population, and the constituency of the department of the Hautes Pyrénées, the most perverse, the most iniquitous, and the most sanguinary, of France.

These conclusions, however, did not at all agree with our own observations, when in the midst of that population, nor with the accounts given of their manners by travellers in the Pyrénées. It may be objected that travellers, in their hasty rambles through a country, or during a short residence at some watering place, have but few opportunities of forming an accurate opinion of the general character of the inhabitants; and that the impression received from a limited intercourse with certain classes, cannot militate against the strict deductions of logic. We therefore, in order to elucidate and establish the truth, resolved to search for a better authority than our own, or that of travel writers. We found it in a work recently published, and no part of which, notwithstanding its appalling disclosures, has been contradicted by any of its numerous reviewers. The statistical tables appended to this work, '*France, her Governmental, Administrative, and Social Organisation*,'* give the following results, which we recommend to the serious attention of our readers.

1st. Of the eighty-six departments of France, the department of Hautes Pyrénées is the 78th for the number of inhabitants. That is to say, seventy-seven other departments contain a larger population.

2nd. It is the 80th for the amount of taxes paid. Seventy-nine other departments contribute in a greater amount to the expenses of the state.

3rd. It is the 30th for agriculture. Twenty-nine departments contain a greater number of agriculturalists.

4th. It is the thirty-fourth for the bad quality of food. Thirty-three departments are worse fed.

5th. It is the fifty-eighth for manufactures, handicraft, and trade. Fifty-seven departments are more manufacturing and commercial.

* This work, it is true, has not been confuted; but its introduction into France has been prohibited.—EDITOR.

6th. It is the seventeenth for pauperism. Sixteen departments only have a greater number of indigent poor and beggars.

7th. It is the fourth for longevity. There are but three departments in which the average of human life is higher.

8th. It is the thirty-first for instruction. Fifty-five departments are more ignorant.

9th. It is the eighth for religious zeal. There are but seven departments more religious.

10th. It is the eighty first for criminality. Eighty departments are more criminal.

11th. It is the thirteenth for illegitimate births. Twelve departments only produce a greater number of bastards.

12th. It is the thirty-second for foundlings. In thirty-one departments the number of exposed or deserted children is greater.

On the strength of these facts, extracted from official returns, we cannot but acquit the population of the Hautes Pyrénées of the accusation resulting from our logical argument: but then comes another difficulty. How could a small population, mostly agricultural, though feeding on very bad food;—poor, with a maximum of indigent persons and beggars, and yet with more than the average of instruction;—with a comparative abundance of religious zeal, and a comparative freedom from criminality,—how could such a population entertain, during more than fifty years, that unalterable respect for, and confidence, in Barère;—stand by him in the worst days of his adversity, and seize every opportunity of entering, by their recorded suffrages, their most solemn protest, against the unrefuted accusations and persecutions of his all powerful enemies? Shall we now conclude to the complete reversal of the all but unanimous judgment passed upon the political career of Barère? Shall we contend that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he did nothing but his duty, and that he did it in such a manner as to entitle him to the respect and gratitude of his fellow men? Shall we, in short, with the inhabitants of the Upper Pyrénées, hold him up as a pattern of civic virtue, of enlightened patriotism?

No! and when we say no! let not our readers imagine that we yield to any fear of placing ourselves in opposition to what may be called public opinion, and that we recoil before the formidable array of the past and present assailants of Barère. Such considerations are beneath our character. As much as any we respect public opinion: we set a great value upon the approbation of our readers, but there is something upon which we set a still greater value; it is the dictates and the approbation of our conscience. If we were convinced that Barère has a just claim to the gratitude of his fellow men, we

should not hesitate to sustain that claim, despite of his past and present assailants.

Our opinion of him was expressed in a few words, in a work on the French revolution, published in 1826. Having to mention some circumstances, in which Barère acted a creditable part, we premised our narrative by this observation :—‘ Barère, who was cruel only when he was in fear.’ At the time we wrote, we had been told that he was dead, and we certainly thought our judgment the most severe that could, with truth, be pronounced upon him. To our great surprise, we received letters from some of our friends, at that time the companions of Barère’s exile in Belgium, apprising us of the pain we had caused to the old man, and entreating us to write and publish, some few observations to explain away the literal meaning of the sentence. We could not hesitate, for an instant, to express our deep and sincere regret, at having, by an untimely reflection, wounded the feelings of a man in his circumstances; but, at the same time, we resisted the demand of our friends for even a partial disavowal of our opinion; and, strange enough, this was the beginning of our familiar, though unfrequent, relations with Barère, notwithstanding our determined hostility to most of the measures of the Committee of Public Safety.

Barère, however, to the last moments of his life, seemed unconscious of ever having done any act deserving the hatred of which he was the object; on the contrary, he frequently expressed himself so as to convey the impression that, in his own opinion, he had been too indulgent. He told us, at Brussels, in 1828 :—‘ Si nous avions été, non pas sévères, mais seulement justes, la France serait aujourd’hui libre et prospère; nous avons cédé à la pitié, à une fausse humanité, et nous avons préparé l’asservissement et la ruine de la patrie.’ In December, 1830, after his return from exile, we visited him at his lodgings, *Marché des Jacobins*, and his parting words were: ‘ J’étais devenu Orléaniste: je reviens au comité de salut public. Vous verrez un jour que nous valions mieux que tous ces gens-ci.’ The last time we saw him was in 1837, at Tarbes. He expressed himself very warmly upon all the acts of the present French government since its establishment: ‘ C’est la terreur, plus la corruption,’ said he; ‘ et on le supporte et on le loue (!) tandis qu’on nous accuse. Si, comme Guizot, Thiers, et autres, j’avais employé, pour ma fortune, ou ma renommée, les trésors du pays, je serais un grand homme; mais ces trésors que j’ai eus à ma disposition, n’ont été employés qu’à la défense de la patrie. La révolution, qui m’a trouvé riche, m’a laissé pauvre; et je suis un grand coupable.’ We avow that it was not without deep emotion that we listened to the old man, in his humble dwelling,

when, a few days before, we had been shown the immense estates and the chateau of Marshal Soult.

Before parting, Barère told us, that he was engaged in completing his memoirs, which were to throw a new light upon the events in which he had taken so prominent a part; and to produce new and incontrovertible evidence, in support of his appeal, from the judgment of his contemporaries, to the tribunal of posterity. We must say, that we thought the undertaking almost hopeless, and that he seemed to us quite unequal to the task. The effects of age, upon his mind, were clearly perceptible, though his imagination had preserved all its vivacity, and his sensibility all its intensity. But his memory was evidently failing, and his ideas were somewhat confused. In the course of our conversation, dates, events, and men were frequently introduced out of their proper order; and even many of his own alleged acts were denied: not because he had no justification for them, (for he was ready to justify all), nor for the purpose of telling an untruth, but merely because, having forgotten them and lost all traces of their causes and of the attending circumstances, he could not believe he had done such things for no reason whatever. Memoirs, written in such a state and disposition of mind, could not, in our opinion, much contribute to the elucidation of truth, or materially improve the character and reputation of their author. We are sorry to say, that our anticipations were in some measure realised, on reading these volumes, notwithstanding the choice, and perhaps, in some part, on account of the choice of the editors.

We know them both: we entertain for them a sincere regard and affection, and we do not wonder that Barère should have entrusted to them the defence of his memory. David, an eminent sculptor, in our opinion the first of his time, is a kinsman of Barère. Much too young to know, from his own observation, the history of the French revolution and that of the principal actors in it, and too much engaged in the admirable works which will transmit his name to posterity, to have the necessary leisure to study that history, in the numerous records which, too frequently misrepresent it, he sees in it nothing but a desperate struggle for freedom, of which he is an ardent votary; and, in Barère, one of the men who were mainly instrumental in preserving France from foreign invasion and dynastic tyranny. The misfortunes, the proscription, the exile, and poverty of Barère are the only circumstances of his life personally observed by David, and, in a heart like his, these circumstances create affection and devotedness. These feelings could not but be strengthened when, after the revolution of July, David saw the old republican entertaining, after the triple trial of expatriation,

distress, and old age, the same love of freedom and of his country, which had signalized him at a former period. The confidant of the misgivings and of the apprehensions of his old relative, as to the consequences of the new revolution, David could not but admire his foresight and statesmanship, when he saw his worst fears realised; and apostates and traitors seizing the helm of the government, and continuing the war of the restoration against the liberties and the honour of the country. The doctrinaires were the accusers, the persecutors of Barère: for thirty years they have been the curse of France, and therefore, to defend his memory against them, seemed a patriotic enterprise, which a good citizen and a good relative could not refuse. For having done so, a quarterly reviewer seems to make him an approver of all the crimes imputed to Barère, and assails his character. Those of our readers, who have the good fortune to associate with the excellent and accomplished Mrs. Opie, will receive from her a very different account of her kindhearted, amiable, mild, clever, and modest friend.*

David is not a literary man, though he received a liberal education. The duties of the editorship fell therefore upon H. Carnot, who had previously published the posthumous memoirs of his father, and those of Grégoire. We can easily account for the choice made by Barère of the latter gentleman, for the publication of his manuscripts. Carnot, the father, had been his colleague in the convention, and in the Committee of Public Safety; he had, in consequence of this, been exposed to the accusations and persecutions of the reactors, and had been finally inscribed, by the restoration, on the lists of proscription in 1815. Carnot, however, had succeeded in silencing his accusers and in exculpating himself, to the satisfaction of his contemporaries, from all participation in the domestic policy of the terrorist committee. He had done more; by his subsequent conduct, by his consistency, his disinterestedness amounting to self-denial,†

* It was at a *soirée* given by Mrs. Opie, at Paris, Rue de la Paix, in 1830, that we first met David.

† Having opposed, in the tribunate, the accession of Napoleon to the imperial throne, and refused to swear allegiance, Carnot withdrew into retirement, in a quiet and obscure quarter of Paris, where he devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies. But, towards the end of 1813, the disasters of the two preceding campaigns, and the imminent invasion of France, induced him to write to Napoleon and offer his services for the defence of the country. Napoléon immediately appointed him to the command of the garrison and fortress of Antwerp. When, however, in execution of his orders, the Duke of Feltre, minister at war, previous to preparing the commission, looked over the official lists of the army, to ascertain and give him his proper rank, he was astonished to find, that the ex-president of the republic, the organizer of the French armies, had remained a captain, as he

as well as by his eminent talents, he had won the respect, the admiration of all the patriots. It was of him that General Lamarque, in his ode upon the 'proscrits,' of whom he himself was one, said,

' C'est la justice d'Aristide,
Et le courage de Caton.'

The hope of strengthening his appeal to the justice of posterity, by identifying his cause with that of such a man, sufficiently explains the request made by Barère to H. Carnot, who, in his public life, has evinced the resolution of emulating the patriotism, the integrity, and all the virtues of his illustrious father. Unfortunately, the range of his intelligence is not the same. He was much too young to derive any great benefit from his father's tuition (he was in his boyhood when he lost him), his education, under the restoration, was quite the reverse of that for which he had been prepared. When arrived at a proper age to observe and form an opinion, the dissimulation of the liberals, the versatility of the Bonapartists, and the subtlety of the doctrinaires, all contributed to unsettle and mislead his mind, notwithstanding the counteracting influence of Grégoire and some few friends of his late father. His heart, however, never was contaminated. The leaders of the St. Simonists entrapped him into their society, at its first establishment, under Bazard, whose enthusiasm and honesty were well calculated to make proselytes; but he seceded from them, so soon as the principles and the views of *Enfantin*, *Chevalier*, and their followers obtained the ascendancy, and assumed the immoral character which they subsequently exhibited. From the St. Simonists, Carnot passed over to the doctrinaires. We saw him, to our great surprise, in 1830, as strong a partizan of Guizot, as his foolish friend Mahul. He, however, soon found out that the morality of his new party did not materially differ from that of the former; that doctrinairism was nothing but political St. Simonism; and he abandoned the faction. A few years of solitude, reading, and meditation, perfected what his observation and experience of men had begun, and restored him to the principles of his father—principles which he strenuously advocates, in the Chamber of Deputies, as one of the representatives of Paris.

Such is the biographer of Barère; the principal editor of the present work. To him, as well as to David, nobody can refuse

was before the revolution. This was reported to Napoléon, whose commissions, as lieutenant-colonel, general of brigade, lieutenant-general, and general-in-chief, had been signed by Carnot. Napoléon instantly ordered that the title and rank of lieutenant-general, with precedence, should be given to Captain Carnot.

credit for honesty and veracity. We should be the very last to do so: but, at the same time, that we so explicitly express our regard for their character, we are compelled to say, that they have failed in their attempt at the complete justification of their friend, and that the volumes before us are not likely to give more satisfaction to the public, than they have given to ourselves. There is very little in them which we did not know before, as regards the events of the Revolution, and the part taken in it by the principal actors. The only profit we have derived from the reading of these memoirs, is a more accurate appreciation of the intellectual powers, of the mental faculties of Barère, which we find have been much overrated.

We must, in the first place, remark, that, notwithstanding the title, this publication has none of the character of *Memoirs*. Barère had written no memoirs; although, to the last day of his life, he was constantly writing, he has left nothing behind him but what we should call prefaces, sketches of memoirs, innumerable protestations of his innocence, and appeals to the justice of posterity, with a load of notes and observations written at different periods, upon all the events of his own time,—notes and observations which, for the most part, merely contain unsupported statements, repetitions, frequent contradictions, all plainly indicative of the different affections and impressions of the mind which dictated them, and of the inability of the author to reconcile them, and to form, of all the materials a historical monument, much less a personal justification.

It must appear strange that the man who, in these volumes, constantly complains of the injustice of the atrocious calumnies of his contemporaries, and appears so anxious to enlighten the opinion of a more impartial generation, and to obtain from future ages, not only a verdict of acquittal, but also a public acknowledgement of his patriotic services;—it is strange, we say, that this man should have neglected, during nearly forty years, the safest, and, in our opinion, the only course for attaining his object; namely, the enunciation of every head of accusation against his political conduct, and on the opposite page, a full discussion and refutation of each charge. If this simple plan encountered some insurmountable difficulties, there was another which his friends had recommended to him. It was to give a complete history of the 'Comité de Salut Public,' since its formation, with the minutes of its deliberations, and the specification of all the measures decreed or recommended by the committee, with mention of those which Barère had supported or opposed, and of those in the introduction or adoption of which he had had no share. This Barère had promised to undertake; and, if he had fulfilled his promise, though it is doubtful

whether he would have succeeded in exonerating himself from all guilt, there is no doubt that he would have left a most valuable document for impartial historians.

Unfortunately for himself, his mind was too impressible, too imaginative, and too active, to adopt such a plan, and to persevere for any length of time in its execution. To this impressibility, to this imagination, and to this activity, may be attributed not only his faults, his errors, and his deplorable excesses, but also the imputation of faults which he had not, and of excesses and crimes which he did not commit; and, in his old age, he seemed to have lost nothing of these faculties, which were so fatal to him. Two-thirds of the volumes before us are completely foreign to his defence. Modern events and circumstances made him forget his own case, to become an accuser, as, in the dangers which surrounded the convention, he had forgotten himself to be only the mouth-piece of the leaders, with whom he had little or no sympathy.

H. Carnot and David ought to have, in the interest of their friend, exercised a more severe discretion, not in the choice of matter only, but also in its distribution. They may say that they had no authority to suppress, to modify, and to arrange; that they were bound, from respect to the author, to publish the papers as they found them; but we maintain that their respect would have been better shown, by suppressing all that, which, being extraneous to the subject, or contrary to admitted facts, cannot but prejudice the cause of Barère. We maintain that the consistency of Barère, or the authority of his judgments, cannot be established by the indiscriminate publication of contradictory opinions, and of inaccurate statements of his, which the editors themselves are frequently under the necessity of noticing. Finally, we maintain that the justification of a man does not consist in merely accusing other men; and that, when such accusations, far from being supported by facts, are contradicted by facts, it is the duty of editors not to lend themselves to the propagation of posthumous calumnies. In the present instance, their diffidence of themselves, and their scruples, have not merely caused them to be unjust to others, but also to assist but little in the justification of Barère.

In our opinion, they ought to have considered the manuscripts entrusted to them as the materials out of which they were to extract and publish all that could be instrumental in vindicating the character and exalting the memory of their friend. The life of Barère is naturally divided into three periods. The first, from his birth, in 1755, to his election, by the convention, as a member of the committee of public safety, comprising thirty-seven years. The second period, that

during which he was a member of the committee, does not extend beyond fifteen months; it began on the fifth of April, 1793, and ended on the third of July, 1794. The remaining period begins on this last day, and ends with his death, on the thirteenth of January, 1841. During the first division, including even his share, as president of the convention, in the trial of Louis XVI., he had acquired the reputation of a gentleman of superior talents and enlightened patriotism, and he enjoyed the respect, the confidence, and the affection of his colleagues and of his country. For the greater part of the last period, he was a prisoner, a fugitive, an exile: but, during the whole of it there is not one act of Barère which can be considered derogatory to the character of an honourable gentleman. It is in the second period, in the fifteen months passed at the committee of '*Salut public*,' that he acquired the horrible celebrity, which completely obliterated the services of his preceding career, and could not be shaken off from him, even by his misfortunes or by death. A honourable life, during eighty-four years, thus subjected to almost universal execration, by fifteen months of participation in a kind of absolute and uncontrolled power, what a subject for meditation!

We say, 'a kind of absolute and uncontrolled power,' and, perhaps, we are wrong in thus describing the authority of the committee of public safety, and of its members. This committee, though the most generally known, and, we might say, the only one now remembered, was not the only one in existence at the time; and the other committees, especially the committee of '*Sûreté générale*,' which modern historians completely overlook, in their compositions, had an equal share of authority, and perhaps a greater participation in the domestic transactions, in the atrocities of that epoch, than the committee of '*Salut public*.' In order to enable our readers to decide on this point, we will say something of the origin and composition of these committees.

The first which was established was that of '*Défense générale*.' At the beginning of the war, in July 1792, the legislative assembly, distrusting many of the generals appointed to the command of the armies, and the ministers whom the court had induced the unfortunate Louis XVI. to choose, in opposition to the majority, decided upon the formation of this committee, to which all matters relating to foreign affairs, to the armament, the equipments, the provisioning and the movements of the forces, and the plans of the generals, were to be submitted. Some active members of the committee, which was composed of twenty-five persons, were soon convinced that the court was urging the invasion of the country; they found sufficient proofs

of this treachery, in intercepted correspondence; and they immediately resolved upon the deposition of the king. The majority of their colleagues in the committee not agreeing in their views, they had recourse to a popular insurrection; and, on the 10th of August, the monarchy fell, and the monarch was left a prisoner at their disposal.

The national convention, which was brought into existence by this event, maintained the committee; the necessity for which was rendered more evident by the conduct of Lafayette, who had 'pronounced,' at the head of his army, against the events of the 10th of August, and who, after failing in his attempt, in behalf of the unfortunate monarch, had left his troops and his country. The new committee was composed of almost the same persons as the first, most of them having been re-elected members of the convention, on the expiration of their powers, as members of the legislative assembly, and belonging to the Girondin party;—Robespierre, Barère, Danton, and Cambon, were among the new members.

But whilst this committee was attending to the foreign affairs, and to the organization and direction of the armies, the convention, too well aware of the intentions and indiscretion of the royalists, in Paris and in several departments, ordered the formation of a second committee, for the purpose of watching the conspiracies, and repressing the attempts which might be made by domestic enemies. This was the committee of *Sûreté générale*. At its first organization, Girondines, and men of moderation, were appointed; but as the fears of the convention and its anger increased, men of a more determined character were chosen. Thus we find in the *Moniteur*, that on the 21st of January, the day of the execution of Louis XVI., the whole committee was renewed, in consequence of the opinions expressed by many of them during the trial, and it was recomposed of the following members: Barère, Lamarque, Chabot, Legendre, Bernard de Saintes, Rovère, Ruamps, Maribon-Montaux, Tallien, Ingrand, Jean de Bry, and Duhem. The previous conduct of all of them, and their violence during the trial of the king, were but too certain guarantees that they would give no mercy to the political adversaries at home, who were subjected to their authority. Innumerable arrests soon followed the reorganization of the committee; but public dangers had not yet prepared the mind of the people of Paris for equally numerous executions.

The most important event of that epoch, the insurrection attempted by General Dumouriez against the convention, and his subsequent flight, when his army refused to follow him in his march on Paris, afforded to the terrorist party the opportu-

nity they had so long wished for, of wreaking their vengeance. Robespierre accused many of his colleagues in the committee of Défense générale, of having, some wilfully and some unwillingly, participated in the conspiracy of Dumouriez. It was principally against the Girondins that this attack was directed: but, fearing that the proposal of their exclusion from the committee would not be successful, and would be considered as the effect of personal hatred, which would deprive him of the support of many impartial men, he thought it preferable to impugn the organization of the committee, the too great number of its members, the publicity and irregularity of its deliberations, and finally the want of executive power. To remedy these real inconveniences, in the alarming state of the country, he proposed the substitution of another committee, which should be renewed every month, composed of only nine members, to whom all matters whatsoever should be referred; the deliberations of which should be secret, and which should have a right to enjoin upon the ministers of every department, and upon all civil and military authorities, the execution of any measure considered necessary for the *public safety*. Barère entered into the views of Robespierre, and supported the establishment of the committee of 'Salut public,' which was decreed on the 5th of April, 1793. The choice of the convention fell upon Barère, Dalmas, Bréard, Cambon, Jean Debry, Danton, Guiton-Moreau, Threillard, and Lacroix; and, in case one or more were incapacitated from attending, for any cause, they were to be replaced by the following substitutes: Réveillère-Lépaux, Lasource, Isnard, Lindet, Thuriot, Dubois Crancé, Fonfrède, Merlin, and Cambacères. This last measure, however, was immediately rescinded, because the appointment of substitutes was not authorized by the decree which established the committee.

Some may deem these details unnecessary, and may say that they are not to be found in the memoirs we are examining. Though Barère and his editors have thought proper to overlook many circumstances, this is not a reason for us to follow their example, when, even as mere reviewers, we meet with facts which appear to us of some importance, as in the present instance. If, at the mere sound of these words, 'Comité de salut public,' every one shudders, and utters an imprecation upon all who formed part of it, why should we not try to establish a distinction which justice claims, and which may lead impartial judges to a better appreciation of the men and the political events of those dreadful times? We give the names composing this first committee, because to them nobody can attach the reproach of undue severity, of sanguinary destruction. So long as the members

we have mentioned compose the committee, far from showing any exasperation, they resisted the popular irritation, and even the more formidable commands of Robespierre and of the *Montagne*. Five days after their appointment on the 10th of April, Robespierre renewed, in concluding one of his speeches, the demand for the trial of Marie Antoinette, and the committee refused to support him, and to act upon his motion. But there is a much stronger case in their favour. The wife and the two sisters of General Dumouriez, the Countess of Schomberg and the Abbess of Fervacques, had been arrested and hurried to Paris, just when popular indignation against the general was at its highest pitch, and when three hundred thousand francs had been promised, by the convention, to any one who would bring his head; and yet the wife and the sisters of Dumouriez were at once protected, and afterwards saved.

To this committee, therefore, which was re-elected in May and June, the praise of humanity is due. It is just, also, to declare that, during that interval of time, the '*Girondins*,' were heroically struggling against the well known designs of the '*Montagne*,' headed by Robespierre and the Commune of Paris, and that their resistance to legislative and popular vengeance greatly assisted the committee: but when the *Girondins* succumbed, when Robespierre had obtained the ascendancy in the assembly, the committee was still so refractory that it was found necessary to recompose it. This was done on the 10th of July, 1793, and the new members elected were: Jean bon S'André, Barère, Gasparin, Couthon, Thuriot, St. Just, Prieur de la Marne, Hérault de Séchelles, and Robert Lindet. Gasparin having resigned soon afterwards, Robespierre had himself appointed in his place, and, one month later, two members, Carnot and Prieur de la Cote d'or, were added to the committee, which had hitherto been composed of civilians, to superintend the military affairs. Such was the composition of the second—of the pitiless committee of *Salut public*. Barère was the only member of this one who had belonged to the first; and this circumstance is, by many, considered as a proof that he was in opposition to the moderation of his former colleagues, and, in the opinion of the convention, a fit associate of the new ones. Let us not be unjust even towards Barère. We have ascertained that, in the first committee, not only did Barère constantly coincide with the moderate and merciful views of the majority of his colleagues, but that, on many occasions he outstepped them all in indulgence and commiseration towards the conquered party. His re-election was owing to a deplorable aptitude which he had exhibited, even during the constituent assembly, for resuming a discussion, omitting no important point, for seizing the principal

of them, and clearly arranging the whole, so as to justify the conclusion arrived at. This, he was at all times ready to do ; and as few had an equal facility for this kind of legislative work, he was usually chosen as reporter, by whatever committee he was appointed to, after his first appearance, in the States General of 1789. To this fatal talent and indefatigable activity he owed his reappointment, and the choice made of him, by his colleagues, as *Rapporteur du Comité de Salut Public*.

Our justification of him can go no farther ; and we sincerely lament it. It would be a source of gratification to us, to be able to urge, as valid, on our readers, all the explanations which he gave us of his conduct in the second committee, and all the arguments which he urged upon us, when, pressing our hands in his, and with tears in his eyes, he was imploringly saying, '*Je voudrais vous convaincre.*' We must admit that the circumstances under which the second committee was appointed and set to act, were much more critical than those which led to its establishment and composition. It is true that civil war had been added to foreign invasion. It is true that thirty-two departments of France had successively revolted against the authority of the convention : some in support of the cause of their Girondist representatives, who were the neither imprisoned, previous to a mock trial, and beheaded, or fugitives from the fury of their persecutors ; some in behalf of the monarchy and of its legitimate representatives. It is true that the divisions, the convulsions from within ; vastly increased the already alarming dangers from without—that the plan for the federalization of France, however advantageous to the country, could not, at that time, but assist the European coalition in carrying out their own plan for the partition of France ; and that, therefore, this was not a time for moderation, indulgence, and conciliation. It is true, in fine, that the second committee of public safety mastered all the adverse elements, and eventually triumphed over their internal and external enemies ; and that it preserved France from the greatest perils that a country was ever exposed to. But all this has no weight upon our mind, when urged as an excuse for the means employed to obtain even such a result ; for the divisions, the convulsions of the interior, the appalling dangers which were conquered, had been prepared, promoted, and carried to their pitch, by the atrocious party of the convention, which established the second committee, and by that committee itself. The events of the 31st of May, the violation of the national representation, by the proscription of the Gironde, were the signal for civil dissensions, and for a struggle in support of the electoral and representative inviolability ; and besides that, in favour of men whose genius, eloquence, virtue, and pa-

triotism had long been pre-eminent. The execution of the principal of these men—the wanderings and miseries to which the fugitives were subjected—the persecutions against their relatives, their friends, and their constituents: such were the causes of the civil war which raged so long in the south, and in the west of France, whilst the armies of all the sovereigns of Europe were invading her frontiers. Whatever may be the opinion of modern liberals, we hold and we proclaim that the crimes which brought forth these unparalleled convulsions, and the crimes by which their subduing was purchased, can never be obliterated by the success with which they were attended. Let not their authors exclaim: ‘*Nous avons sauvé la Patrie.*’ The incendiaries who set one house on fire, and afterwards pull down two others, on each side of the first, so as to intercept the communication of the devouring element, might as well maintain that they are the preservers of a town.

Barère himself, not only admits the atrocious character of the measures adopted by the committee of public safety, but also agrees with us in our opinion upon their first causes, and upon their ultimate consequences, in many of the unconnected and frequently contradictory notes entitled *Memoirs*. He admits that he had a share in their adoption, in their enforcement, which share, he indefatigably labours to reduce to the minimum. He contends that he never originated any of those cruel measures; that he opposed most of them; but that, when introduced by one of the members, and adopted by the majority of the committee, he was bound, as the reporter, to abide by the decision of the majority, and to report accordingly, without alluding to the objections of the minority; without even hinting at any opposition. He gives as his reasons, for thus acting, that union and unanimity were the only elements of safety for France—that the shadow only of division, in the committee, would immediately have provoked a real division in the convention itself; and that the convention, morally and physically enfeebled, by these divisions, would not have been able to withstand the formidable assault of foreign and domestic enemies on the independence and on the liberties of France.

We scorn to discuss such worthless allegations, and we are sure, all our readers are ready to join us when we protest against these notions of official duty—against this theory of the revolutionary politicians. No doubt, all honest men reject those principles, and will look on Barère with contempt, for daring to avow them, and will have a firmer conviction of his culpability, since he had no better proof to offer of his innocence. And yet, these notions, this theory, these principles, are openly avowed, professed and acted upon by the committees of

public safety of our own times ; for we cannot give another name to the would-be-constitutional governments of the greatest part of Europe. Even here, in England, under any administration, Whig or Tory, this system prevails. Lord Brougham admitted that, when in the ministry, he frequently differed from his colleagues, but that, in order not to enfeeble the government of the country, by the exposure of the divisions in the cabinet, he supported measures which he could not approve. We might adduce many instances of the same kind in the march of the present administration. It is a well-known fact, that Sir Robert Peel is far from approving many of the iniquitous and violent measures of the home secretary, but, for the public safety, he must advocate the Factories Bill, the Metropolitan Buildings Bill, and the Medical Reform Bill, and even the post-office abominations : in one word any bill, and any deed, which the apostate Whig may choose to offer to his present allies, as a token of the sincerity of his conversion, and of his zeal in the cause he has at length embraced. Thus, in the intricate and anomalous thing called political science, conservatism fetches its arms from the arsenals of the *Montagne*, and an excuse of Barère becomes a precept for Sir Robert !

A better excuse for Barère, and for the Committee of Public Safety, with regard to the accusation of having caused all the murders which were perpetrated during the reign of terror, would have been found in the acts of the Committee of Sureté Générale, from which emanated most of the orders for the commitments of suspected persons, commitments which were generally the precursors of immediate death. Yet we do not find even an allusion to it, in the writings of Barère, nor even in the biographic notice of Carnot. This omission surprises us the more as, a few days ago, looking in the *Moniteur* of 1794, to ascertain the accuracy of some of our statements in this article, we found Barère complaining that the Committee of Public Security arrogated to itself the exclusive privilege of setting persons at liberty. We must conclude from this fact, that Barère was jealous of exercising this privilege, and that he is entitled to some credit, when, in his own defence, he enumerates the victims saved by him, and expresses his deep regret at the failure of his efforts to save many more. H. Carnot must have been strongly imbued with the idea of Barère's merciful disposition, when towards the end of his notice, he says : ' Quelles que soient les prétentions de ceux qui réclament pour eux seuls le privilège de la modération, il y a dans toutes les opinions, dans tous les partis, des hommes modérés et des hommes violents. Barère appartient évidemment à la première classe. On cite de lui, quelques phrases tristement célèbres : les plus condamnables lui ont été

faussement attribuées, nous en avons la preuve ; d'autres sont simplement, qu'on nous passe l'expression, des gasconades terroristes, issues des habitudes de son esprit, bien plus que des fibres de son âme ; et ces paroles là sont moins nombreuses dans la vie de Barère, que les actes d'humanité et les services personnels.'

We cannot completely participate in this opinion of the moderation of Barère. As we have said before, he was a most impressible man, a man of impulse, and unfortunately too frequently spoke under violent impressions, and acted according to the sudden impulse of the dreadful circumstances in the midst of which he found himself. In all his speeches, as in all his acts, from the beginning of the revolution, he is, if we may say so, a mirror which reflects the prevalent ideas and feelings of the moment ; and, almost constantly, as if he had no ideas, no feelings of his own. This was our judgment of him expressed long ago, and in corroboration of it we quote again the biographer :—

' Barère n'était point un homme de méditation, mais un homme de production. Chez lui, toute pensée se traduisait à l'instant en un écrit. De là tant d'ébauches informes, tant de plans peu mûris. Politique, législation, administration, histoire, religion, morale, critique littéraire, beaux arts, romans et poésie, il a tout essayé. Mais ce qui mérite le plus d'attention, dans son héritage littéraire, c'est une série d'au moins quarante volumes manuscrits, dans lesquels il consignait chaque jour ses observations, ses souvenirs, les fruits de ses lectures. *Senilia* : tel est la titre qu'il a donné aux derniers volumes de cette précieuse bibliothèque.'

We cannot help expressing our astonishment, that, in the forty manuscript volumes mentioned in the foregoing extract, M. Carnot should have found nothing more interesting, more instructive, and more important, than the greatest part of the contents of the four volumes he has published, the last of which is a sort of biographical sketch of contemporaries, composed at different epochs, and which therefore presents a multitude of contradictions. We insist upon the point, which we have already touched, that this sketch had better have been omitted. A man, in the situation of Barère, so generally accused, not to say convicted, has no right to sit in judgment upon his fellow men, and above all, ought not to have dealt with them, not only with severity, but even with passionate injustice ; as was the case with regard to Lafayette, Du Mourier, Camille Desmoulins, the Duke of Plaisance, and many others, who, in the opinion of all, have better claims than Barère to the gratitude of their country and to the esteem of

posterity. H. Carnot was wrong in giving publicity to these renewed accusations; but it is not the only fault we find in his collection from the manuscripts of Barère.

The only subject on which Barère never altered his mind was England, and the only feeling which he constantly exhibited, from the beginning of his career to the end of his life was hatred of England, of which he knew absolutely nothing. We have in his *Notice Historique* five pages closely printed, which were written in July, 1840, six months before his decease, and which breathe all the aversion he had so frequently expressed towards Great Britain. That Barère, after the treaty of that date, and witnessing the indignation of the whole nation deceived by her own government, on the circumstances and causes of this treaty, should have, as at all former times, reflected public opinion, is for us as a matter of course, with which we cannot be angry. But that in 1844, Carnot should reproduce the passionate lucubrations of the man who was the least able to form an opinion upon the policy of England, that he should do it for no other object than to establish the constant nationality of Barère, and to give to his appeal to posterity the support of national prejudices—this is what we consider as unworthy of him. Liberal minded men, or people professing liberal opinions, ought never to pander to national prejudices, or stir up national jealousies. The greatest injury which can be done to the cause of freedom, is the revival of that hostile rivalry, which has existed too long, between England and France, and which, we hoped, had for ever been put an end to in July, 1830. At that epoch every one felt the want of, every one expressed the wish for, an intimate alliance between the two countries; for, every one clearly saw that the union of France and England could alone successfully terminate the struggle between intelligent and moral force, on one side, and physical force, with ignorance, on the other; the struggle, in fact, between liberty and despotism. Why, then, again sow the seeds of discord between the two nations prominent in Europe for their intellectual and moral power, when, all over the world, the unintelligent and physical powers are, every day, strengthening their unholy alliance? That, on the brink of his tomb, Barère should have done so, cannot surprise any one. The old 'Conventionel' knew better than any body else that, had not England joined the coalition of the European absolutists in 1793, the war would not have been protracted for more than a few months, and the greatest part of the misfortunes of France, the internal dissensions, the reign of terror, would have been avoided. Barère himself would not have acquired his unenviable celebrity; he would not have made so many reports.

It is to those reports, most of which are upon the success of the republican armies, and in which his eloquence spared not the foreign governments, that Barère owes the rank which foreigners, and even his countrymen attribute to him among his fellow revolutionists. In his capacity of reporter of the committee, he every day ascended the tribune : his name was every day before the public : his speeches were read with extraordinary avidity, not only on account of the important events they related, but also because there were always in them some enthusiastic and striking sentences, not much in accordance with good taste indeed, but much in accordance with the taste of that epoch of irritation. He therefore obtained credit for being an actor, when he was merely a mouthpiece. Such was the opinion of a man who knew him well, (Jacquemont,) who, speaking of him, told us, ' Barère serait regardé comme un excellent citoyen, s'il n'avait su ni parler, ni écrire.'

The revolution which overthrew Robespierre, the causes of which are still very little known, was not anticipated by Barère, who however contributed to it, so soon as the attack began : and its tendencies and consequences seem to have been equally unperceived by him. We find (not in his memoirs, but in the *Moniteur*) that at the sitting of the 11th Thermidor, two days after the revolution, Barère proposed to the convention to complete the committee of public safety, by appointing Duval, Bernard de Saintes, and Eschasseriaux, in the room of Robespierre, Saint Just, and Couthon, who had been outlawed and guillotined. The assembly demurred to this proposal, the renewal of the whole committee was decreed, and on the 13th and 14th of Thermidor, the new members were appointed in the following order : Brèard, Eschasseriaux, Laloi, Thuriot, Treilhard, Tallien, Legendre, Goupilleau, Merlin de Thionville, André Dumont, Jean de Bry, and Bernard de Saintes. These names at once told Barère that the public safety would soon require his own head.

In the new committee were many of the late commissioners of the convention in the departments, who, in the exercise of their powers, had exhibited such a profligacy and dishonesty as well as cruelty, that the committee itself at last, awakened by the indignant voice of the population, was compelled, first to express its dissatisfaction, then to recall some of the perpetrators of those atrocities, and afterwards, in order to screen itself from the responsibility of those crimes, even to denounce their authors, and demand justice. Robespierre, who had observed this disposition, in some members of the committee, had determined to do so himself, and to do it alone, without even mentioning his design to his colleagues. He went farther than this : the better

to secure to himself alone the merits of his resolutions, he thought proper to attack the committee itself, and this was the cause of his failure; for it compelled the majority of his colleagues, as well as Barère, to turn against him, and to join Tallien, Fréron, and their party in the cry '*à bas le Tyran*.' and thus the man, who was, either conscientiously or treacherously, seeking for the honour of avenging outraged humanity, fell and died an object of general execration, as the originator and the promoter of the crimes which he designed to have duly punished.

But if Robespierre, St. Just and Couthon, were justly outlawed, as the authors of the reign of terror, it was clear that there were accomplices who had supported, in the committee of public safety, the plans of the first; otherwise, being in a minority, they could not have carried out their cruel measures. It was of the utmost importance, for Tallien, Fréron, Merlin de Thionville, and others, late commissioners in the departments, as well as for all the terrorists, to denounce and to crush those accomplices forming the majority of the committee; for, this being done, all the participators in the revolutionary horrors could justify their conduct by pleading the dire obligation of obeying the orders of the duodecemvirs. The reports of Barère and some acts of Bellaud Varennes, and of Collot d'Herbois, were sufficient grounds for accusations. Yet they might have been contested in a regular trial, even before the revolutionary tribunals; and dangerous recriminations might have been offered; it was therefore considered more convenient to sentence them to banishment, without trial, by a decree of the convention.

Our object, in writing this article, has constantly been, we cannot say to show what Barère really was during his revolutionary career, (this is difficult to ascertain even for ourselves), but to give as many features of his character as we had observed, and to assist our readers in re-considering the judgments passed upon him. In our opinion, those judgments have been much too severe; but, at the same time, we cannot countenance the efforts now made, not only to have those judgments reversed, but also to obtain for him a kind of apotheosis; though it is possible, that, in France, these efforts may be crowned with success. Such are the contempt and hatred entertained against the present government, that any one of the preceding governments, even the convention and its awful committees seem, to many Frenchmen, much preferable, as having, to use the expressions of an impartial judge, (Lafayette), '*l'hypocrisie de moins, et le désintéressement de plus.*'

There is not a horrid sentence, there is not a crime of the convention, of her committees and of the terrorists, which has

not been repeated and renewed by the French rulers of the day. *A government must be unpopular ! We must inspire terror ! we must be without mercy !* 'Un bon gouvernement doit etre impopulaire.—Il faut intimider.—Il faut etre impitoyable,'—such are the doctrines professed by M. Guizot, in the Chamber of Deputies, in 1830, in 1832, and 1834; and these doctrines have been uniformly acted upon by the government of King Egalité, as, in former times, by the worthy friends and associates of his father. Three times has Lyons, three times has Paris been treated by the new terrorists as the former city had been, only once, by their predecessors; and most of the principal towns of France have been subjected, more or less, to the same treatment. Revolutionary tribunals were not established, only because they are not needed—because they have something better, a house of peers led by Pasquier and Decazes, and royal courts which emulate them. Now the royal court of Paris can boast of a Hebert, who has, long ago, eclipsed his homonyme of 1794, in his most furibund accusations. The executioners are not, as of old, a small and ragged portion of the populace, called the revolutionary army; it is a numerous, well-trained, well-fed, and well-dressed, regular army. Instead of Santerre and Henriot, we see Soult and Bugeaud; but the former were, —one a brewer, and the other we do not remember what; while the latter are dukes and field marshals. This makes all the difference between them, and causes the different estimate of the same foul and abominable misdeeds. The new terrorists are clever, wise, and honest statesmen. The secret service funds of the police salary panegyrists in all the other capitals of Europe, as well as in Paris; and here, in old, honest, and free England, we lately saw, with shame, the highest honours paid to some of these men, whom history will brand with everlasting infamy.

We do not know what the present circumstances of our country may perhaps soon lead to; but we well know, that it is in vain we should expect to prevent the repetition of revolutionary horrors, if, while we launch our anathemas against those who, after a short triumph, have paid with their life, or long exile, the penalty deserved by their atrocities, we prodigally bestow our praises and our homage upon their more successful imitators, who have secured the prolongation of their tyranny, by a greater perfidy and a greater corruption. The reverse would certainly be a more rational, a more beneficial system; and, at the same time, more in keeping with the maxim of noble-minded men, '*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbo.*'

ART. III.—*Memoirs of Father Ripa; being Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China.* With an Account of the Foundation of the College for the Education of Young Chinese at Naples. Selected and Translated from the Italian by Fortunato Prandi. London: John Murray.

THIS is an interesting, and in the present state of our relations with China, a valuable work. It forms the fifteenth volume of Mr. Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*, and will amply sustain the reputation of that deservedly popular series. We are indebted for it to Sir Woodbine Parish, but for whom Father Ripa's work, like those of many other modern Italian historians, would have remained unknown to the English public. The volume contains a condensation of those portions of the learned Jesuit's *History of the Chinese College* which relate to the manners and institutions of the Celestial Empire, and will be regarded with considerable interest by all intelligent readers. Though Father Ripa's work was composed about a century ago, its value is very partially, if at all, diminished at the present day. The institutions and habits of the Chinese remain much as they were during his sojourn at Peking, whilst the jealousy of foreign observation has visibly increased. Very few Europeans have had an opportunity during the last century of looking into the interior of Chinese society, much less of noticing the private life and social habits of the ruler of that mysterious people. Our stock of information, therefore, has received very slight additions, and our theories respecting the government and manners of the Chinese have been little more than inferences from the reports of the earlier Jesuit missionaries. The whole history of this people is unique: it forms a chapter by itself, and must be judged of by laws dissimilar in many respects from those which are applicable to European states. We have no other instance on record of a people having advanced so far in civilization, and then suddenly stopping short; depriving themselves of the benefits of past experience, and overruling all the onward tendencies of intellect. They constitute a problem, not yet solved, and are worthy of the attentive study of the philosopher. The first thing requisite in order to understand their history and condition is an accurate knowledge of facts. This is far from having been obtained, as few intelligent Europeans have visited their shores, and of these a very small number only have been admitted to their dwellings and confidence.

Father Ripa was one of the latter class, and his work consequently throws more light on the facts of the case than any other with which we have been fortunate enough to meet. His personal character and biography are highly interesting, and the

latter, as told by himself, is marked by a simplicity and earnestness which the disciples of a purer faith might profitably imitate. At the age of eighteen his life was frivolous and dissipated ; he was then a resident at Naples, and in the year 1700, when strolling about the streets in search of amusement, came suddenly on a Franciscan friar, who was preaching to the people in the open air. The doctrine of the preacher was subversive of the truths of the gospel, yet it tended to awaken in his youthful auditor a sense of demerit which filled him with alarm, and determined him on reformation. 'Methought,' he remarks, 'I saw God himself menacing me from above, while below the torments of hell lay ready to receive me.' His struggle was severe, but the firm character of his mind soon shewed itself. He resolved on entering the church, and looked about him for some special vocation in which to render more than ordinary service to the Deity. On the 26th of May, 1701, he entered the church, and was possessed with a strong desire to institute a new religious community, without any definite notion of what its character or special design should be. This was explained on his return from Salerno, whither he had been for ordination ; and as the narrative is brief, and is, moreover, highly characteristic, we give it in the writer's own words :—

'Being determined to obey Father Torres, I waited upon him as soon as I came back to Naples, and requested an order of admission to my novitiate. He had returned from Rome only the day before, and was surrounded by a number of his penitents. The moment he saw me, he said, 'Good morning to you, good man ; prepare for China.'

'I was surprised, and wondered what he could mean ; for I had never heard any thing about China. Perceiving this, Father Torres added, that China was a nation of idolaters, who, from want of labourers in the Gospel, lived in the darkness of heathenism ; that Clement XI., the reigning pope, with a view to remedy this evil, had recently attached to the propaganda a college for the instruction of European ecclesiastics in the Chinese language, that they might carry the light of the Holy Gospel to those benighted heathens, and that accordingly his holiness had commanded him to send some of his penitents to Rome for that purpose.

'As Father Torres spake these words, the mist which filled my mind vanished, and I now, greatly to my wonder, perceived that this was the very service to which God had called me. When we were left alone, I asked him whether he had spoken in jest or in earnest, as in the latter case I would go to China willingly. 'Whether you will or not, to China you shall go,' he replied.

'How then can I pass my novitiate with you, if I am to enter the college at Rome in order to go to China ?' said I.

'At first he did not understand me, for he had forgotten that he

had ordered me to become a Pious Labourer; but after I had reminded him of this, he answered, 'Pious Labourer! Pious Labourer! God has destined you for the Chinese mission.'

'This made me perfectly happy; and I walked home so elevated in spirit, that I scarcely felt the ground I trod on.'—pp. 4, 5.

He immediately repaired to Rome to qualify for his mission, where, he says: 'I mended my own clothes, washed my only shirt at night, and even slept on a mat, owing to which I have been dreadfully tormented with rheumatism ever since.' During his vacations he went on preaching missions into the surrounding country, and seems to have exerted no small influence over the people whom he visited. The following narrative reads a lesson of simple-minded earnestness which rebukes the supineness and indifference of better-informed men:—

'An old man of that place, with six of his sons, had for several years sought the life of a relative who had murdered his seventh son. Neither the exhortations of several ecclesiastics nor the authority of Cardinal Barberini and other distinguished personages who had interposed, had been sufficient to reconcile them. The unfortunate murderer wandered day and night about the mountains and forests to escape from his pursuers. Various persons informed me of this circumstance, and solicited me to do my utmost to pacify the family. The fugitive himself, accompanied by several of his friends, all in arms, came down from the mountains under cover of the night, to entreat me to the same effect.

'I waited till Easter, when I knew that his uncle and cousins would come to confession. The latter did, one after the other, come to my feet, and I exhorted them to peace. They all replied that they bore no hatred in their hearts to the assassin, and that they were ready to forgive him, if the permission of their father, in whose power they were, could be obtained. Last of all, the father came to confession; and after I had admonished him at great length, he told me that he did not entertain any resentment against his nephew, but that he wished justice to take its course. I at once understood his object in this subterfuge, and therefore commanded him to repeat the Lord's Prayer, which he did, not suspecting my intentions. When he came to the words, 'and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us,' I desired him to explain their force and meaning; whereupon, by the Divine grace, he burst into a flood of tears. Having recovered his composure, he promised to pardon and embrace his nephew, for the love of Jesus Christ, the first time he should meet him. As, however, I feared that his resolution might be a transient ebullition rather than a holy purpose, I sent secretly to the fugitive nephew, directing him to conceal himself in the belfry on a certain evening, when I intended to preach upon the subject of love to our enemies, and if in the course of the sermon I should call him,

fearlessly to come forward, accompanied by the rector and his other friends.

'By the Divine assistance, my efforts were crowned with the happiest results. At about dusk, when I had finished my sermon upon love to our enemies, at which all the injured family were present, I intimated that the women might go home in peace, and that the men only should remain to do penance. I then caused the door of the church to be locked, and in a short discourse I exhorted them to self-castigation. After this, the crucifix, as I had previously arranged, was brought out of the sacristy, and borne between two lighted torches. At the same time I repeated the most cogent arguments which I had used in my sermon, and urged the congregation to put in practice what they had heard, pardoning each other, and embracing in sign of peace. Many who had been at variance then came and embraced each other at my feet. Such was the emotion and the fervour of the congregation that they were all in tears. Perceiving among them the uncle of the assassin, I called him by name, and he immediately came and threw himself at my feet. I asked him in the presence of all, whether he really forgave his nephew, and he replied in a deliberate tone that he did. I inquired if he promised this in the name of Jesus Christ, whose image he then held in his hand; he answered in the affirmative. I made him repeat this several times in a loud voice. Then I blessed him, his family, and all his concerns, in the name of our Lord, for the great satisfaction he gave to God, and to all the court of Heaven, by granting pardon, for the love of Christ, to the man by whom he had been injured; and finally I asked him, if at that moment his culpable nephew were on his knees to ask forgiveness, for the love of Christ, how he would act? He replied that he would gladly take him to his heart. I then made the signal agreed upon, and the offender was conducted by the rector into my presence. As soon as he was seen approaching, the sobbing of the people increased. The old man was greatly surprised at this, for he stood with his back to the entrance, and did not see his nephew, who, however, the next moment fell at his feet, craving pardon, for the love of Christ. At first the old man stood motionless, struck with surprise. He seemed bewildered, by the extraordinary scene, and knew not what to do. I endeavoured to calm him; and, with the crucifix in my hand, I reiterated my arguments to induce him to forgiveness, till, urged by the grace that was working in him, he suddenly embraced his nephew, kissed and pardoned him, and gave him his benediction. His example was instantly followed by his sons, who, one after the other, sobbing and weeping, embraced their cousin, while all the congregation, bathed in tears, blessed and praised God.'

—pp. 10—12.

Being at length appointed to the Chinese mission, he was admitted, together with his companions, to the Pope's presence, whose gifts are described with a simplicity which, were not the matter too serious for jocularity, would provoke a smile:—

'After having,' says the narrator, 'solemnly exhorted us zealously to fulfil our divine mission, his Holiness gave to each of us a silver medal, with the indulgence *in articulo mortis*. He granted us, also, the faculty of gaining plenary indulgence every month; the favour of a privileged altar once a week; the right of blessing five thousand medals, crucifixes, or rosaries, with the usual indulgencies; the privilege of confessing to one another during our voyage; the power of giving plenary indulgences *in articulo mortis*, not attached to a crucifix, which might be lost, but to our own persons; and lastly, the authority of deciding by majority of votes all questions and doubts that might arise during our journey.'

Father Ripa proceeded to China by way of London, and the account which he gives of his voyage contains some amusing illustrations of character as well as proofs of his superstition. We pass over these to introduce our readers to that portion of his work that relates to China, which may be advantageously prefaced by his description of the style of his predecessors. Referring to two persons whom he had in some degree convinced of the truth of christianity, he remarks:—

'I may here take occasion to observe that, if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased; for the Chinese possess excellent natural abilities, and are both prudent and docile. But, unfortunately, our missionaries have adopted the lofty and pompous manner known in China by the appellation of 'Ttimjen.' Their garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them. With a few honourable exceptions, all the missionaries live in this manner; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus, there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of having made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptize those who have been already converted by others; and, in the absence of missionaries, infants, aged persons; and those that are sick, are baptized by native Christians.'—p. 43.

Like most of his brethren, Father Ripa obtained employment in the service of the Emperor. His occupation was that of an engraver, and as he was generally in attendance on the monarch he had frequent opportunities of noting his habits and character. In 1711 he accompanied him on a hunting expedition, of which he gives the following interesting sketch:—

' After another day's rest and one of travelling, on the afternoon of the 17th we began what they call the little hunt, which is for deer, hares, and pheasants. Hitherto, we Europeans had preceded the company about two hours' march—the Emperor intending that we should thus avoid the dust and confusion always produced by a whole army on horseback ; now, however, to enable us to enjoy the sport, he ordered that we should march immediately after him, and keep within sight of him. We had come to a small plain covered with luxuriant verdure, where a number of soldiers formed a semi-circle around the Emperor, who was a few steps in advance, followed by his family and suite, all armed with bows and arrows, and flanked by falconers.

' As the circle advanced at a slow pace, innumerable pheasants, hares, and deer were seen to fly or run out of the grass and the bushes in all directions. Eagles, trained for the purpose, were let loose upon the deer ; against the hares and pheasants arrows and hawks were employed. This continued for about an hour, when we came to the end of the plain, and were obliged to proceed in search of another spot across those valleys and hills of Tartary. Then, when we came to the other places adapted to the sport, this was repeated several times, and always in the same manner.

' Having crossed several hills, we now arrived in an open place, skirted by verdant heights ; and in the early morning the stag-hunt was begun, which being conducted in a manner quite different from ours, I shall here describe minutely. On this occasion the army consisted of twelve thousand soldiers, divided into two wings, one of which passed on towards the east, then turned northward, whilst the other proceeded to the west, then likewise turned in a northern direction. As they marched on, each man halted, so as to remain about a bow-shot distant from the next, till at length they surrounded the hills. Then, at a given word, in an instant they all advanced slowly towards the centre of the circle, driving the stags before them, and went on in this manner till one was not more than half a bow-shot distant from the other. Every alternate soldier now halted, and the next continuing to advance, two circles were formed, one being at a considerable distance from the other. After this, they all moved in the same direction, till the soldiers of the inner circle being so near as to shake hands, they divided again and formed a third circle ; when, preserving their relative distances, they advanced again till the soldiers and horses of the innermost circle touched each other.

' The inner or third circle was less than a bow-shot distant from the second, but the distance from this to the outer circle was much greater. The three circles having thus taken up their ultimate position, the emperor entered into the centre, followed by the male part of his family and relatives, and surrounded by the best and most expert hunters, armed for his defence. The ladies were conducted into pavilions erected upon a neighbouring hill, where they could view the sport without being seen. A similar situation was allotted to us, but we remained on horseback.

'The signal being given, the Emperor himself opened the chase by killing with his arrows a good number of the multitude of stags thus surrounded; and when weary he gave permission to his sons and relations to imitate him. The stags, perceiving themselves hemmed in and slaughtered on all sides, attempted to escape by breaking through the circle; but the soldiers, being accustomed to this, instantly drove them back with shouts and the noise they produced by striking the leather housings of the horses with their stirrups. Many of the stags, however, urged by pain or fear, leaped over the horses, or forced a passage with their horns. The soldiers of the second circle then endeavoured to drive them back to the centre; but if they did not succeed, those of the third were permitted to kill the fugitives. Nor were the animals that chanced to escape from the soldiers entirely safe, for they could then be destroyed by any one who might happen to meet them.

'Tigers generally make their abode in the most rugged and inaccessible mountains of Tartary; but they are sometimes found among these hills watching for deer and other prey. When it is discovered that there is more than one, the circles are immediately dissolved, the soldiers retire to the encampment with great precaution, and no further attempt at hunting is made there that year. If, however, no more than one of these ferocious animals has been observed, the soldiers dismount, and dividing into bands of five men each, they take up various positions, with lance in hand, instead of bows and arrows: being thus prepared, they let loose a number of dogs, not to hunt the beast, but to intimidate him by their barking, and drive him from his lair, which is very soon effected. When the tiger appears, the soldiers remain motionless, knowing it to be the nature of this beast to attack. Fixing his eyes, therefore, upon one of these groups of soldiers, he makes towards them at a quick pace, and when at a certain distance he instantly springs upon them. The five men, who, with their eyes and lances fixed, awaited his approach, receive him on the points of their weapons, which they force into his breast, and having with great dexterity thrown him down, they quickly despatch him. I never had an opportunity of witnessing such an occurrence, but I was assured that no tiger, thus discovered alone, had ever escaped; and that no soldier had ever been hurt by one. When, on the contrary, these groups have been attacked by more than one tiger, some have suffered; and, consequently, whenever more than one is discovered, the sport is immediately abandoned, and the company proceed to another quarter. There are great numbers of these beasts in that country, and the Tartars often hunt them in the manner described; and afterwards sell the skins in Peking, at about a tael each, a Chinese coin equivalent to a crown.—pp. 75—78.

What follows is somewhat more novel, and is strangely at variance with European notions of Chinese manners. The common tendencies of our nature force for themselves an expression, however artificial or rigid the mode which fashion may

prescribe. Who that has seen the demure and formal air of a Chinese mandarin, or has listened to the inflated style of the ruler of the Celestial Empire, could imagine the latter to engage in such sport as our author here describes:—

‘The Emperor took part in another species of sport, unknown in Europe and less fatiguing. He set out by night with all the great company above mentioned, and when within two miles of the spot selected for the sport he left the army, and ascended to the top of a hill with six or seven hunters, clothed in stag-skins from head to foot. Here one of the hunters put on a kind of mask resembling a stag’s head with horns, and concealed himself among the bushes in such a manner that at first sight he might be taken for a stag, while the Emperor and the others crouched down close by—all being armed with good guns, to the ends of which were fixed small pieces of stag’s horn. The stags are followed by several does, which they will not allow any other stag to approach. Early in the morning they instinctively raise a cry of challenge; the other stags arrive, and a fight ensues, which continues till one is slain, when the victor takes possession of his rival’s herd of does. One of the hunters now blows an instrument which, both in shape and sound, very much resembles those with which our herdsmen call the swine, and which closely imitates the belling of the stag. At this sound the stags hasten to the hill, and seeking their supposed rival, they come within gun-shot, and meet with their death. The Emperor had the first shot, and if he missed, the stag was quickly killed by the huntsmen. It happened one day that at the sound of the horn not one stag only but two appeared at the same time within shot, and began to fight. One of them was soon hit by the Emperor, and the other, instead of running away, strove to finish his dying rival, thus giving his Majesty the opportunity of killing him also with the second shot. The sport lasts only about two hours, as later in the day it would have no effect; and every morning from five to ten stags were thus killed.—pp. 78—79.

Father Ripa was present at the public rejoicing which occurred at Peking on occasion of the Emperor attaining his sixtieth year, which is regarded in China, he informs us, as equivalent to our century. The chief mandarins repaired to the capital from all parts of the empire, and made splendid gifts to their sovereign; while the road along which he travelled was adorned with silks of the most beautiful workmanship. Artificial temples, triumphal arches, and theatres in which musical dramas were represented, graced the line of his procession, and bespoke the affluence and loyalty of the people. On ordinary occasions the Emperor is preceded by a large body of horsemen, who clear the streets, cause all the shops to be shut; and draw a canvass before every opening through which he could possibly be seen; but on the anniversary of his sixtieth birthday these

precautions are dispensed with. 'The streets and roads were now crowded with countless multitudes desirous of beholding their sovereign. He rode on horseback, wearing a robe covered with dragons, magnificently embroidered in gold, and having five claws, the five-clawed dragon being exclusively worn by the imperial family.'

One feature of the day's pageantry was peculiar, and, to our minds, more interesting than all the glitter and parade which were so profusely exhibited: it contained a moral, and was probably, in its origin, designed to inculcate it.

'A vast number of aged but healthy men had been sent to Peking from all the provinces. They were in companies, bearing the banner of their respective provinces. They also carried various other symbols and trophies, and being symmetrically drawn up along the streets through which the Emperor was to pass, they presented a very beautiful and uncommon appearance. Every one of these old men brought a present of some kind to the Emperor, which generally consisted of vases and other articles in bronze. His Majesty gave to each of them twelve silver tael, a coin worth about five shillings, together with a gown of yellow silk, which is the imperial colour. They afterwards assembled all together in a place where the Emperor went to see them; and it was found that this venerable company amounted to four thousand in number. His Majesty was highly gratified with this spectacle; he inquired the age of many, and treated them all with the greatest affability and condescension. He even invited them all to a banquet, at which he made them sit in his presence, and commanded his sons and grandsons to serve them with drink. After this, with his own hand, he presented every one of them with something; to one who was the most aged of the whole assembly, being nearly a hundred and eleven years old, he gave a mandarin's suit complete, together with a staff, an inkstand, and other things.—p. 86.

Our author gives a low account of the Greek priests resident in Peking, at which we are not surprised, since their attainments and character were equally unworthy of respect. The abbot, who could scarcely make himself understood in Latin, informed Father Ripa that the number of his sect in Peking did not exceed fifty, and were descendants of Russian prisoners of war. 'I asked him,' says the narrator, 'whether it was true that he had baptized a great number of Chinese? To this he replied that his christenings had been limited to the families of the Russian prisoners; that he did not attend to the Chinese, because he was ignorant of their language, and the abandoned state of his own congregation required all his attention.'

These two bodies, the Greek and the Jesuit—the latter for the most part stealthfully—continued for a time to disseminate

their principles without interruption. This was not, however, of long continuance : the suspicions of the Chinese were aroused, and a memorial having been presented against the Christians, the Kieu-king, or Supreme Board, resolved that Canton should be closed against foreigners, the christian religion be prohibited, its professors imprisoned, and their places of worship be razed to the ground. By the intervention of the Emperor, Canton was re-opened to foreign merchants, and the suppression of the christian faith was suspended. A sufficient intimation, however, was thus given of the feeling of the authorities, and the subsequent attempts which were made to enforce the persecuting edict, precluded the hope of a permanent settlement in China. The number of converts made by the Jesuits was not inconsiderable, though we fear that the character of their conversion was far from being satisfactory. No information is given on this point, and we are left therefore to infer their views, and the extent of their religious change, from what is known of the proceedings of the Jesuits in other quarters. The fact of many Chinese having professed the christian religion is sufficiently indicated in the following passage, which cannot be read without awakening mournful reflections in the thoughtful reader. The presence of a purer form of christianity sustained in its operation to the present day, might have done much towards evangelizing this vast and almost unapproachable empire :—

‘ In the month of June of the subsequent year, while following the Emperor to Je-hol as usual, I met, in the neighbourhood of Low-kwo-tien, several Christians, who had come to ask me to administer the holy sacrament to a woman who was dying in Koo-pa-kew, a place five miles distant, and close to the great wall. Koo-pa-kew contained about two hundred and fifty Christians, who deserved the praise and affection of the missionaries for their fervent attachment to our religion. Accordingly I went to confess the dying woman, after which I gave her the sacrament and the extreme unction. Yielding to the pressing entreaties of several persons, I devoted the remainder of the day to receiving their confessions; and when evening came, as the chapel continued to be full of people who awaited their turn, after taking a slight refreshment I resumed my work, and carried it on throughout the night without once closing my eyes; but as most of these deserted Christians had not been able to confess for a long time, their confessions were generally so long that I could not listen to more than seventy-two. In consequence of this, the next morning, immediately after mass, I again betook myself to the confessional with unabated zeal, so that during a stay of three days I confessed one hundred and ninety-nine persons, administered the sacrament to one hundred and sixty-seven, and christened fifty-four.

‘ Among those whom I baptized at Koo-pa-kew was the uncle of

the sovereign of Mong-quo-pah, a state situated in the province of Kwey-chau, but almost independent of the Emperor of China, as is shewn by a blank in the map of the empire which I engraved. This neophyte told me that, throughout his nephew's dominions, no idols, images, or deities were worshipped, and that consequently there were no temples nor bonzes, nor any other sort of priests. He asked for a good number of religious books to distribute among his fellow-countrymen, and prayed that a missionary might be sent to teach them the Holy Word.'—pp. 93, 94.

Our narrator was present on the arrival of Count Ismailof as envoy from Peter the Great, in November, 1720, and gives an interesting account of his dignified bearing, and of the honourable reception ultimately vouchsafed to him. In diplomacy the Russian ambassador was quite a match for the Chinese mandarins, and by his straightforward and determined course compelled them to forego their usual ceremonial.

The subjoined extract discloses a scene not often unveiled to European eyes, which are rarely permitted to glance within the habitations of the Celestial Empire, much less to penetrate into the mysteries of their sleeping apartments:—

'During the stay of the Russian embassy in Peking, Dr. Volta, a Milanese priest and physician, arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, and I was summoned to accompany him when he was introduced to the Emperor. After asking him a few questions, his Majesty commanded him to feel his pulse. Dr. Volta immediately obeyed, but remarked that, in order to form a correct opinion of the state of his Majesty's health, he must feel his pulse on that evening and the next morning. This being therefore repeated when the Emperor went to bed, and then again before he arose, the physician pronounced him to be in an excellent state of health. I observed on this occasion that his Majesty's bed was wide enough to contain five or six persons, and had no sheets. The upper part of the mattress, as well as the under part of the quilt, was lined with lambs'-skin, and the Emperor slept between these without wearing any night-clothes. As it seldom happens that an Emperor is seen in bed by strangers, he said to us, 'You are foreigners, and yet you see me in bed.' We replied that we had that honour because his Majesty treated us as his sons; whereupon he added, 'I consider you as members of my own house, and very near relatives.'—p. 114.

Father Ripa at this time occupied one of the royal apartments, whence he had an opportunity of observing the habits of the Emperor, some of which will probably surprise our readers. The usual characteristics of an effeminate and sensual life are visible in his description, with some touches of mirthfulness which would scarcely be expected. We need not wonder that such a mode of life should stultify the intellect and banish from the heart all large and generous thoughts:—

'On the other side of the lake there was a cottage opposite to our own, whither his Majesty often retired to study, accompanied by some of his concubines. As the windows in China are as high and broad as the rooms themselves, and in summer are kept wide open on account of the heat, through the holes in ours, which were framed with paper, I saw the Emperor employed in reading or writing, while these wretched women remained sitting upon cushions, as silent as novices. Through these holes I also observed the eunuchs while they were engaged in various ways of fishing. His Majesty would then sit in a superb little boat, with five or six concubines at his feet, some Tartar, and others Chinese ; all dressed in their national costumes. The boat was always followed by many others, all loaded with ladies.

'When the Emperor's presence was required in the outer palace on some business, he generally went by water ; and, as he necessarily passed under my window, I also saw him. He always came in a boat with some concubines, and with a train of other boats loaded with ladies. On reaching the spot where, by a secret door, he entered the room in which he gave audience, he left the concubines behind, in charge of the eunuchs. I saw him several times about the garden, but never on foot. He was always carried in a sedan-chair, surrounded by a crowd of concubines, all walking and smiling. Sometimes he sat upon a high seat, in the form of a throne, with a number of eunuchs standing around him ; and, watching a favourable moment, he suddenly threw among his ladies, grouped before him on carpets of felt, artificial snakes, toads, and other loathsome animals, in order to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them scamper away with their crippled feet. At other times he sent some of his ladies to gather filberts and other fruits upon a neighbouring hill, and pretending to be craving for some, he urged on the poor lame creatures with noisy exclamations until some of them fell to the ground, when he indulged in a loud and hearty laugh. Such were frequently the recreations of his Imperial Majesty, and particularly in the cool of the summer evenings. Whether he was in the country, or at Peking, he saw no other company but his ladies and eunuchs ; a manner of life which, in my opinion, is one of the most wretched, though the worldly consider it as the height of happiness.—pp. 115, 116.

As our author's health was now much impaired, he resolved on returning to Europe, which he accomplished with considerable difficulty. We pass over the account of his voyage, which contains some interesting incidents, and hasten to conclude by again assuring our readers that the small volume we have had under notice will amply repay them for its cost and the time occupied in its perusal.

- Art. IV. 1. *Justin Martyr: his Life, Writings, and Opinions*. By the Rev. Charles Semisch, of Trebnitz, Silesia. Translated from the German, with the Author's concurrence, by J. E. Ryland. Clarke's Biblical Cabinet, vols. xli. and xlii. Edinburgh. 1843. pp. 348 and 387.
2. *S. Justin Philosphi et Martyris Opera*. Recensuit J. C. T. Otto Jenensis. 2 tom. Jenæ, 1842—1844. 8vo. pp. 315 and 636.

OUR business in the present article will be chiefly to furnish an analysis and character of the former of the two publications whose titles are prefixed to it, since that is in itself a review of the contents of the other; and of the latter we shall briefly take notice, before we close, as the latest edition, and a very excellent one, of the writings of that father of the church who claims our special attention as the first literary phenomenon in its history. And certainly not in that respect alone, but also because of his moral worth, and more particularly as the faithful representative of the opinions, and the spiritual and intellectual character of the christians of his time, Justin the Martyr well deserves to be studied as closely, and delineated as completely and impartially, as our Silesian author has done in the work that is before us.

The motives which led Mr. Semisch to engage in those labours, the result of which has made us his debtors, are fully explained in the preface to the first volume. We mention them here, because they are suggestive of important practical considerations, which shew that this kind of study is on no account to be viewed as a secluded by-path, reserved for the footsteps of a few fond explorers of antiquated learning and useless theology, but as a road by which we may rejoin the communion of our brethren in a distant and perilous age, and derive from them at once most needful warning by their errors, and not less needful incitement by their sincerity and zeal. The author's mind, weary of the theological divisions and disputes by which Germany, even more than this country, is agitated, sought 'to take refuge in the haven of bygone times, when the inspiration of faith and love existed in youthful vigour;' and in doing so, he was led to prize more highly the primitive truths of christianity, unimpovertished and unperturbed by modern philosophical refinement, and to entertain them with a truly catholic love, even when presented in a form and in connexions that would rouse the intolerance of those to whom their own systematic modes are everything. He thought also that such instruction might be supplied by the character and circumstances of the church in the ante-Nicene period, as would meet the necessities of the present crisis; and in this, particularly with reference to our own country, we agree with him. For—the inspired volume being assumed as sole umpire, from whose decisions there is to be no appeal,—to what quarter should we so naturally look for the means of rightly understanding the nature and points of the present con-

test among as, to that from which our opponents profess to derive their examples, their arguments, and their authority? This has been already most successfully done by Mr. Taylor in his *Ancient Christianity*; but it is not enough that he, or that any other, should have rendered good service in the cause; every student of the subject, who wishes to know his ground well and to maintain it, must commence investigating for himself. And for this purpose we account the work before us particularly valuable, as furnishing strong incentives and important aid for entering on the study of the fathers. The mode and spirit in which the author has treated his subject, deserve our highest commendations. It has received from him no superficial or hasty review, nor has he had recourse to it, as an arena where he might assert the cause of a party. The prosecution of it has evidently been 'a labour of love,' as he himself terms it: for without a strong interest he could not have followed out his investigation to such an extent, and with such careful minuteness, as he has done. That our readers may form some idea of the plan and contents of the work, we shall proceed to give an abstract of it, passing briefly over those parts on which we shall afterwards dwell more at length.

After giving a general account of the martyr's life, where every ascertainable point is noted, with the authorities, which occupies book I.; he discusses in book II. the genuineness of those writings to which the name of Justin is commonly affixed. The two apologies—the longer of which was addressed to Antoninus Pius and his colleagues, together with the senate and people of Rome; and the shorter to the Roman senate, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius—have never had their genuineness disputed by any one but Father Hardouin, and may therefore be regarded as altogether unimpeachable. The dialogue with Trypho remained undisputed as Justin's, until 1700; when Koch, from a desire to maintain the martyr's orthodoxy, endeavoured to set it aside as spurious, and to represent it as a production of that Trypho in the third century, who is mentioned as a learned pupil of Origen. Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena* to the New Testament, followed up this attack on another ground, namely, the difference between the Old Testament citations in the Dialogue, and the present text of the Septuagint. His objections, which were unsuccessfully dealt with by Gallandi and Stroth, have now been satisfactorily obviated by Credner,* who has made it extremely probable that the copy of the Septuagint which Justin used, was one that had undergone such emendations as the versions of Theodotion and Symmachus afterwards adopted, these being, in fact, successors to previous

* In his *Contributions to an Introduction to the Biblical Writings*, (Beyträge zur Einleitung, &c., Halle, 1832.)

revised editions. In some passages of the Dialogue, however, the original reading of the quotation has undoubtedly received subsequent alteration.* But, not to mention the proofs supplied by the frequent use which Irenæus and Tertullian have made of the Dialogue, and the references contained in it to historical events, no one, who will pay any regard to its close correspondence with the Apologies, can fairly deny it to be the work of Justin. For that correspondence is not limited to a general agreement in their style, their apologetic principles, their methods of proof, and their doctrinal views; which to us, indeed, would be perfectly conclusive, if no decided evidence existed on the other side; but it extends also to peculiarities, a coincidence in which cannot be explained, as is attempted with the former, by the influence of prevailing modes of thinking, or by regarding them as designed imitations. Some of these we shall mention, both as illustrative of what Justin was as a writer and as an apologist, and also because they are evidence furnished by our author additional to what others have brought forward on the same side.

Though Justin speaks of *the Gospels* occasionally by that common appellation, he generally distinguishes them by the peculiar name *Records of the Apostles* (*ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*), a title nowhere else to be found in the Christian writers of his own or any other period. In this the Dialogue agrees with the longer Apology: the shorter Apology has no bible quotations. Again; those biblical citations which, both in the Apology and in the Dialogue, are at variance with the text of the Septuagint, and that of the canonical gospels, have an extraordinary agreement with one another, and such as evidently results from the fact, that it is the same writer quoting from memory in both cases, and giving the passages not with verbal accuracy, but in the form in which his mind habitually retained them; e. g., Isaiah, i. 9, is quoted in both writings, abbreviated thus; '*If the Lord had not left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah*:'—Is. lxvi. 1, transposed thus; '*What house will ye build me? saith the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*.' Psalm xix. 6, is referred to in both as a description of Christ, and as having given rise to the heathen fable of Hercules. The passage in the Dialogue (c. 69) is as follows; 'When they speak of Hercules as mighty, and as having travelled round the whole earth, and as being born by Alcmena to Jupiter, and say that after his death he ascended into heaven; do I not see that here the scripture passage

* We may remark that, in the first instance which our author gives, from c. 58, where all editions hitherto have read *ἐπάλαυν ἄγγελος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἕως πρῶτ*—the edition of Otto has now restored the genuine reading *ἐπάλαυν ἄνθρωπος*, corresponding with the Septuagint.

spoken concerning Christ—‘*mighty as a giant to run on his way*,’ has in like manner been imitated’? In the parallel passage of the Apology, the verse is quoted in precisely the same words, thus differing from the Lxx, where the word *mighty*, on which so much stress is laid, does not occur, nor is it ever found as a various reading, or used by any other of the fathers. In the Apology, Gen. xlix. 11, is taken as a prophecy of Christ: ‘*binding his foal unto the vine*’ is applied to the circumstance of our Lord’s ordering his disciples to bring to him the foal of the ass at Bethphage, when he made his entry into Jerusalem; ‘*washing his garment in the blood of the grape*’ (this is a mixture of the two clauses in the Lxx) is predictive of our Lord’s passion, and the redemption from sin which believers—called metaphorically his *garment*, because he dwells in them—enjoy through his atoning blood, the divine origin of which is intimated by the fact that the blood of the grape is made, not by man, but by God. This singular, but certainly ingenious exposition is repeated in the Dialogue, with certain additions. Peculiar stress is there laid on Christ’s ordering the ass to be brought along with the foal, and that proceeding is regarded as typical; the foal signifying the Gentiles, who, first through the gospel, were brought to wear the bit and bridle, and the ass the Jews, who had already been accustomed to the yoke of the law. Besides, the latter half of the verse is there quoted fully, and in the exact words of the Lxx. And thus, in many instances, while there is an agreement in the leading points, there is such a difference in subordinate particulars as shows that the coincidences are not the work of an imitator, but arise from both writings being unquestionably produced by the same author.

There remain, besides, of Justin’s genuine writings, though not undisputed, only *the Exhortation to the Greeks*, (λόγος παραινέτικος πρὸς Ἑλλήνας) and the fragment on *the Resurrection*, which last would have shared the fate of several other of his works, had it not been incorporated by John of Damascus in his *Parallels*, in a manuscript of which it was first discovered by Halloix, who printed it in his *Vita et Documenta Justinī, philosophi et martyris*, 1622. The genuineness of both is, in our opinion, successfully vindicated by our author with great accuracy and diligence of investigation. He shows that the former is identical with the piece which is attributed to Justin by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius, under the title of Ἐλεγγος, *a Confutation*, which is its appropriate name, its contents being argumentative, and not hortatory, though the words with which it commences (ἀρχόμενος τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς παραινέσεως) have induced some transcriber to alter its original for its present title, which must have been done in some copies as early at least as the eighth century.

There are but few MSS. of Justin remaining, and most of them

are of little worth, since they contain only this last-mentioned piece, and some others that are evidently spurious, as they make mention of sects and opinions of a much later date. Such are *An Epistle to Zenas and Serenus*, *Questions and answers to the orthodox*, &c. Passing over these, as not requiring notice, our author proceeds to the examination of *the Oration to the Greeks*, the treatise *On the monarchy of God*, and *the Epistle to Diognetus*, which are still maintained by some to be productions of Justin. The title of the second is the same as that of one of Justin's lost writings, mentioned by Eusebius, but the contents are different, and of no value. In the first, the style is much superior to that of the martyr, (which is true of the last also,) being 'compressed, nervous, full of life and historical colouring,' quite different from the loose, negligent, and common-place style of his acknowledged writings; several of the opinions expressed are also different from his, as well as the account which the author gives of his conversion. The *Epistle* is equally far from bearing any resemblance to Justin's modes of thought, expression, and argument, and is altogether of a higher order than his productions. No one can read it without regretting that so very few compositions of such a stamp have reached us. Yet it is not so likely that such have existed and are lost, as that minds which could produce them were exceedingly rare in the early church. It is indeed to be hoped that there were not a few who could have written like Clement of Rome, had occasion required them; but for one who could have written this epistle and appreciated it, there were a hundred that would have rivalled the false Barnabas, and Hermas the visionary.

In book III. the moral and religious character of Justin, his intellectual abilities and literary attainments, and his general characteristics as a writer and as an investigator, are delineated with great fairness and completeness. The presentation of his apologetic methods and doctrinal sentiments contained in book IV. merits equal praise for its thoroughness, impartiality, and the clearness of its statements. It is also ample, and descends to particular topics, occupying about a hundred pages of the first, and the whole of the second volume in the translation. We have, as usual, to thank the accuracy of the German character for the notes appended, which, though plentiful, are here by no means tiresome, furnishing as they do, in most instances, the quotation from the original text at length, and always giving the necessary references. Neither are our obligations to the translator small. Of the fidelity of his translation we are sorry that we cannot speak from personal knowledge, not having seen the original; but we are fully disposed to trust it, both from the evidence of previous performances that are creditable to him, and also from what is supplied in several passages of the present

work, where, on account of the peculiarity of expression, the words of the original are subjoined. The English style is, on the whole, sufficiently easy and agreeable; and we suppose that the use of the unpleasant words *cultus* for *worship*, and *charisms* for *gifts*, was adopted in deference to the original, and not as in itself defensible. Still we would suggest that *charismata*, the plain Greek, would have been far preferable to the latter barbarous word. We mention this, because it is from the translation and study of foreign literature, that any language has the most to dread as sources of adulteration. And now that a Teutonic jargon and Teutonic crotchets are coming into fashion, it becomes us to be more than ever on the alert to denounce such contraband dealings. Most of the Greek passages are rendered into English; whether in consequence of their being translated in the original, we cannot say; but their translation is certainly a boon in the present case—not because of the difficulty of the Greek, far from it—but because of the extreme inaccuracy with which it is printed. This has been a great drawback to our pleasure in reading the work, and seriously detracts from its value; for in many cases the quotations would be unintelligible, without the light that is thrown on the blunders in them by the appended translation. Nor are the errata confined to the Greek and Latin sentences: we meet with the following in the English text, which are not corrected in the list. In vol. ii. p. 183, note, *unnecessary* for *necessary*; p. 277, *disposition* for *opposition*; p. 281, *suppresses* for *supposes*, &c. We mention these things because we deeply regret that Mr. Clarke's series of publications, valuable in themselves, should have their value so much lessened by faults of this kind. We would mention farther, before passing from these minute matters, that in one instance the translator has surely committed an oversight, and rather an important one, though it be only the mistake of a conjunction; his rendering in the text being both wrong in itself—(it occurs in the translation of a Greek passage)—and quite opposed to the opinion maintained in the note. It occurs on line 3, p. 182, of vol. ii: *since* for *when**. The author is showing that it was the opinion of Justin that the Logos was eternal, not as a separate person, but as *immanent in God*, that is, as a part of God, or as a property of the divine nature, and that he came forth from the divine essence and assumed a separate personality *immediately before* the creation of the world, for the purpose of effecting that work. The truth of this representation rests chiefly on two

* The sentence stands as follows; the original is given above: 'The Son of God, who alone, in a proper sense, is called Son, the Logos who was with him, and begotten before his works, *since* by him in the beginning he created and arranged all things, * * is called Christ.'

passages, the first of which runs thus : 'Ο δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτίσε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, χριστὸς....λέγεται. (Apol. ii. c. 6.) Our author argues, and we think rightly, that the words *συνῶν* and *γεννώμενος* form a contrast, the former relating to an antecedent eternity, during which the Logos abode in the Father, and the latter expressive of a personal manifestation, the time of which is fixed by *ὅτε* to the epoch of the creation. Two unsuccessful and ill-judged attempts have been made to bring this passage in particular to speak the dogma of the Nicene creed; the one by Koch, who would explain *γεννώμενος* of eternal generation, arbitrarily and against the force of *ὅτε*, and consider the expression a *hysteron proteron*; the other by Nifanius, and Bull (in his *Defence of the Nicene Creed*), who would translate *ὅτε* by *since*—which our author truly says is impossible—and, making it dependent on the clause that follows, turn the creating of the universe into the reason why Christ is called the Son of God. To give *since*, therefore, in the text as the rendering of *ὅτε*, is an evident oversight of the translator. We have observed with great satisfaction that Otto, in his edition of Justin's works, which we are about to notice, has, in his note on this passage, expressed very clearly and briefly the substance of what our author has stated in his long and able discussion of this point, giving a reference to it.

There are moral qualities in this work which have given us peculiar satisfaction. Not only is the writer's perception acute, and his judgment sound, but his heart is evidently in the right place, and under the sanctifying influence of the truth. Hence his own doctrinal sentiments are truly scriptural, and taking his stand on Bible truth, he sees from the right point of view the devious paths of patristic opinions, and describes them honestly. At the same time a proper allowance is made for what is faulty, whatever is favourable is fairly adduced, and a tone of seriousness and respectful candour is maintained throughout, which is in honourable contrast with the flippant and contemptuous detraction that the fathers have sometimes met with from those, whose spleen, aroused by the impious idolatry of a party, has urged them to perform the duty of Iconoclasts. It is true that the writings of Justin contain much that is feeble, not a little that is groundless, inconsiderate, and even erroneous, and some things that are ridiculous; but before we inflict our blame, or indulge our ridicule, we ought to consider well the moral character and the aims of him, whose intellectual deficiencies we would visit so severely, and also what relation he bears to us, and what possible obligations we may owe to his undervalued labours. For our own part we must confess that, in reflecting on the martyr's character and course of life, an

affectionate esteem for him has filled our minds. We would be far from dignifying him as a saint, simply for the fact of his martyrdom; but the manner in which he underwent it, should gain him respect in our eyes. The man who maintains the honour of our Lord at the certain risk of his life, and transmits to us the inheritance of the gospel at the price of his blood, should be held in honorable remembrance as *a brother beloved*.* Nor is it the circumstances of his death only that claim for him our admiration and regard, but the exertions of his life also during the whole period subsequent to his conversion. Though not distinguished by original mental power, he was from the first inflamed with a pure and earnest zeal for the discovery of that truth which should satisfy the wants of his spirit. He sought it in vain from the pride and atheism of the Stoic, the avarice of the Peripatetic, the scientific exclusiveness of the Pythagorean, and only with delusive success from the contemplative mysticism of the Platonist. But he found it in all its imperishable beauty, its divine reality, and its life-giving and healing power in the despised word of Christ. And having found this heavenly treasure in the field which men scorned as worthless, he sold all that he had to secure it, and thenceforth assumed it as the work of his life to defend its excellence and to offer it to others. In this singleness of aim, by which the gospel absorbed all his thoughts and energies, he reminds us of one to whom in other respects we should not dream of comparing him,—the apostle Paul. We may observe also that the career of each, of the one in the first, and of the other in the second century, very nearly corresponds as to the respective dates and the space of time occupied.† For about forty years Justin pursued the labours of an itinerant evangelist, travelling throughout the Roman empire, in his philosopher's cloak, as a professor of the only true and divine philosophy; seeking wherever it was to be found, though not always with due discrimination, information that might be brought to bear on his great work—‘the defence and confirmation of the gospel;’ visiting and instructing the churches, and disputing, when occasion offered, with heathens, Jews, and heretics, not so much to confute as to persuade them. In these argumentative discussions he employed every means, which his resources supplied, or his mind suggested, to convince his opponents of their errors, and to win them over to the truth; and if those specimens of his efforts that remain seem to us defective in many respects,

* Comp. Phil. ii. 29, 30.

† It is impossible to fix exactly the date of Justin's conversion, but it must have been in Hadrian's reign, about 130, or a little later. The Alexandrine Chronicle gives 166 as the year of his martyrdom.

the defects, as we shall presently show, are such as should be charged chiefly upon the age, and the unavoidable disadvantages under which he laboured. There are two principal excellencies that certainly must be allowed him. The first of these is, strict adherence to what he considered to be truth, as he never advanced any statement or argument merely to delude or baffle his opponent, (that is, *γυμναστικῶς*, as it was termed,) in the dishonest manner which Origen and others practised, and Jerome so highly commends; but though some of the replies he made were doubtless very crude and hasty, yet they were the best he could furnish, and were made in sincerity. The insinuation of Trypho that he spoke perhaps otherwise on a certain point, he rejects with indignation. Unquestionably his answers were sometimes unsatisfactory to himself, but even then he shews his sincerity by virtually confessing it, and falling back on ground of which he was better assured. He knew he was right in the main, and therefore pressed on, warning his opponent not to attribute the faultiness of the defence to any defect in the doctrine he was defending. The second excellence for which we must give him credit, is the noble courage, with which in the boldest manner, he vindicates the character and cause of his oppressed brethren; and that this was no cheap virtue will appear very distinctly, when we come to consider the circumstances in which he was placed as their defender. We introduce the following extract, not merely as a specimen of the work, but as necessary here in order to give a general view of the religious character of Justin. And unless we set out with a right impression concerning him in this respect, it is manifestly impossible to judge him fairly in any other.

‘However different the rank which has been assigned to Justin, when viewed from this or the other standing point, one distinction has been awarded him without dispute,—his deeply seated enthusiastic love for the gospel. Whether with pleasure or not, all have concurred in Trypho’s testimony, ‘I am astonished at your devotedness to divine things, ἀγαμμι τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὁρμῆς. (*Dial. c. 8.*) And truly if by anything whatever, Justin was distinguished by the warmth and decidedness of his christian convictions. We hear the confession of his inmost heart, when he says of christianity, ‘ταύτην μόνην εὕρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σὺμφερον.’ (*Dial. c. 8.*) ‘This alone I have found infallible and profitable philosophy.’ Christianity was in truth esteemed by him as the only philosophy that produced real happiness; he had proved this sufficiently by experience; and his martyrdom more than all testified, that he deemed his faith among all good things to be the highest and most valuable good. But in his writings also, this his love for christianity is expressed with a freshness and intensity that only he who never felt anything of the unction of the Holy Spirit in his own heart, can suppose to be a fictitious enthusiasm. To the Roman Emperor, Justin avowed, ‘I have despised the judgment of the multitude, and have wished most ardently

and striven with all my power, that I might be found to be a christian.' He assured the Jew Trypho, 'To us who are enlightened by the Word of God, this is sweeter than honey, as you may perceive from this, that we do not deny his name even in death itself.' In a third passage he again exclaims to the emperor, 'If the soldiers enrolled by you, who have taken the military oath, consider this solemn engagement more dear to them than their own life, or parents, or father-land, and all kindred, although you can offer them nothing that is unchangeable—how truly ridiculous would it be, if we, whose aim and hope is immortality, were not willing to endure all things, in order to gain the object of our desire from him who is able to bestow it?' Hence this love for christian truth, this inspiration of faith, was no barren blossom without fruit. Justin's faith was not a mere admission of intellectual truth, an idle zeal for dogmatic formulæ, a fruitless indulgence of extravagant expectations; it was a moral principle producing a renovation of the life. Justin distinctly referred every thing to a moral purpose, as the last and highest aim of human endeavour. He dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the delineation of the moral effects of christianity, and spoke with intense delight on the complete transformation which generally took place in the dispositions of the converts to the christian faith. * * * * *

Justin distinctly shews in opposition to the 'much talking' of the heathen, that the essence of christian piety consists not in words but in deeds;—and in contrast to Jewish formality, that christians honoured God and Christ till death, not merely with their lips but with their hearts and actions. He impressively declares that 'christians, whenever the baptismal rite was performed, prayed for the newly baptized, and for themselves, for since they learned to know the truth, they might also have the power to prove themselves by their works to be good stewards and conscientious guardians of the commandments they had received. He repeatedly expresses his firm conviction that God accepted only those who imitated the moral perfection that dwelt essentially in him, who copied his purity, righteousness, and philanthropy: that the only means for attaining the forgiveness of sins, and a participation of the heavenly inheritance, was the actually becoming free from sin after the knowledge of Christ and baptism. Everywhere he considers the hope of eternal felicity to be limited by moral fitness. 'We hold the belief,' says he, 'that only those will attain to a happy immortality who lead holy and virtuous lives, according to the image of God; but all who go hence in unrighteousness, and without renovation of life, will be punished with eternal fire.' (*ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ* I *Apol.* c. 21. comp. c. 8.) Thus, according to Justin, the faith and the life stood in the most intimate connexion; his morality was entirely supported by his faith; and then again, he acknowledged no faith as genuine without morality.'—vol. i. pp. 211—215.

Such were the great principles that Justin cherished and maintained. Acknowledging such principles and displaying them in practice, he became an apologist for christianity in the highest and truest sense—his life was an apology, an apology that all must have read and none could refute. But whether

for a vocal, or for a silent and practical defence, there was need in his day of an undaunted firmness, in which he was far from being found deficient. It was a day when the christian had to stand no easy trial, but one that called for resistance unto blood, and in those instances where it reached not this height, there was much to be faced that was little less painful and terrible to the flesh. It may be said that in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, there was no direct persecution set on foot by the government, but this was not necessary; the fundamental principles of the Roman government forbade the toleration of such a sect as the christians, for no citizen might change his religion at pleasure, but was bound to worship the gods of the state, including the Genius of the emperor; and therefore, when the christians escaped, it was solely owing to the leniency or supineness of the governors. But it was not every provincial governor that with the indifference of Gallio combined his firmness; a timid and yielding Pilate was oftener found who, when assailed by the bigoted fury of the rabble, at the time of a famine or an earthquake, proclaiming the desertion of the temples and sacrifices and the consequent anger of the gods—instead of driving them from the judgment seat, was rather willing to do them a pleasure by surrendering *the atheists* to their vengeance. That this was the case is evident from what Justin tells us he had witnessed prior to his conversion. His mind had been powerfully impressed by beholding the constancy of christians when accused, and their unfeigned fearlessness in reference to death and all else that was dreadful; and the conclusion had thus been forced upon him, that it was impossible they should be guilty of the abominable vices laid to their charge; for what voluptuary was ever known to welcome death, and not to dread it above all things, as ending his base indulgences? But the ignorance, malice, and bigotry of the populace, though the most dangerous, were not the only hostile elements, in addition to the jealousy of the state, that the church had to contend with. What the influence of the priests may have been, it is difficult to say: they would hardly appear to have been respected, combined, and powerful enough to prove dangerous antagonists. But there was another body of men whose enmity, in the age of Justin, was just beginning to be roused into vigorous action,—we mean the philosophers; though as yet their assaults were confined to desultory and contemptuous encounters: their opposition had not yet embodied itself in the distinct and systematic form, nor assumed the panoply, in which it entered the field half a century later. Their antagonism, as to the nature of its principles and procedure, would form an interesting subject of inquiry. The school of Epicurus is

said at that time to have been the most numerous and flourishing; but it would not appear to have sent forth the most determined assailants of Christianity, which is quite in keeping with its character of voluptuous indifference. Celsus, the first writer against the Christians, has indeed been called an Epicurean, but with what justice it is hard to say. Certainly he was not a follower of Ammonius, as Mosheim says, for he appeared much earlier, though not so far back as Origen places him, in the reign of Hadrian; most probably he wrote about the close of Justin's life.* In the ordinary encounters of the time, the Cynics were the bitterest enemies of our faith, as might be expected from the pride, sarcastic temper, and bullying violence by which they were distinguished. They were the philosophers of the mob, and swarmed in populous cities, where they drew attention by their singular appearance and noisy harangues. According to the description of Lucian, they wandered about, begrimed with dirt, bearing a large knapsack, one half of their body naked, the cloak being thrown carelessly over one shoulder, with their hair and beard long and shaggy, and their nails like wild beast's claws. They carried with them their weapons,—in one hand a book written on the back; and in the other, what supplied all deficiencies of reason, learning, or eloquence, a formidable cudgel. Their general insolence was equalled by their fawning servility to the powerful; and their professed love of wisdom was only a cloak to gluttony, avarice, and the most shameless unchastity. This description may be fully applied to that member of the sect, Crescens, whom Justin opposed at Rome, and to whose virulent enmity he probably owed his death. But there was another form of Gentile wisdom, more respectable and dignified in its character, from which the church had more to fear and to suffer. This was the Stoic philosophy. The proud elevation of virtue to which its disciples aspired, made them look with contempt on the Christian doctrine, so far as they knew it; but they felt it to be their rival, and a rival that boasted of power to dignify the illiterate and the mean with a higher wisdom than their own; while the stern sense of duty which they professed, led them to maintain an uncompromising hostility to the disloyal and illegal conduct of the Christians in abandoning the worship of their fathers. This hostility found a fit instrument and leader in the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who with unimpassioned but persevering earnestness caused the christians to be sought out and brought to punishment as criminals against the state, whose professed religious association was but a cunningly

* See our author, vol. i., p. 45, note.

contrived conspiracy. Thus the philosophy of the heathen world, even when secretly mocking its religion, stood forth as its most valorous ally and defender; indeed, without such aid, Polytheism could have made no stand at all, having no resources of its own but the avarice of the priests and craftsmen, and the superstition of the vulgar. And what gives a special interest to the age of Justin, is this: that,—whereas, in the first century, Christianity was too insignificant and little known to do more than rouse occasional persecution, and that oftenest through the interference of the Jews,—it now began of itself, the power of the Jews being broken, to excite attention and alarm generally as a distinct and peculiar system, having numerous and widely-ramified societies, and animated by principles which, whatever they were, tended to spread with a success, and to act with an energy that were inexplicable. Hence the opposition that arose, which, at first confused and undefined, gradually shaped itself into a distinct and formidable array, in which the New Platonists stood forth as foremost combatants. But the first brunt of the contest was met, and boldly met, by Justin, whose courage merits an admiration that should be proportioned not only to the dangers and difficulties, but also to the novelty of the warfare. How he discharged his part in it, we can judge in some measure by his writings, and also by the esteem and admiration with which he is spoken of by all subsequent authors in the church.

We shall now take notice of some of the defects that appear in his productions. His acquaintance with Greek learning, especially in the department of philosophy, was very extensive; but in his reading he seems to have been too much biassed by an exclusive search for what related to the object of his labours. Hence his views are often deficient in fairness of estimation and comprehensiveness. His mind also constantly betrays the want of that strict discipline which is so salutary to its powers; the very defect for which the Pythagorean teacher rejected him. Of the necessity of logical sequence in arguing, he appears quite forgetful; and often rambles on, interweaving parentheses of any length in his sentences, and episodes that have the very slightest connexion with the main subject. The structure of his periods thus becomes perplexed and inaccurate, and the strain of his composition confused and tiresome. This negligence arose in great part from the purposed indifference to style, which most of the early fathers thought a duty; but the irregularity of Justin's education will account for more. His learning, great as it was, did not extend to the knowledge of Hebrew, which he must have regarded as unnecessary, since he believed the Septuagint version to be a literal and inspired

rendering of the original. Relying on that version with unsuspicious confidence, he finds arguments in passages that really afford no foundation for them. But indeed in passages, where his confidence was not misplaced, he is not an expositor that may be safely followed, as may be seen from some specimens which we have given already, when proving another point. His fundamental error is the following. Being persuaded of the eternal harmony and immutability of revealed truth, he mistakenly endeavours to exhibit it as possessing these qualities, by pointing out in every lineament of the Old dispensation a significant token of the New. That Christ and his doctrine may not appear to disadvantage as novelties, he must find them everywhere in the records of the Jewish history and religion. In doing this, he has certainly many to countenance him even in modern times, though perhaps few would follow his track in the instances which we shall here give as examples.

‘ The circumcision of children on the eighth day after birth, as appointed by the law, Gen. xvii. 12, Lev. xii. 3, he considers to be a symbol of the spiritual circumcision of Christians by Christ, who rose on the eighth day, according to one method of computation. In the twelve golden bells which were fastened to the border of the high priest’s robe, he finds a type of the twelve apostles, since they were dependent on the power of Christ, the eternal High Priest, and their announcement of the grace and glory of God and of Christ, had resounded throughout the globe. The double marriage, and other occurrences in Jacob’s life, he viewed as a typical representation of certain events relating to Jesus. Leah signified the Jewish nation, and Rachel the Christians. Christ still performs service for both, as well as for the two handmaids; for since Noah predicted that the posterity of his third son would be in subjection to his two other sons, so has Christ appeared for the restoration both of the free children and of their bondsmen. All who obey his commands, will partake of the same glory, even as Jacob granted equal privileges to all his children, whether they were the offspring of his two wives or of their handmaids. Moreover, as Jacob served Laban for ‘the ring-straked, speckled and grisled’ cattle, (Gen. xxxi. 35; xxxi. 8—12,) so Christ was obedient even to the death of the cross for men of all nations, whom he won for himself by his blood, and the mysterious power of his cross. The eyes of Leah were weak, and the spiritual sight of the Jews is also weak. Rachel stole Laban’s gods, and hid them; while Gentile christians have given up their fathers’ gods of wood and stone; Jacob was the object of his brother’s constant hatred; and Christ and believers are hated by the Jews and the rest of mankind, though all are, by nature, brethren; Jacob received the name of Israel, and Christ is called Israel.’ Dial., c. Tr., c. 134, 140.—vol. i. pp. 304, 305.

But the same principle whose operation was thus exemplified, and which was indeed an anxiety to convince the opposite side

that their own system supplied the foundation and outlines for the theory of truth which they were urged to adopt, led him into a far greater and more injurious mistake when disputing with heathens. His anxiety to win them over was sometimes more ardent than wisely regulated ; for he seeks to find all the points of correspondence that an ingenious fancy can detect between their fables and the histories and prophecies of the Bible ; alleging that the demons who personated the gods of heathenism had stolen the latter, and delivered them in a distorted form to their votaries, to be applied to their own glorification. Again, he gives their philosophers credit for being acquainted with much of divine truth, though they had expressed it in an imperfect and perverted manner ; and this he attributes partly to their acquaintance with the writings of the prophets, and partly to the seed of the divine Logos dwelling in them. To the adoption of such notions he must have been the more inclined, from his great credulity, a characteristic failing of the christians of his age. In the tale of the Cumean Sybil and in the forged prophecies bearing her name, as well as in the fable of the seventy interpreters shut up in seventy separate cells, and there miraculously producing identical versions, he put implicit faith. Connected with the latter, he shows also his ignorance of history, for he speaks of a Herod reigning in Judæa at the time of the occurrence.

In these erroneous notions, and in other defects, Justin was simply influenced by the general belief of his brethren at the time. In their mistakes and weaknesses he shared. If in any point of morality he is to be blamed, it is in agreeing with them in an undue estimation of celibacy, and an improper depreciation of marriage. He is unjustly represented as a leader in error, for he had neither the vanity nor the originality to strike out what was new. That his mode of thinking and expression on difficult subjects, such as that of the Logos, should savour of philosophy, was unavoidable ; for any man who proceeds to speculate and argue on these must borrow the means of representation from the same quarter, and Justin does not seem to have been more unsuccessful than others. That he adulterated christian doctrine with Platonic notions is an unfair and groundless charge, which has often been brought against him, but is well refuted by our author.

To conclude our short sketch of Justin, we shall give a brief view of the sentiments expressed in his writings concerning the Godhead. He maintains the unity of God, and denounces the absurdities of Polytheism with the greatest earnestness. He regards the simple idea of the being of a God as innate in the human mind ; and the idea of his unity as equally so, though

lost throughout the heathen world by the delusions of demons. He represents God as unutterable,* and consequently as nameless; though not in the sense in which Plato and Philo affirm this, namely, that God is simple existence, devoid of all qualities; but because of his infinite perfection. Nor does he refine on this idea so as to deny him substantiality; but, on the whole, gives a just and scriptural view of the Divine Being. In maintaining the divinity of Christ, which he strenuously does, he felt himself, as an apologist, in danger of being charged by his opponents partly with worshipping a man, partly with advancing the doctrine of two Gods. To avoid the first charge, he insists on the scripture doctrine of the *Λόγος*; but, influenced by the ambiguity of the term, and by impressions received from Philo's views, he does not confine himself to the simplicity of scripture statements, but enters on explanations which mar the truth. As we have shown from a passage already quoted, his belief was far from being that of the Nicene creed, for he regarded the Logos as originally dwelling in the divine mind, and sent forth by God from himself, at a certain epoch, as a *δύναμις λόγινη* by which he created all things, which thenceforth existed as an individual person, ruling over creation as God—the same who was manifested to the patriarchs and prophets, and became incarnate as Jesus for our redemption. This Logos he calls the only-begotten Son of God, because of his origin; and while very frequently styling him *God*, he often gives him the designation of *γέννημα*, and once that of *εργασία*. He guards against the second charge, by maintaining his unity of essence, character, and will, with the Father; and illustrates this by comparing him to *speech* and *flame*, which being the same in nature and properties with the source whence they proceed, do not diminish it by their separation. To the Logos dwelling in believers, he attributes all inward enlightenment and sanctification. He thus gives him the place of the Holy Spirit, and is consequently at a loss how to speak of the latter, concerning whom his language is often indefinite and obscure; but this is certain, that though he makes the Spirit subordinate to, and dependent on both the Father and the Son, he maintains his personality and divinity. He does not, as Neander thinks, represent him as created, and merely the highest of the angels. He describes the angels as created ministering spirits—altogether dependent—liable to sin—and possessed of bodies, which, though very fine in substance, are nourished by manna. Strange to say, in one passage he includes them with the Trinity as objects of christian adoration. How that adoration should be modified in their case, he does not say; but the

* ὁ ἀόρητος πατήρ passim.

fact that he does assign it to them cannot be denied, on any fair principle of interpretation. It must be regarded as a significant symptom of the deterioration of the doctrinal views of the church in the second century, of which views here, as elsewhere, he is unquestionably only giving a fair representation.

On this and other topics of interest we would fain dilate, but want of space compels us to close. We trust we have said enough to excite such an interest in the minds of some, at least, as will not be satisfied without a close perusal of the work itself, in which, if their pleasure should equal ours, they will be well rewarded. We trust that, in the case of those who are unacquainted with Justin's works, but qualified to read them, another result may follow, in their being led to seek a knowledge of his writings for themselves. For that purpose they will find no edition more serviceable than the one of which we have given the title. It is not expensive; the Greek type is clear and agreeable; the printing very accurate; and the apparatus of Prolegomena, version, notes, and indices all that can be desired. The pieces which are given in it are the Oration to the Greeks, the Exhortation, on the Monarchy, the two Apologies, the Dialogue, and the Epistle to Diognetus; all of which, without exception, the editor attributes to Justin. In this, of course, we do not agree with him. The fragment on the Resurrection, and other fragments, are added, along with the ancient account of Justin's martyrdom. The text is carefully amended according to manuscript authority, and the aid of a new MS. is employed in those pieces which it contains. This codex belonged to Reuchlin, and bears his autograph: it has been found in the public library at Strasburg. A lithographed specimen of it is inserted in the work.

Art. V. *The Modern Syrians: or Native Society in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Mountains of the Druses. From notes made in those parts during the years 1841-2-3.* By an Oriental Student. 12mo. pp. 309. London: Longman & Co. 1844.

THE author of this work informs us that after some years travel on the continent of Europe, he longed to see the wonders of the East; and in the midst of preparatory oriental studies, 'chance' hurried him across the Mediterranean, and procured him the opportunity of being a spectator of many remarkable transactions. He entered, in a French steamer, the port of Alexandria, which then contained the combined fleets of the Sultan and Mohammed Ali. But although he remained in Egypt 'the appointed time,' he judiciously abstains from requiring our company on

this beaten ground : and to our very great relief, takes us at once by water to Beyrout, and there proceeds to lay before us the cream of the observations made during his protracted sojourn in those parts. Lebanon and its inhabitants, particularly the Druses ; Damascus, and Aleppo, are his leading subjects. His statements, under the first of these heads, form by far the most valuable portion of the work, affording, as it does, information not elsewhere to be found, respecting the social condition, the politics, and the state of religion in a highly interesting region, our knowledge of which has hitherto been of the slightest description. Next to this in interest is the account of Aleppo, which has been less visited by English travellers than Damascus : but even at Damascus, the information of this writer has considerable novelty, and embraces many points of interest, arising from his leisurely sojourn, from his mixing more than other travellers with the native population, and from his ability to converse with them in their own language. Hence we have pictures more distinct in their outlines, facts more positive, and information more real than the passing traveller, ignorant of the local language, can be reasonably expected to exhibit. Davis's *Chinese*, and Lane's *Modern Egyptians* owe their high and informing character to the more extended and complete operation of the same causes. We have, indeed, seen this work advertised as 'a companion to Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.' This absurd pretension arises from a dim perception of their common features ; but it is as unjust to the present writer as to Mr. Lane, seeing that it excites expectations which neither the scope of the work nor the mode of dealing with the subject by any means warrant. Such a book as Lane's is not so easily produced as booksellers imagine, and requires rare opportunities and a rarer combination of qualifications, which it is no wrong to the author of *Modern Syrians* to say that he has not possessed. It is, however, a very good book, and makes larger additions to the common stock of information concerning Syria than any work which could be easily named since Burekhardt's *Travels in Syria* appeared. Considering the small size and cost of the volume, and remembering the multitude of books which have since been produced, this is no small praise. In fact, the number of paragraphs marked in this volume with our pencil, which was only employed when something new or striking met our survey, bespeaks a very favourable verdict upon a book which has afforded us so much satisfaction.

The sixth chapter of the work is occupied by a full and very interesting account of the Druses, and as this singular people has lately engaged much attention, this chapter will doubtless be read with interest. It is more full and exact than the

particulars formerly furnished by Burckhardt, with which, however, in substance it agrees. We would willingly lay this information before the reader, but it is too long for extract, and would suffer by abridgment.

The writer returns to the Druses in an appendix, entitled 'Origin of the religion of the Druses;' which he offers as a digest of what has been written on the subject by 'De Sacy, Adler, Venture, and other Orientalists,' whose pages he apprehends that few of his readers would have the patience to wade through. Nor need they; for, as it happens, all the real information this part of the book contains—which is chiefly an account of Hakem, the Fatemite khalif of Egypt—may be found in the third volume of the *Modern Universal History*.

This Hakem is believed by the Druses to have been the Deity, or rather the last and greatest impersonation of the Divinity upon earth. The doctrine was started in Hakem's life-time by a man called Darazi; and although the khalif did not publicly take part with Darazi, he gave him much under-hand encouragement, and eventually sent him secretly into Syria, supplied him with money, and enjoined him to promulgate his doctrine in the mountains, where he would find a rude people favourably disposed for the reception of novel doctrines. The existence of this doctrine to the present day among the Druses is a proof that in this the khalif had judged rightly. The Druses do not, however, regard this Darazi as the real founder of their religion; but rather ascribe that equivocal honour to Hamza, who afterwards took up the doctrine, and supported it with so much ability that Hakem himself, who was undoubtedly insane, no longer hesitated to sanction the monstrous pretensions on his own behalf which it involved. 'Hamza is to the Druses,' says our author, 'what Mohammed is to the Moslems, and it is to Hamza and not to Hakem that we must attribute the construction of this system, which was founded upon ideas and allegories current for a long period previously among many sects of Moslems, particularly those who professed an especial reverence towards the descendants of Ali.'

The following is what our author gives as

'The Doctrine of the Druse Religion —'The Druses believe that the appearance of Hakem is the last and most perfect of the manifestations of the Divinity, and that he is not to re-appear until the last day, when he will exercise his judgments upon men in a rigorous manner by the sword. Certain signs are to foreshadow this event, such as kings governing according to their own will, Christians having dominion over Moslems, an earthquake at Cairo, and the destruction of Aleppo by the armies of Antichrist, who is to be an apostate Unitarian, called the 'blind of one eye, the imposter of the time of the resurrection.'

'Next to the Deity, in the Druse system, comes the Spirit of Universal Intelligence, the incarnation of which, in the time of Hakem, was Hamza. This intelligence was the first of the creations of God, and his delegate in the work of the creation of men and things. Various other impersonations of the Intelligence appeared before Hamza, one of which was Adam. One cannot help smiling at the way in which the scriptural account of him is treated. Adam, and two counterparts whom they give him, is believed to have been born of a father and a mother, and not of earth. "God forbid that the Creator, who is worthy of praise, and whose power is to be revered, should have formed his chosen one of earth, which is the vilest of all things. If we were to judge of things according to external appearance, he would have formed him of the most excellent substances, such as precious stones, hyacinths, and emeralds."

'Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed the founder of the Batenian religion, are all considered as false prophets, and the inventors of false systems. Hamza was the most perfect of the manifestations of the Intelligence, and the Druses apply to him many of those expressions which, in the New and Old Testament, are given to the Messiah. Hamza, and not Hakem, gives his name to the Druse era, which is 408 of the Hegira, or A.D. 1033.

'The form of engagement of the votaries of the 'Unitarian religion,' runs thus:—"Written in such a month, such a year of the years of the servant of our Lord, whose name be glorified, and of his slave Hamza Ebn Ali ebn Ahmed."

'*'Praise,'* says Hamza, 'be accorded to him who has created me with his light, and given me the succour of his holy spirit, who has favoured me with his science, and confided to me his commands, who has revealed to me the secret of his mysteries.

'*'I am the root of his creatures, the written book, the inhabited house, the master of the resurrection and the last day, and, with the permission of the Lord, the blower of the trumpet. . . . I am the Messiah of the nations; from me grace flows; and by my ministry vengeance will fall upon the polytheists.'*

'God is supposed to have four other ministers, entitled the Soul, the Word, the Preceding, and the Following; but a description of their characteristics and various incarnations would be too abstruse a matter for the general reader.

'The world, according to the Druses, was created at once in its present state, composed of males and females, young and old, millions in number. Every man supposed he had a father and mother of a particular name and profession, and used to visit the tombs, where he saw bones that he imagined to be those of his deceased relations. Every man knew his trade, which he imagined had been taught him by such and such a person, but all this was merely an effect of the power of the Creator: and thus was the machine of the world at once set in motion. Souls were created by the light of Hamza, their number being fixed, and neither increasing nor diminishing in the course of time.

'The catechism of the Druses states that at the last day God will make the true believers Pashas, Emirs, and Sultans: while those who deny Hakem, whom they consider the true Messiah, are to have rings suspended from their ears, which will be burning hot in summer and ice

cold in winter, with a dress of pig's skin, and they will be subjected to misery and drudgery in the service of the true believers.

'The impersonation of the Divinity who appeared in the time of our Saviour, is called Solomon the Persian, and John, Luke, Mark, and Matthew, were his ministers. Solomon acquainted the son of Mary and Joseph the Carpenter, "whom the Christians call the Messiah," with his divine nature; but as he rejected it, Solomon infused hatred of Jesus into the hearts of the Jews, who crucified him. All critique on such absurdities is superfluous.'—pp. 305—308.

We add a few paragraphs of miscellaneous matter, to mark the character of the work:—

'*Conversation at Damascus.* The conversation at the soirées is of a general nature. Such a man is in arrear with the Defterdar or treasurer. The pasha said so and so, on such an occasion. The locusts of the Hauran are eating up the corn, and bread will be dear. Ought Damascus, which, as a holy city, is exempt from the capitation tax, to pay one of its own free-will? &c. As may well be supposed, I was often asked about England, and my first impressions of the Thames Tunnel and of railway travelling were duly recalled, and excited a great deal of wonderment. Adjaib, adjaib, what a strange country! But more strange still, in their opinion, was the circumstance of the sovereign being a lady.'

'What, does she smoke?—a chibouque, or a narghilé?'

'Neither the one nor the other!'

'Adjaib! (wonderful!) When she transacts her business, does she show her face to the divan?'

'Yes!'

'Adjaib!'

'I attempted to explain in answer to another question, that the queen alone reigned; and that the emir, her husband, did not interfere in state affairs. But this seemed to be the most incomprehensible of all arrangements, and the Franks the most extraordinary people.'—pp. 149, 150.

'*The best library in Syria.* Taking off our shoes, we entered a small mosque (at Aleppo), and passing through an inner apartment, found ourselves at the door and screen of the library. The library is the best in Syria; but let not the reader suppose it a Bodleian, or a Bibliothèque du Roi; it might have passed for the dusty study of a benchman of Lincoln's Inn. Around the walls of an ordinary sized room were placed substantial cases, in which the books were contained, not standing upright, but lying flat upon each other, the titles being written with ink on the leaf-edges in large characters. In the corner of the room was a pair of old-fashioned English globes, which bore a label stating that they were sold at the sign of the Atlas and Hercules, in the Poultry, London. On asking the attendant where the reading room was, he pointed to the arcades of the quadrangle we had passed through. I then asked him if he had many readers; but the answer was not indicative of much taste for literature on the part of the Aleppines. 'Some weeks we have books asked for; some weeks they lie undisturbed on the shelves.' I was promised a catalogue of the books of this library,

on promising to remunerate the copyist liberally; but although I asked for it afterwards repeatedly, it never was forthcoming.'—pp. 238, 239.

'*Turning Turk.*' The native christians are not so well off as they were in the time of the Egyptians, but they are exposed to no extortions as during the *ancien régime* of Turkey. Having their separate quarter, the gates of which are locked an hour after sunset, they live in more security than the inhabitants of the town (Aleppo) itself, for many robberies took place within the walls during my stay. The christian rayahs are in all temporal matters subject to the Turkish jurisdiction; but disputes among themselves are generally settled by the superior clergy, without the intervention of the civil authority.

'Several conversions to Islamism had taken place before my arrival. 'Turning Turk,' as the old phrase goes, is in general a much rarer occurrence than formerly. One cause of this is the decline of the political fortunes of the Ottoman Empire. The independence of Greece, the pressure of Russia, and Mehemet Ali's system of promoting intelligent Christian rayahs wherever he could find them, tended to discourage proselytism. After his expulsion, the pride of the Moslems, and the abasement of the Christian population, produced a slight re-action; a few conversions took place in Syria, and these chiefly in Aleppo. Now and then, one of those amphibious European adventurers who roam through Turkey, ready at five minutes' notice to undertake the drill of a battalion, the service of the hospital, or the construction of a battery, turns Turk for a year or two, and then leaves the country; but this does not count. One of these worthies was, during my stay at Aleppo, discovered by the Arnauts as having embraced Islamism somewhere in Turkey in Europe, and to save his life he was obliged to remain in hiding till they left the city. The welcome these individuals receive from their new co-religionists is by no means flattering. One day a newly-converted Jew entered the mosque of Zachariah with the high turban of a sheikh. One of the Ulema, on perceiving him, knocked it off his head, and told him never to show himself in that guise again. The last conversion was that of an Armenian Catholic, which took place in public, at the Mehkemeh. When the renegade had made his attestation, one of the heads of the catholics said aloud, 'The Moslems have not been increased, and the Christians have not been diminished in number.'—pp. 260, 262.

There is one other matter in his book which we feel reluctant to notice, but are unwilling to leave to the impression it is calculated to convey.

In Mount Lebanon, and at Beyrout, our author became acquainted with the American missionaries, and particularly with the Rev. Eli Smith, the companion of Dr. Robinson in the journeys of which an imperishable monument has been erected in the '*Biblical Researches in Palestine.*'

Our author met with Mr. Smith at Dair-el-kamar. He says :—

'I had scarcely delivered my first letters, and got over my first visits,

when I found that an unusual ferment reigned in the town in consequence of the presence of several American missionaries who were engaged in teaching the Druses. The Rev. Eli Smith, the principal missionary, on hearing of my arrival, sent me a friendly message, placing at my disposal anything which his house afforded, or which could contribute to my comfort. On calling to thank this gentleman for his unexpected kindness, I found him to be a man of simple prepossessing demeanour, and, as subsequent interviews shewed, well versed in Arabic literature, and Syrian geography. His invaluable Biblical Researches, the result of fifteen years' local experience, have been edited and published by Professor Robinson; but this latter gentleman having merely made a cursory tour, and in most instances noted the results previously attained by Mr. Smith, ought in justice to have kept his own name more in the back-ground. This is the opinion of impartial persons, acquainted with both parties. This is probably a fact, of which the donors of the geographical society's medal were not aware.'—pp. 67, 68.

The circumstances here noted are such as could only have been learned from the missionaries, and must therefore be taken as conveying their impression. The charge against Dr. Robinson is not so serious as might at first sight appear to those unacquainted with the work to which the statement refers. The disposition to put Mr. Smith's name in the back-ground, is rather that of the public than of Dr. Robinson. The latter unites the name of Mr. Smith, with his own, in the title-page and throughout the work; and in the preface, and in the appendices, carefully indicates the obligations which he owes to the collections and Arabic scholarship of his companion. But the public hates to have to repeat two names when one will serve, and therefore it has taken the first and principal name—a name even previously of high repute in biblical literature, and cites the work as '*Robinson's Biblical Researches*;' and under that name the work will ever henceforth be cited. No power on earth will ever persuade the public to refer to the work as the '*Biblical Researches in Palestine of E. Robinson, D.D. and the Rev. Eli Smith.*' Dr. Robinson himself has yielded to this necessity, and, in his later works, has fairly thrown Mr. Smith overboard, and cites the work, without circumlocution, as '*Robinson's Palestine.*'

Partnerships of this kind are seldom fortunate; and we are grieved to find that the present instance is not an exception. A work, the new matter in which is so much built upon names, it is probable that Dr. Robinson could not have rendered so complete as it now is without Mr. Smith's collections of Arabic names and his local knowledge of the country: but, on the other hand, it is not merely probable, but quite certain, that Mr. Smith could not have produced any thing like this work

without Dr. Robinson. The volumes are full of various lore, and of comparative accounts, formed upon immense reading and untiring research, which we know to have been impossible to Mr. Smith, while the whole is quite after the manner of the very able papers on scripture geography, with which the professor had, in former years, enriched the pages of the *Biblical Repository*. Besides, if Mr. Smith were really able to produce such a work by himself, why did he not do so during the fifteen years in which it is said that his attention has been turned to the subject, and during which he has not lacked time to write largely on other matters? No: Mr. Smith, whose real and solid merits we appreciate highly, is a good man, and a very useful and laborious missionary: but his friends should know that it is one thing to collect materials, and another to construct a temple or a palace with them: and we may venture to hint to them that he has obtained more honour by the association of his name with that of Dr. Robinson in his magnificent labour, than he could ever have acquired by any separate labour of his own. We are bound to declare our opinion, that Mr. Smith by no means shares in the feeling which the author of the *Modern Syrians* ascribes to his friends: for, as is doubtless known to most of our readers, he has, since the appearance of the *Biblical Researches*, in which he is said to have been so much aggrieved, been in active and cordial correspondence with Dr. Robinson, imparting to him further materials and new information on the subjects which that work embraces.

Art. VI. *Lectures on certain High-Church Principles, commonly designated by the term Puseyism.* By Thomas Madge. pp. 312. Longman. 1844.

It must be something peculiar that constrains a unitarian minister to preach and publish on an ecclesiastical controversy prevailing in another church than his own, and to consider as serious the progress of the principles by which it has been occasioned. With his easy faith respecting opinions, his wide theological separation from all other churches, and his habit of reliance on the future to compensate for the failures of the present, it is not a common state of things, at least in his view of it, that can excite his deep interest in Puseyism. The appearance of Mr. Madge's Lectures may be regarded, therefore, as a fresh indication of the seriousness of our position as disciples and advocates of the faith once delivered to the saints.

We have never been able to regard Tractarianism with levity. That in many of its features and principles it is ridiculous, so ridiculous that nothing in the moral history of our race surpasses it in absurdity; that its vehement enmity to reason is, according to Hobbes's rule, the sign and result of reason's diametrical opposition to it; this we readily admit. But we have not so observed the human mind, or read its developments, especially as they are wont to be made in connexion with religion, as to discern any necessary incompatibility between the silliness and the success of sentiments, or to doubt that there was much plausibility in poor Steele's proposition that, wisdom being with the few, things should be settled by the minority. Without giving ourselves up to fear, which is a bad counsellor, and acknowledging the great advantages which the spread of knowledge and the activity of intellect in recent times must give to all that is manly in sentiment and liberal in spirit, we dare not pretend that our prospect is as clear as that of some who, in the circumstances of the coming contest, discern little more than a healthy exercise. That truth will triumph ultimately is not matter of doubt, but this fact does not help to any judgment on the immediate issue of any particular conflict of opinions. That truth has triumphed is not disputed; but no argument can thence be drawn in reference to the perpetuity of its local possessions. The history of the world is not a smooth and regular river, but subject to disturbance from many and mighty forces; the progress of truth has often been in cycles; and those who smile at the possibility of the revival of opinions once generally renounced can be likened, as Hallam well remarks, to none better than to those 'women who believe the fashion of last year in dress to be wholly ridiculous, and incapable of being ever again adopted by any one solicitous about her beauty.'

At the same time, whatever difference of opinion may obtain as to the future, none can exist as to the present. That the Tractarians are zealous, as all men whose faith is novel are zealous, none can doubt, and zeal must be met with zeal in order to a good result. The course to be adopted by the faithful is plain. There is but one. It is fidelity. Whether there is little or much to fear in spreading error, it can only be destroyed or qualified by the friends of truth. They must be alive and alert. To 'sit still' is not their 'strength.' We are glad that it is not their plan. Not that all, who should be lifting up the standard are active, or those even on whom especially devolves, if their own pretensions be allowed, the defence of pure and undefiled religion. With few exceptions, the clergy of the church of England who hold protestant principles have not been wise to discern, or courageous to assail, the rising evil. Three years

ago we heard one who should be an interpreter of times, and a defender of the faith, speak of Puseyism as 'a cloud passing away:' so simple was his view of its character and grounds. And many more require his faith to vindicate their repose. The opinion expressed in this journal long ago, that the maintenance of protestantism will fall upon protestant dissenters is being realized before the time we contemplated. The best efforts towards it as yet are ours. In drawing attention to the most recent one, we hope our readers will remember that if it is an old subject, it is a new controversy.

Mr. Madge's Lectures are a highly respectable exposition and defence of several important protestant principles in opposition to the assertions and bigotry of the Oxford school. He does not pretend to discuss all the points in dispute, but those which he has selected are at the very root of the controversy. We do not of course acquiesce in all his statements and reasonings. It was not likely that he would lose the opportunity of introducing his own theological views, though he has not done this more than might be naturally expected. The occasion was too tempting not to be made use of. For among the various evils arising from Puseyism, not the least is the disesteem with which they treat the scriptural evidence for its chief articles. When we find them speaking of the Trinity, the atonement, original sin, with other doctrines, as indebted rather to tradition than to the Bible for support, we see a new reason for suspicion and dread, both in the opinion thus expressed, and in the sanction thus given to what we believe to be error. But while Mr. Madge has taken occasion to commend his own belief, he has written in a temper which must be commended by all. Indeed his soberness on many subjects has been quite refreshing to us after the wild and mystic sentiments, going to the very denial of all truth, that have of late proceeded from some of his school. To hear a unitarian speak as if all opinions were not exactly alike, refer with respect to scripture as possessing some authority, and as boldly enforce the duty of thinking wisely as maintain the right of thinking independently, is no small treat after that to which we have been used as the teaching of not a few of his most gifted brethren. Mr. Madge, however, is not ashamed of these old fashioned ideas, and he clothes them in language clear, correct, elegant, and well adapted both to express and to commend them.

The lectures are eight in number. The first is occupied with a view of the *principles, spirit, and tendency of Anglo-catholicism*. In the conclusion of this lecture, he calls attention to a part of the subject which we think has not been made sufficiently prominent—viz., the bearing of Puseyism on *the practice*

of persecution. We cannot say, with him, that this is the 'worst part of the system.' That, in our judgment, is to be found in the separation which it effects between the spiritual Christ and the human soul, and which may be effected as well by substitution as annihilation, by popery as infidelity. But if not the worst part, it is a bad part, of the system. To deny that we are christians is enough to justify our loudest protest; but to assert the right to punish us for not being so, is to go the whole length of blind zeal, or cunning cruelty. Let it be known that this length Puseyism is prepared to go. The following extracts from different works quoted by Mr. Madge, will show this :—

'In proof of the accusation thus brought against them, I will first refer you to a passage contained in the sixty-fourth number of the 'British Critic.' It had been said in the 'Quarterly Review,' that the church is not now in a worse position with respect to the state, than it was in the days of Whitgift and Hooper. Upon this the 'British Critic' observes—'Now, with all deference to the respectable quarter from which this assertion proceeds, we cannot call it anything else than a palpable and egregious mistake. The church is in a very different, and in a much lower position, with respect to the state, than it was in the times of those divines. Then it was *co-extensive and identical* with the state. When men ceased to be members of the former, they were also deprived of their position in the latter. A seceder from the church was, as such, a criminal and a malefactor. The king, the council, and the parliament, were all not only necessarily churchmen, in common with the rest of the nation, but churchmen bound officially to protect the church, and put down her enemies. We put it, then, to any person, as a simple question of fact—Is or is not this order of things reversed? Are persons now obliged to go to church in order to escape going to jail? Are even ministers, privy councillors, members of parliament, magistrates, or any class of civil functionaries, obliged to be churchmen?*' Palmer, in his treatise on the church, after mentioning various laws relating to its discipline and doctrine, which still exist, goes on to observe, that, in accordance with the principle involved in those laws, and in the articles and canons of the church of England, the state has a right, when necessary, to oblige the members of the church, by temporal penalties, to submit to her ordinances, and neither to establish a different worship nor teach different doctrines from hers.† 'No man can forsake the church without committing a grievous sin. The civil magistrate may reasonably restrain such men by temporal penalties, in order to prevent them from disturbing the weak brethren and troubling the church'‡. * * * In one of the 'Tracts for the Times,' the writer, referring to those who exercise the right of

* British Critic, No. lxiv., p. 321.

† Palmer on the Church, vol. ii. p. 274, 3rd. edition.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii., p. 276.

private judgment, makes this observation :—‘ Such troublers of the christian community would, in a healthy state of things, be silenced, or put out of it, as disturbers of the king’s peace, and restrained in civil matters ; but, in our times, from whatever cause, being times of confusion, we are reduced to the use of argument and disputation, just as we think it lawful to carry arms, and barricade our houses during national disorders.*’ Attend, also, to what Mr. Newman says :—‘ If scripture-reading has, in England, been the cause of schism, it is because we (the church) are deprived of the power of excommunicating, which, in the revealed scheme, is the formal antagonist, and curb of private judgment†.’ The same author, in his ‘ History of the Arians of the Fourth century,’ speaking of those who denied the doctrine of Christ’s deity, and what he thought to be the evil consequences of their conduct, says, ‘ It is but equitable to anticipate those consequences in the *persons* of the heresiarchs, rather than to suffer them gradually to unfold and spread far and wide after their day, sapping the faith of their deluded and less guilty followers.’ ‘ In this,’ says Mr. Newman, ‘ lies the difference between the treatment due to an individual in error, and to one who is confident enough to publish his innovations. The former claims from us the most affectionate sympathy and the most considerate attention ; the latter should meet with no mercy. He assumes the office of the tempter, and so far forth as his error goes, must be dealt with by the competent authority, as if he were embodied evil.’—pp. 37—44.

We give these extracts because the doctrines they teach have not received the notice they deserve, by reason of the more strictly religious bearing of the system. They are sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man as to what we might expect from the uncontrolled power of Puseyism. The authorities are high enough, and the language is plain enough, to show that its tender mercies would be cruel. The nature of its doctrines prepared us for these avowals of its advocates. Dissent is a civil offence ; physical force is the proper answer to nonconforming objections ; the only unlawful thing is argument, which is justified by nothing but the existence of great disorders. And it must not be forgotten, that these statements are made while Puseyism *is seeking to get power* ; they are the declarations of a party not yet in the ascendant, and therefore under strong temptations to conceal the most offensive features of their system. If these things are said now, when policy must be the order of the day, what would be done in the time of triumph and of pride ? If persecution is so boldly pleaded for when opponents are to be conciliated, with what zeal will it be carried out when they have only to be destroyed ? Tractarianism in this matter is not even milder than full-orbed popery. We

* Tract No. 59, p. 3.

† Newman’s Treatise on Romanism, p. 170.

question whether the adherents of the latter in this country would think it wise to make so little reserve of their compulsory tenets. The new sect is far more reckless than the old one. Of all men, upstarts are the most offensive.

In the second lecture, the usual topics relating to the 'christian church' are treated in the usual way. It is shewn that the church is the congregation; that there is no foundation in scripture for the assertion that Christ or his apostles instituted a ministry consisting of three orders, and that to the first of these orders alone belongs the right of ordaining to the ministerial office; that the episcopal form of government, in its present shape, had no existence in the first christian churches, and that the whole system of prelacy is a mere human contrivance, devoid of all scriptural authority, and supported only by strained analogies and gratuitous assumptions. We have been impressed in reading this lecture, as we never fail to be when reading on the ecclesiastical controversy, with the immense use that has been made of *terms*. Archbishop Whately remarks in one of his works, that 'it would have been better if, from the very first, *no* scriptural terms had been introduced into systems of theology.' It would have been as well if none had been introduced into discussions respecting ecclesiastical polity. The truth could not have failed to be perceived long ago if recourse had not been had to charmed words, and technicalities had not been made to do the work of arguments. 'Words are the counters of wise men, and the money of fools.' And in no department have they possessed a greater value than in that of church government. 'Bishops,' 'churches,' 'ordination,' have acquired a particular signification, a sacred sense; and the moment they are heard, the minds of most confess its mighty presence. Must not christians be in churches? Can there be churches without bishops? Can there be bishops without ordination? are questions of potent force, importing to many self-evident propositions. But what are churches, bishops, and ordination? The terms bear not a scriptural meaning, but a traditional one; and it would be about as wise and as valid to appeal to the 'chapel' of Amos, or the 'general assembly' of Paul, in favour of the objects which those expressions now represent, as to suppose that 'church,' 'bishop,' 'ordination,' *must* embody episcopalian views. The voice of early ecclesiastical history unites with that of scripture in declaring a church to be a congregation, not a corporation; the bishop an overseer of people, not of ministers; and ordination, a mode of recognizing what is, not of conferring what is not.

The third lecture is occupied with the question of 'apostolic succession,' and it is saying little for any discussion upon that

doctrine, that if we did not know what power is exerted by education and prejudice, it would be matter of wonder how any one could read it without conviction. Indeed, there is a disadvantage possessed by those who contend against this strange notion, in the overwhelming force of the evidence by which it may be assailed. The suspicion is apt to be generated, that the case cannot be as it is represented, solely because of the absurdity which it involves, that there must be some great argument on the other side which is not noticed, but which would put the matter in quite a different position. And thus vision is prevented by excess of light. The silence of Scripture on so great a doctrine as apostolical succession, and the immense historical difficulties connected with it, can be considered as not essentially vitiating the whole claim by those only who believe that the proof of a doctrine may be small in the precise proportion of its magnitude. Even if Scripture had been clear as to the succession as a mode of transferring from one generation to another the awful powers that are alleged to be secured by it, the possession of them by any individual minister would be a question incapable of a satisfactory decision. To prove that they are somewhere, is not to prove that they are here; and when the many circumstances essential to the validity of an ordination are taken into account, and the innumerable irregularities which are known to have prevailed in some ages of the church are remembered, he must be a bold man who can be confident that the mysterious prerogatives have come down to him. Amid all the miracles which abounded in the dark ages, none are greater than that of a real and pure succession, and if a revelation were necessary to show that such a thing were intended to be by God, nothing short of a revelation would suffice to evince the participation of its benefits in the case of every single and separate clergyman.

Besides the general argument, there are several considerations which place the Oxford Tractarians in an awkward predicament. Mr. Madge adduces some of these, and we shall give our readers a specimen of the manner in which he employs them.

'The claims set up by the churches of England and Rome were also set up in times past by churches now branded with the name of heresy. This was the case with the Arian churches. These churches, it is well known, once prevailed to a considerable extent, and through many countries. As to their ecclesiastical constitution or form of government they were episcopal, and had as fair a claim to the apostolical succession as any churches then in existence. But the orthodox party, in spite of this claim,—in defiance of the apostolic title possessed by their bishops,—denounced them in the fiercest terms of condemnation. In the East, the Greek church also, which is at vari-

ance on points of faith with the Western churches, has quite as good a claim as they have to the grace of 'apostolical succession.' But this avails nothing with the orthodox believers. With them it forms of itself no bond of fellowship and union, presents no barrier to rejection and exclusion from the true catholic church of Christ. The Nestorian, the Eutychian, and other churches, all condemned by councils as heretical, present exactly the same title to the possession of apostolic orders. So that, according to the showing of these high-church divines themselves, the simple fact of apostolical succession, does not, on that account, imply the inheritance of apostolical endowments. For what reason then, I ask, is the fact so earnestly insisted on, and so ostentatiously exhibited? It seems, after all, that there may be apostolic succession unaccompanied with apostolic gifts and graces. But if the possession of apostolic orders be no security against the inroads of error, and no safeguard for the preservation of the church, it ceases any longer to be a mark or sign of the true church.'—pp. 120—122.

Another consideration of which Mr. Madge makes good use, is the fact, that

'As the church of England denies not to the church of Rome her apostolical descent, she ought not, on that ground, to claim for herself more than is allowed to the church which she has abandoned. And yet she does claim more. Notwithstanding her acknowledged derivation from the Romish church; at least, notwithstanding that her chief pretensions to holy apostolic orders are built upon her kindred to, or connexion with this church, she does not hesitate, at the same time, to speak of her spiritual relation in the most derogatory and degrading terms. She proclaims her to be polluted and corrupt; calls her an idolatrous church; and in the book of Homilies, which, by the twenty-fifth of the Thirty-nine Articles, is declared to contain a goodly and wholesome doctrine, the church of Rome is described in language so foul and loathsome that it is impossible for me to repeat it in this place. And yet this very church, thus stigmatized and branded, is admitted to possess the true apostolic succession. What, then, becomes of the wonderful virtue ascribed to this 'succession,' if the very church to whose care it was first committed, and by whose instrumentality it has been conveyed, to other communions, could, after all, be guilty of such idolatrous practices as those charged upon the church of Rome? Can any thing, I ask, be more demonstrative than all this of the unspeakable weakness and folly of the claims and pretensions set up by the high-church or Puseyite party?'—pp. 124, 125.

The fourth and fifth lectures discuss the doctrines of 'tradition' and the 'right of private judgment.' We like these lectures very much: they are the best in the book. If disposed to make exception, it would be to the statement (p. 221), that 'the Roman catholics and the Anglo catholics, in asking us to

submit to and abide by the decisions of their church or clergy, are still appealing to our private judgment.' We have never been able to perceive the force or truth of this doctrine; it has always appeared to us rather an ingenious controversial weapon than a solid argument—more adapted for popular effect than philosophical conviction. Two distinct things are mixed up in it: *our* judgment, and our judgment *in opposition to the judgment of the church*. These are widely different: every one who asks a man to believe a doctrine or a fact, requires the exercise of his own powers; but it does not follow that he recognizes his right to form any but one opinion. The Church of Rome demands the exercise of our minds, but only in the reception of her traditions: it concedes no right of forming a 'private' opinion in opposition to the 'catholic' one. The 'private' judgment it condemns is not the *individual*, but the *anti-church* one; it asks for our faith, but only in the truth as it delivers it; it allows us to think, but only what it thinks. General arguments, to prove that we were made to think, that we are able to think, that we are responsible for our thoughts, and such like, however forcible they may be against the doctrine of persecution, have none against that of 'catholic consent.' What is wanted, and the only thing that possesses any importance, is the proof that 'individuals' have the 'right' to 'judge' in a manner different from the church: no one denies the doctrine of 'private judgment' in any other sense.

Mr. Madge dwells largely upon the distinction between *right* and *power*. It is not easy to keep this distinction too prominently before the mind; no point in the whole controversy is more frequently lost sight of. Protestant doctrines have suffered from the zeal of their advocates in pushing them to every length without marking the conditions necessary to their application. They would often be more favourably received if more wisely stated. It is a common mistake of polemics to think that they honour their principles rather by the extent to which they carry them than by the accuracy with which they express them, forgetting that good may become evil, and truth error, by a change of circumstances. 'Parties,' says Hallam, 'will always contend for extremes; for the rights of bigots to think for others, and the rights of fools to think for themselves.' We are glad to meet with the healthy sentiments contained in the following passage:—

'Right, and competency properly to use the right, must not be confounded with one another. The one is not necessarily the accompaniment of the other. A man may have a right to do what he is ill qualified for doing wisely and beneficially. You have the right to choose your physician, your lawyer, your engineer, and it is im-

portant that you should choose well; and yet, from the circumstances in which you are placed, you may not be very competent to make a good choice. In such a case we cannot say it does not belong to you to determine the matter; that is left to another, who will do this for you, and to his decisions you must unhesitatingly bow. We could not address to any one language like this; but we might reasonably and becomingly say to him, before you come to a decision upon a matter of such great importance, take care that you have qualified yourself to judge rightly. Avail yourself of the knowledge and experience of others. Learn from them the facts which will give you the means of coming to a sound and satisfactory conclusion. The power, the right of deciding, is unquestionably yours: that we do not deny. You may choose whom you please; all we say is, see to it that you render yourself competent and qualified to choose well. Such advice—such recommendation as this, would be reasonable and proper. And if this were all that is meant by questioning the right of private judgment on the subject of religion,—if it were only intended to check presumption, to curb rashness, to prevent haste, to make men cautious and careful in their inquiries, willing to receive instruction, and anxious to avail themselves of all the light which the labours and learning of others might throw upon the subject of their meditation,—if no more than this were intended by the advocates of ‘church principles,’ there could be little or nothing to object to. On the contrary, as has been judiciously observed in a discourse on this subject by Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, there is a duty as well as a right involved in the exercise of this privilege of judging for ourselves. In contending for the right, we are too apt to overlook and forget the duty.’—pp. 223—225.

The seventh lecture would supply us with matter of controversy with our author, if we were disposed, and had space, to enter upon it. In describing the essential principles of a christian catholic church, he maintains that the admission of the Messiahship of Christ, and his resurrection from the dead, is the only one necessary to christian communion. This opens up the whole question as to what is necessary to christianity. He is catholic in his own esteem who excludes not christians from his fellowship. The Romanist takes in all whom he thinks have any right to be admitted: the Unitarian does no more. The dispute then turns on who have the right. The mere recognition of Christ’s Messiahship, apart from its design; the acknowledgment of Him as ‘Teacher and Redeemer,’ apart from what He teaches, and how He redeems, appears to us a matter of very small importance. And if infidels are allowed—as many Unitarians allow them—to possess sometimes equal moral excellence with christians, and to partake of the salvation of the gospel, we think that they have good reasons for denying the

catholicity, in every thing but the mere name, of even Mr. Madge's christian church, and may reasonably quote to him the lines which he quotes from Crabbe :—

“ What is a church? Let truth and reason speak,
And they will say, the faithful, pure, and meek,
From every fold, the one selected race,
Of all communions, and in every place.”

Mr. Madge, of course, maintains that his terms of communion are apostolic. There we must leave him, with the expressions of our dissent from his opinions, and of our regret that the bigotry and exclusiveness which have often been allied to what we deem most important scriptural doctrines should give to those who hold his principles an advantage in respect of liberality which we do not believe they can fairly claim.

In conclusion, we repeat our favourable judgment of the work. Apart from its advocacy of Unitarian sentiments, it has our entire approval. As a popular discussion of high-church principles, few modern productions are superior to it in clearness, judiciousness, and strength.

Art. VII.—*A Journey from Naples to Jerusalem, by way of Athens, Egypt, and the Peninsula of Sinai; including a Trip to the Valley of Fayoum: together with a Translation of Mr. Linant de Bellefond's 'Mémoire sur le lac Mæris.'* By Dawson Borrer, Esq. J. Madden and Co., Leadenhall Street. 1845.

THE fanatical jealousy of the Mahommedan religion, combined with a continually distracted state of Government, and a national character naturally barbarous, and perhaps worse than uncivilised, has proved, until of late years, a great bar to the investigation, by our energetic countrymen, of those renowned regions, towards which the work before us chiefly directs our attention. The present ruler, however, of the highly interesting land, laved by the waters of the Mediterranean, has, in great measure, smoothed the rugged path through his territories, and so far reopened the ancient gate of India, as to allow a free passage for scientific and literary travellers, and the treasures gathered by them, from the rich fields of his extensive dominions. M. Borrer has availed himself of this opportunity to enter the lists of travelling authors, and we are happy to say, has done so to our satisfaction. Volume after volume, upon the same subject, has of late been offered to our notice in rapid succession; but

few of them better deserve the patronage of the public, than the one we are now reviewing. Learned men will find, in it, means of adding to their stock of information, and those who read merely to while away their time cannot choose a more entertaining tourist.

The author tells us, in a modest and original preface, that he is a young man, and claims indulgence, as 'he can neither boast that extensive erudition which alone renders travellers' notes worthy of a place, amidst the archives of literature, nor that flow of language and elegance of style which it behoves the aspirant to literary fame to command.' We could not, after reading this sentence, but be disposed to grant the boon thus asked from us; we had, however, no occasion for the display of our generosity.

Though young, Mr. Borrer is evidently a man of considerable erudition, and an acute observer; and his pen does not appear so unpractised as he would make us believe. His style is that of a writer who cares not so much about the artificial arrangement of words, and the witticism now so much in fashion, as about faithfully representing the objects of his observations, the impression they make upon his mind, and the historical or scientific facts which are connected with them. Judicious in his reflexions, honest in the expression of his sentiments and opinions, he has, besides, a liveliness, with an apparent carelessness of effects, which attaches, interests and amuses the reader. In our opinion, M. Borrer is something better than a skilful writer, he is a natural, a forcible, and a pleasing writer.

The three chapters devoted to Athens and the neighbourhood are highly instructive and interesting. The descriptions of the author are quite graphic, and his reflexions always appropriate and impressive. Thus he concludes his observations on the hill of the Areopagus by saying :—

'It was from this rostrum of naked rock, canopied by the heavens alone, that the zealous apostle 'stirred up in spirit, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry' poured forth, with divinely-inspired eloquence, his declaration of the 'unknown God.' Gazing forth upon the innumerable temples and altars around him, rendered rich and surpassingly splendid, by the lavish hand of art, to the glory of their gods, he declared to them that, 'God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;' and, 'Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.' Thus then did the champion of the one true God stand forth, in the midst of 'Mars' Hill,' and boldly upbraid the men of Athens, crowding with their thousands, in the wide space of the Agora before him ;

and thus did he publicly and forcibly express his contempt for their holy mysteries, their temples, and their altars; blaspheming their gods, daring the wrath of the people and the senate, 'setting forth strange gods,' preaching unto them Jesus and the resurrection, from the very Areopagus itself!'—p. 48.

From Athens our author sails for Alexandria, where, after a stormy voyage, he arrives:—

'We landed as soon as possible. Curious costumes, foreign physiognomies, tongues harsh, as unknown to our ear, reminded us how distant lay the shore we now passed, from our own native land.

'But what is there in the aspect of the modern Iskendereeyeh to remind us of the ancient magnificence of that city, which, three hundred and thirty-two years before the christian era, sprung up beneath the hand of the mighty Macedonian, to become the capital of his unlimited dominions—a city second only to Rome—a mart, into which flowed the riches of the farthest East, ivory, spices, and precious stones, from the very banks of the Ganges itself; whilst thousands of heavy-freighted ships were gliding from her capacious harbours, bearing the tide of riches onward, to the most remote shores of the 'great sea,' like the waters of the Nile, which, laden with fertility, burst from their channel, flooding with their fatness the wide plains of Egypt. Idleness was a crime as unknown within the gates of Alexandria, as within those of Athens, when the venerable council of Areopagus sat in authority.'—p. 85.

Thence he repairs to Cairo, and there resolves upon an interesting excursion through the little explored regions of Fayoum, the ancient 'Valley of Arsinoe.' On his way, his eyes met those gigantic monuments, the wonderful and mysterious Pyramids of Djiza and Saccara, setting alike at defiance the efforts of time and those of our intelligence. Our daring traveller seems to have explored them with undaunted energy. Let us, for a moment, sit with him on the top of the highest—that of 'Cheops,' and listen to his remarks:—

'The platform, on the summit, is a square of thirty feet on each side, and here we sat some time, to rest ourselves, and look forth upon the peculiar country stretched out beneath us. Away to the south were ranged the lesser pyramids, the Via Appia of Memphis, marking the boundary of the Libyan desert, frowning on the verdure of the narrow valley of the Nile. The pen of many a traveller has delineated the prospect enjoyed from thence; and who can behold it without lively emotion and astonishment? who can behold the ancient 'granary of the world,' once a mighty space of inconceivable fertility, now a narrow strip of cultivation, of but a few short miles in breadth, and not cry, with the prophet Ezekiel: 'Howl ye, howl ye, woe worth the day! For Egypt is fallen, and the pride of her power is come down: she is desolate, in the midst of cities

that are wasted. The land is waste, and all that is therein is desolate.' Who can behold the fields of Misraim, once swarming with a wise and enlightened nation, but now with a people writhing beneath the cursed despotism of a tyrannical power, under whose pernicious system of government, justice has given way to extortion and rapine, whilst poverty and wretchedness rise pre-eminent, the fruit of wanton oppression—who, I say, can behold this, and not call to mind the declaration against her prosperity, from the most high God, by the mouths of his prophets? Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was, like the Assyrian, 'Fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches. The cedars of the garden of God could not hide him; the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut trees were not like his branches, nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty.' But now Egypt is 'sold unto the hands of wicked.'—p. 156.

In every part of this volume we find abundant proofs of an attentive perusal of the sacred books, by an appropriate application of the inspired text. Our author, however, knows how to variate his narrative according to circumstances; and the natural liveliness of his temper does not desert him, even in the dark catacombs of the pyramids, where the reader follows him with intense interest, either in his chase for a specimen of the numerous bats that inhabit these shady regions, or in his search for mummied Ibis, or anything which could help to unravel the mysterious secrets of those incomprehensible hieroglyphs. 'In a corner (of one of the pyramids of Saccara previously explored by Colonel Howard Wise,) stood a young lady mummy, to whom offering my arm, I led her forth, with the intention of transmitting her to England; but creeping out of the confined entrance, her head unfortunately came in rude contact with the side wall, and rolled off; upon which my gallantry led me to carry her back to her former position, where, putting her head on again, as neatly as I could, we parted.'

His visit to the convent of Sinai is not the least amusing of our tourist's narratives. His introduction into the monastery is thus given:—

'Onward we went, and passing up the narrow way leading to the convent, after crossing the plain Er Rahah, we soon were beneath the walls of the sacred building, and shouting lustily, a monk presently replied, and, after peering forth from the little trap door, with an eye of suspicion, he ventured to open it, so as to receive from us a letter from the branch convent at Cairo; which potent document being delivered, by means of a rope let down for the purpose, he read it, and again lowering the same rope with a cross stick attached, very similar to an antiquated broomstick, we, one after another, sitting astride upon it, were hauled up thirty feet of wall, and embraced by Father Nico-demus, the head of the convent, a noble-looking man of good stature,

and adorned with a magnificent beard of spotless white. The process of arriving at this peculiar portal of the convent, requires a little attention on the part of the person ascending ; otherwise he is liable, much to the disturbance of his dignity, to spin round and round, like a joint of meat on a bottle-jack—now his back against the wall, and now his face ! Whether the Oriental who preserves, with so much care, his long lock of hair as a hoisting rope to Paradise, considers the strange evolutions he will be liable to perform, I know not ; but our ascent to the convent's seventh heaven, totally overturned that becoming demeanour with which one would wish to greet a venerable host ; for, after many vain kicks and struggles, effecting the landing, we were half smothered in the old gentleman's arms, before quite assured that we had ' found our own legs.'—p. 320.

Without discussing Mr. Borrer's opinion (offered with becoming modesty) regarding Professor Robinson's hypothesis, as to the true site of the passage of the Israelites across this gulf, our limits compelling us to refrain from following him too closely, we will at once proceed to his account of Syria, where he dashes over the ground, rapidly recording his impressions and adventures by the way. Of the latter, the most stirring is what he relates, as befalling his party at Hebron, one scene alone from which we can insert. After mentioning an attempt to assassinate a servant of the party, and their presenting themselves to the governor of the city, vigorously demanding the arrest of the criminal, we find them stationed in a divan, in the governor's house, alike deaf to subterfuges and entreaties to depart, and here the following scene took place.

'The hours were rapidly flying on : a mysterious silence pervaded the crowd without, and no governor appeared. Anxious to proceed on our journey, our patience began to flag, and our suspicions to increase, that something unpleasant was hatching for us ; when suddenly a sound was heard approaching—a great bustling, in the outer court. Grasping our arms, we started on our feet, deeming the climax at hand ; when, to our utter amazement, thirteen aged Israelites, with long white beards and flowing robes, chief rabbis of the synagogue of Hebron, shuffled into the room, and scrambling up to the divan, seized and hugged us in their arms, kissed our hands, our feet, and the lowest hem of our garments, put their fingers to their eyes, (by which we were to infer that we were as dear to them as the apple of the eye), and bowed to the ground, with a motion of throwing dust upon their heads. Then, rending their garments, they took up a lamentation and bitter wailing, accompanied with most urgent prayers, beseeching us to relent from our purpose, and leave the city, out of compassion to them ; for otherwise, when we were gone, the moslems would wreak their rage on them, because we were lodging in their quarter. The sudden and affectionate descent of these venerable old

gentlemen upon us, for a time stupified us. For my own part, I was so out of breath, with struggling in the embrace of an ancient patriarch, who had run me up into a corner, that when escaped from the tempest of his affection well nigh smothered, and gasping thanksgiving for ultimate deliverance, I sat me down again upon the carpet, and seizing a cup half full of sherbet quaffed deeply, leaving the rest of the party to make the best of it they could. Quiet somewhat succeeding this extraordinary scene, we assured our venerable assailants that our regret would be very great, if we should risk bringing evil on their heads; but the present case being one which concerned not only ourselves; but all future travellers in these regions, it was but a necessary act of justice and precaution to protect our servants; we could not, therefore, forego our intention of punishing the criminal, if possible. They said no more, but groaning, in the bitterness of their hearts, rose and went their ways.'—p. 459.

The details of this adventure are as extraordinary and curious, as any thing of the kind we have for a long time met with, in any book of travels. Mr. Borrer, in its relation, takes the opportunity of moralizing upon the present state of the Jews in Palestine.

'What more forcible illustration of the humiliating and degraded state of the people of God beneath the tyranny of 'the worst of the heathen,' who now possess their fatherland, could have been offered us, than that painful scene we had this day beheld? Those amongst them standing highest in their veneration, for authority, learning, possessions, and years, forced before us, to crave, with trembling and every sign of humble supplication, for favour towards their haughty oppressors! What a train of meditation, upon the present debased state of that marvellous people, did this scene fire! Their 'plagues' have indeed been wonderful and great, and of long continuance; and well may they 'be mad for the sight of their eyes that they do see.'—p. 465.

The chapter in which our author describes the modern Jerusalem, and the impression made upon his mind, by the ruins which, on every spot of the sacred city, are stamped with supernatural grandeur, will be perused with deep interest. We will give a last quotation:—

'The sun shone brightly over the western slope of the Mount of Olives, as, early in the day, we passed through St. Stephen's gate; and, resting for a moment, on the brow of the descent into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, looked down, upon the bed of that brook, which our Saviour had so often crossed, and beheld, upon its opposite bank, the ancient olive trees, descendants of those which graced the garden that he loved—the garden of Gethsemane—that spot where, in retirement, he communed with his Father in heaven, and with his humble followers, and apostles: that sacred spot, of which the

Evangelist says, 'Jesus oft-time resorted thither with his disciples;' and where the traitor Judas proved himself the chosen instrument to bring the Lamb to the slaughter.

'Proceeding down the steep side of the valley, we crossed the little bridge which spans the ancient bed of the brook, at that time perfectly dry; and, leaving the tomb of the holy family, (as Greek and Moslems are pleased to consider a square sunken court, with several excavations in it, and a chapel,) we reached the loose stone wall surrounding the garden of Gethsemane. The olive trees upon the spot are doubtless of great antiquity; for the olive, where it flourishes, (as those evidently have done, being fine grown trees) preserves its firm and healthy appearance for between two and three hundred years, it is said, without presenting that gnarled and worn trunk, which those of the garden of Gethsemane possess. The trees are but few, perhaps a dozen, certainly not more within the inclosure. Following a narrow path, between two walls, we found the end closed, and inquiring the reason, were informed that that was the accursed spot where the betrayer of Jesus said, 'Hail, Master, and kissed him.'

'The heat was very great, as wending our way up the rugged path, we sought to gain the church of the Ascension, on the central summit of Olivet, where, at last, we arrived; but not without having tarried a moment at that spot pointed out as where the Son of God wept over the fate of the beloved city, 'the joy of the whole earth,' beholding Zion with his prophetic vision, 'as a ploughed field, and Jerusalem heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.' Yes! that glorious city, with her domes and palaces, presenting a noble panorama, a city rejoicing in her strength and her unequalled beauty; to all other eyes a very emblem of eternal prosperity, 'the vision of peace,' (as its Jebusite name intended) rejoicing in a well regulated government, in quietude and rest, free from external enemies and internal factions; to those inspired eyes, then gazing on her, lay enveloped in devouring fire, besieged by a fierce army, 'a nation from afar, from the end of the earth, a nation whose tongue they understood not, who would not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young;' her inhabitants frenzied by fierce dissensions, faction striving against faction, robbers, and zealots; blood drenching the very altars, brother contending with brother in ferocious combat, father with son, 'Those eyes beheld them that did feed delicately, desolate in the streets; them that were brought up in scarlet, embracing dunghills;'—'the hands of the pitiful women soddening their own children;' the whole city wrapped in fury, unheard of calamity, and dreadful tribulation; the abomination of desolation nigh at hand! for to him, 'the days of vengeance' were present, and 'his blood was on them and on their children.'—p. 406.

We need not go any further with our quotations to convince the reader that our sincere commendation of this book is well deserved, and that the young author who makes such a debut

on the literary stage, gives hope of a most desirable addition, to the small band of sound minded and noble hearted writers, who have no other object in view but the gratification, the instruction, and the improvement of their fellowmen.

With another work, we should have mentioned the illustrations, which are perfect, but Mr. Borrer's journey did not want the assistance of the engraver.

Art. VIII.—*The National Church, a mere Political Institution.* By William Thorn. London : Jackson and Walford.

THE epithet *secular* clergy as opposed to the *regulars*, in the church of Rome, is indicative of an error pervading that system of religion : which, not contented with isolating its parish priests into a religious caste or order, more holy than other christians, endeavours to rear a still purer body, quite uncontaminated by contact with the world. By teaching that the business of life is too unspiritual for a saint, it has given a licence of unspirituality to those who of necessity move in that common region ; and has encircled its worthies with a halo of unearthly greatness in honour of their fantastical piety.

This is an error against which the reformers contended, not in vain. They not only exposed the vanity of monkish saintship and ceremonial observances, but plainly taught the true doctrine of Jesus, that religion is to leaven every occupation of life ; and that the court, the parliament, the counting-house, the shop or the field, are as truly the sphere of christian holiness as the cloister or the church. The lesson is a most important one ; but in practice admits of a perverse interpretation. It is possible *so* to justify the epithet 'secular' in its application to the clergy, as to leave them with no other character at all but a secular one. While maintaining that they are not to be excluded from an interest in literature and politics, or innocent amusements,—in the measure which becomes other christians,—it is possible practically to make out that the ball-room and the card-table, the theatre and the hunt, the club, the committee-room and the hustings, are the most appropriate resorts of the teachers of religion. Zeal for the cultivation of their minds may end in regarding it as a highest qualification for a bishopric, to have edited Greek plays, or improved the astronomical calculus ; and instead of demure ascetics, the clergy, under the

influence of the reformed doctrine may become accomplished men of the world and inveterate preferment-hunters.

We gladly allow that many of the features of this description are at present inapplicable to a large portion of the body: but we think it cannot be denied that the *Church and State* system has tended to produce, and has really produced, the results here hypothetically glanced at. In recent days the clergy themselves, however willing to retain the public money, have become increasingly averse to being regarded as public servants. In spite of the theory which is brought out now and then, about the sovereign being head of the church, an opposite feeling has been practically at work, which teaches the church to be independent of the state: and whatever bigotry or fanaticism may result out of the latter view, its very extravagances undoubtedly fight against that grand spiritual evil of the church and state system,—the secularization of the clergy. Let us not then be understood as misrepresenting facts concerning the real state of the clerical order, when we charge ‘secularity’ on the state church. We admit, once for all, that other elements are at work to check this tendency: as, for instance, the presence and eyesight of dissenters, and the measure of political power which they possess. But we are not the less justified in imputing that secularity to the established system, as its legitimate fruit; for the counteracting influences can be traced in their effects; and before these influences became powerful, the secularity of the clergy was the *rule*, with but few exceptions.

The basis of the whole is, perhaps, laid in the system of patronage: of which we must trace both the theory and the practice. Some rich man builds and endows a chapel; and by a natural right invites whomsoever he pleases to minister in it. The minister, if accepted by those immediately concerned in his ecclesiastical character, is of course duly inducted; and no one can have cause of complaint. The appointment however was for life only; and on the death of the minister the patron can enforce the same right a second time: or, if he also be dead, his heir succeeds of course to the right of patronage, as to a part of the estate. If this be allowed, it inevitably follows, that should the estate be sold, the patronage may be sold along with it; for if it be immaterial whether the first founder or his descendant exercise it, the church cannot object to the *transference* of the right, at the pleasure of the holder. If the purchaser may be a wicked man, so may the son or grandson of the founder. Moral or spiritual character cannot be demanded of the patron: for what he gives is earthly good, and he does not forfeit by immorality the right to give it to whom he pleases. Such appears to be the theory of patronage, although

we cannot trace back historically the presumed original fact. A modification in the management is this: that the patron, to avoid disappointment, gets a bishop's *previous* consent to the minister whom he chooses. In other words, he selects *out of* those who have already been episcopally ordained; who are thereby become qualified for every benefice without the danger of after-interference from any ecclesiastical authority.

Patronage may be divided into four kinds: that of the Crown; that exercised by Bishops; that which belongs to Corporations, especially Colleges and Chapters; and finally, that which is the property of private persons. It would need wide information and an impartial judge, to say which of these four is the worst employed. Owing to the increasing strength of public opinion, and the notoriety attending high appointments, we are disposed to believe that on the whole the patronage of the crown is more honourably exercised than that of the other three classes. Whatever improvement there has been, has arisen from a sense of the increasing dangers to the State Church, and not from the natural tendencies of the system from within. For a century and a half together, bishoprics, deaneries, and other such places were habitually and avowedly bestowed for mere political reasons:—to oblige a leading politician—to recompense a successful pamphleteer,—to obtain a crown-advocate in the House of Lords,—to express gratitude to a family-tutor of some nobleman who commands many votes. The check upon such appointments in theory possessed by 'the Church' is utterly neutralized, by making it a previous one, and obtained once for all. A young man who has but been ordained priest at the age of twenty-four, although for many years afterwards he may have done nothing but travel on the continent with a nobleman's son, move in diplomatic circles, attend the court at home or abroad, and duly show himself in drawing-rooms,—is fully qualified to be made a bishop at the will of a prime minister. The consent of 'the church,' it seems, was given some sixteen years ago! Let us hear, however, wherein that consent consisted. A youth has passed through college without positive and glaring discredit; and now offers himself as candidate for holy orders. His external 'title' is perhaps a curacy, to which a friendly rector invites him, with or without the expectation that he will actually serve as curate. It is practically impossible to keep even the intellectual examination which he has to undergo before the bishop's chaplain, so strict as to exclude more than a small portion of those who have friends among the aristocracy; for the bishop, unsupported either by his clergy or by his own order, (neither of whom can be collectively con-

sulted) has not moral weight to encounter the odium which severity would entail. In point of fact, for centuries past the examination for 'holy orders' has superadded but little to the university examinations, which have no reference to the clerical profession : and the youth who has won the literary suffrage of the university may almost be said to have obtained the consent of the church to his ordination. But we are proceeding too fast. Testimonials are needed; and those strongly worded. The officials of his college must declare, in solemn words (which we have not now before us), that they have known him for three years, and verily believe him to be actuated by a godly desire to assume the sacred ministry :—a declaration which racks the heart and conscience of many an unhappy tutor; because custom will not justify his refusing it in any case but one of flagrant immorality or impiety, while yet in three instances out of four he is unable to conceal from himself that it is quite untrue. Yet more: the consent of a congregation is in many cases needed. This is not generally known; nor indeed are we able precisely to define when and why it is required. Assuredly, however, when other circumstances hinder the testimonials from being complete, the candidate for holy orders is relieved of his difficulty by a *Si quis*. A challenge is read aloud in the congregation on three successive Sundays, requiring that 'If any one' knows cause or just impediment why such or such a person should not be admitted into holy orders, he should declare it. This is sometimes adduced by churchmen, in proof that 'consent of the congregation' is duly provided for in the publicly established system. But they overlook the important circumstance that the 'Si quis' may be read in any parish in which the individual concerned shall have resided a fortnight; and that the question proposed to the congregation is not, whether they will have such and such a person to be their minister, but whether they know any reasons why a man whose name they now hear, perhaps, for the first and last time, ought not to become a minister at all. The custom was probably well intended, in its original enactment; but in its practical use, it may remind us of the common proverb—*cheating the devil*:—an ingenious, but more than hazardous occupation.

It is evident that the State-Rules provide no moderately good and *primâ facie* security, either that the party selected for receiving patronage shall possess any other qualification for the office than a willingness to subscribe certain creeds, or that there shall be any cordial acceptance of him by those to whom he is to be introduced in a nearer ecclesiastical relation. Nor is this wonderful; when obviously the main thing aimed at by the State was to secure to the patrons the greatest possible freedom of

choice, consistently with an object which policy or bigotry dictated; namely, the exclusion of sincere Roman catholics and sincere puritans. Least of all would the crown submit to be crippled in its choice by any but political considerations. We are not therefore charging any thing upon the system, except that which it deliberately intended.

But if any patronage ought to be well exercised, an inexperienced mind would imagine that it would be that which is committed to the 'Right Reverend Fathers in God.' (This term, we must, in passing, say, is yet more offensive than that of 'Lord Bishop;' directly opposed as they both are, alike to the letter and spirit of Matt. xxiii. 9, Luke xxii. 25, 26.) But, unfortunately, married bishops have as strong a temptation to use their church-authority in favour of their sons and sons-in-law, besides nephews and other relatives, as ever had unmarried popes to found principalities for their grandsons. So many ingenious modes of bargaining are open, that if a young son cannot be inducted into this or that high post, it will go hard but the bishop can bring into it some one else, with the understanding that the lucrative place which the latter vacates shall be occupied in turn by the bishopling. The tendency undoubtedly is, to extend a system of trafficking, far beyond the immediate range of the episcopal patronage; and, though rare virtue occasionally resists such temptations, we doubt whether any honest Puseyite, however zealous for the increase of the bishop's power, could lay his hand on his heart and say, that the general use of the episcopal patronage has *not* been *disgraceful*.

As for Colleges and Chapters, their patronage is, as a thing of course, directed to enrich themselves. If the holder of a lucrative rectory, in the gift of an Oxford college, dies, his successor is looked for among the Fellows themselves. If any enthusiastic young man among them, whose conscience is not yet seared by the system, should propose to appoint in preference some clergyman eminent in piety, and in the opinion of all most fitted for the situation, *but* unconnected with the fellowships of the college; the proposal would be regarded as an eccentricity almost amounting to madness. In plain unvarnished terms, the colleges profess, that their livings are intended to furnish comfortable homes for their Fellows. These may be, many of them, highly respectable gentlemen; but whether they are or are not, for them and them only the livings are destined; and nothing will exclude them, but immorality such as public opinion *outside* the church would resent, or, in former days, sentiments too decidedly evangelical. Much the same may be said concerning the patronage of Chapters, wherever it is considerable enough to be worth having. But whatever appointments may be too ill-

paid for a mere hireling to desire, are certainly now and then bestowed, both by colleges and chapters, with sole reference to the supposed spiritual merits of the individual. The patronage exercised by municipal Corporations is so largely influenced by political accident, that it is hard to speak generally concerning it. Before the corporation reform, it was made a private spoil, as a thing of course, by the parties who domineered in the municipal bodies. Upon the first burst of freedom and new-born virtues, in various towns attempts were made, not without success, to bestow the patronage of the corporation according to honourable principle. We fear that with the reflux of the reforming sentiment, much of the old practice has returned; but it cannot any longer be quite so exclusive: and on the whole, patronage of this sort, when exercised under the eyes of the public, has probably received about the same amount of purification as that of the crown.

Private patronage remains: in the bestowal of which there is just the same frank avowal, as in that of the colleges, that the spiritual welfare of the church is *not* the first thing aimed at. Patrons are no doubt glad to think that they have made a respectable and creditable appointment; but they do not attempt to persuade themselves or others, that they have made the very best possible; for they look on it as their natural and obvious right to serve themselves first and at any rate; and next the church, if they can. They can calmly urge, that if it suits the church to take the endowments over which the patron has a hereditary claim, the church must make the best of the minister whom it pleases the patron to recommend. Nor is it easy to see what reply the church can make.

The broad consequence of the system is, that 'the cure of souls' is necessarily a marketable affair. It may be bought by any British subject with, or indeed without landed estate, irrespectively of his religious character. A Roman catholic, or other dissenter, an infidel, a scoffer, a vile and flagrantly immoral man, may purchase patronage, and exercise it as much to the detriment of the church as he is able. No doubt the expensiveness of this as an amusement is a practical security against its malignant use: nevertheless, the intense secularity of the system is not the less stamped upon it by the fact. As the State, at the Reformation, assumed the headship of the church, constituted and reconstituted her formularies at will, and took the strongest measures for securing the permanent dominion of the secular over the ecclesiastical element: it would be strange indeed if we did not find everywhere in it a predominance of secular over spiritual interests. And such is the universally pervading fact. For example, if a curate should be guilty of immoral

practices—nay, should hold opinions displeasing to his bishop—the latter can at his own private will or caprice (*mero motu*, as the lawyers say,) remove him from his spiritual post, and entirely exclude him from the diocese. Are we to presume that the State regards such discipline as wholesome to the church, since it has not interfered? No: but the State did not care a farthing about a curate, whose revenues would not yield a farthing to be cared for. The proof is this. If a *rector* is guilty of the same iniquities, or even a parish clerk, the bishop has *no* summary power of removal allowed to him; because these worthies possess freeholds! *They* can appeal to the ecclesiastical courts; dens of darkness into which it is dangerous even for a lord bishop to chase them.

The origin of the whole fabric of church revenues is however too significant, and its connexion with present evils too close, to be dismissed without farther remark. The bishoprics of England boast of being a *historical development*; a statement which poorly conceals the momentous truth, that they rose out of conquest, by the policy of a barbarous age. When William the Norman so successfully trampled down the brave nation who had received him as their constitutional king, he brought-in his Norman prelates, and aggrandized the hierarchy after continental fashion, with the spoils of the Saxon barons. The ecclesiastics had indeed been powerful enough in Saxon times: their lordly might was exceedingly advanced under the new dynasty. We can trace how, from time to time, new bishoprics have been made at the will of the Crown, from policy or from caprice, and from no action of the church itself as a spiritual society; and yet its modern advocates would blind themselves and others into the belief that this institution is of apostolic growth. As a consequence of the principles which originated it, down to this day, the revenues of the church are distributed on the feudal maxim, to provide for the splendour of the great, and let the little people shift for themselves. A most memorable illustration of episcopal sentiment was seen in the proceedings of the government committee, which, soon after the Reform Act, was appointed to inquire concerning reforms in the church. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were among its most active members; and the first measures which they thought needful for Church-Reform were, so to alter the distribution of the episcopal revenues as to secure that no bishop should have *less* than £5,000 a year. Their second measure was to aggrandize the bishops by transferring to them some of the patronage of the chapters. No other reform emanating from that committee has reached our ears. Justly indeed did this call into use the satirical pen of the Rev. Sidney Smith;

only that the case is too gravely shocking to be ridiculed. Excellently as it is in harmony with feudal notions—with the idea of a bishop who appears before his sovereign to do homage for a barony—himself mounted and in full armour, with a train of knights and squires following him ; we can scarcely conceive a distribution of church-revenues more grossly offensive to every christian principle, than this pampering of the bishops with wealth, while the mass of the labouring clergy are in the most narrow circumstances : many of them in extreme anxiety, or forced to labour for their bread at occupations which steal away their time from their sacred office. The bishops, we are told, are the almoners of the church ! What would have been thought of the apostles if, when rich men laid down their fortunes at their feet, they had reasoned as modern defenders of the establishment ?

‘It is expedient for apostles to be rich and keep their carriages, in order that ignorant people may respect them. It is right that they should be able to keep a handsome table, and receive the inferior clergy at it : therefore we will keep all the money as our private possession, taking care not to have *less* than £5,000 a year apiece, (but as much *more* as we can get,) and will leave the working clergy to manage as they can, or to be pensioners at our table—without their wives and children.’

In saying this, we do not blame the existing bishops personally, unless they uphold the system. We blame all who do not see this aggrandizing of the few, side by side with the indigence of the many, to be worldly, heartless, and hateful in the sight of God.

Again ; let us for a moment advert to the noble and only admissible idea of a Hierarchy, and ask what pretension the established church makes of fulfilling it. If a hierarchy admits of any christian meaning, it surely is a system in which there is established a graduated authority, with successors of apostles at the head, and ministers of things secular in the lowest place. ‘It is not meet for us,’ said the real apostles, ‘to leave the word of God, and serve tables.’ ‘The elders who rule well,’ says Paul, ‘count worthy of double honour, *specially them who minister in the word and doctrine.*’ Orthodox commentators are careful to insist that ‘double honour’ means a double ‘salary ;’ conceding this, (though it certainly was the last *sort* of honour that could have been prominent in Paul’s mind), the fact remains, that the direct ministry of the word was regarded by him as the highest spiritual office. In the church of England this is totally reversed. On the curate and the poorer vicars and rectors rests the main permanent burden of spiritual instruction. Above these are the richer rectors, who keep curates and a good table ; and who, by greater wealth, rank higher in

the church, though they are far less active 'in the word and doctrine.' Among but above these, are Rural Deans, whose duty it is to inspect the state of church-buildings; and Archdeacons, who now and then preach to the clergy, enforcing upon them to wear or not to wear surplices, to join or abstain from the Bible Society, to baptize or not to baptize dissenters' children; or in some other way echoing the inanity of episcopal charges. Somewhere on a par with the Archdeacon is the Prebendary, whose chief business, as far as we can understand, is to perform the part of a chanting-boy or organ-pipe in the cathedral for some months in the year, whether the vast building be full or empty. Services so important, and so tending to sustain the self-respect of man, deserved, it seemed, an elevated rank, and are, on the whole, rewarded by higher pay. But loftier still sits the Dean, head of the chapter, and pro tempore proprietor of the cathedral. Far seldomer does he make his voice even an organ-pipe. Spiritual care he has none; except on the hypothesis that the cathedral itself has a soul to be saved or lost. Good men holding the office will no doubt make for themselves opportunities of good. Some have been able theological writers; a few, able preachers from time to time; but these are rare works of supererogation, with which the dignity of dean is quite unconnected. The deanery, in fact, when very rich,—as that of St. Paul's, London,—in rank closely approaches the episcopate itself; and but for the dignity of Peer of Parliament attached to the latter, we almost suspect that the dean's office would have been the more coveted; for he has decidedly more of a sinecure than the Bishop. This last great functionary no doubt will have a very busy life, when either ambition or fantastical feeling or a sense of duty leads him to take in hand the unpromising task of remodelling the conduct of his clergy. Nor do we deny that there *is* work for a judicious bishop, which, if well performed, would deserve high honour; but, we apprehend, the rules of the church are such as to secure that he shall not perform them efficiently. First, in the admission of candidates for orders, the jealousy of the State has reduced the bishop's power to a minimum. Next, the episcopal charges, which might, under a well-ordered system, be of much value, are deprived of nearly all their *moral* weight by the fact that the bishop is not a parish-priest himself; their influence therefore is only ecclesiastical, seldom spiritual. But, when the bishop's duty is best discharged, the fact nevertheless is glaring, that as a peer of the realm, a landowner, lord of a princely mansion, superintending a large establishment; as a prelate, vexed with canon law, and courts falsely named spiritual; he is in very many ways neces-

sarily far more concerned with things secular, and 'the service of tables,' and far less able to give himself 'to the word of God and to prayer,' than the humblest of the curates who can make a shift to live without taking private pupils. Some practical modification of our allegation is no doubt involved by the hard necessity against which the curate has to struggle; yet it is not such as to invalidate the general truth of the statement, that *the higher a clergyman rises in office, the less has he, by virtue of his office, to do with spirituals, and the more with temporals.*

Such is the secularization of the Established Church. We must now see in detail how it affects the character of the clergy at large in their different positions.

We begin our survey from the Universities, which, in the absence of separate episcopal seminaries, must be regarded as the nurseries of the clergy. In them, we are justified in expecting the clerical character to stand peculiarly high, unless we can suppose our Venerable Mother to commit the blunder of breeding from her worst stock. Yet nowhere else has the secular spirit, which the union of Church and State has sanctioned and necessitated, been more intense and more glaring than in the universities. It has made bad clergymen and bad professors; it has afflicted literature, erudite theology, and practical ministry with mischief so impartial, that it is hard to say which has suffered most. One thing only seems to have flourished under the system, viz., the mathematics, at Cambridge and Dublin: perhaps, because these sciences, having nothing moral in them, cannot be ruined by the ruin of the moral and spiritual man, if only a general intellectual energy pervades the nation. Or, to take a more favourable view, it is because these are studies in which the blighting interference of Church or State authority is impossible (at least now that the inquisition, before which Gallileo trembled, is no more); and therefore the mathematician is likely to be as successful in his investigations as if he were *not* an academician. But whatever the value of the mathematical sciences (and we rate them exceedingly high), it would be ludicrous indeed to extol the church system for its cultivation of such a branch of knowledge, which is indeed a feature of the prevailing secularization. We would not use this word invidiously. Assuredly a mathematical professor, or a lecturer on Greek sculpture, may be as good and holy and honourable a man, as one whose office and whole life is employed in the direct service of religion. But this does not undo the essential absurdity of confounding and perverting duties solemnly conferred. By the bishop's hands and voice a man 'receives the Holy Ghost for the office of a priest,' with

power 'to remit or retain sin;' having first declared that he truly believes 'he is inwardly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost.' He is farther charged (as he knows he will be) to lay aside, as far as he is able, all other studies, and give himself solely to the work of the ministry. Moreover, to nail all this for ever, an 'indelible character' is confirmed upon him, by the law both of church and state. In profession, he is signally set apart for one thing only, and that, for his whole life; and yet in practice no one thinks it wrong if the party in question intends to be neither more nor less than a religious school-master or professor of some science: religious, in the sense in which every man ought to be religious. This is to turn the Ordination Service into hypocrisy. The man subjected to its operation is simply hampered in his secular profession by it, without benefit to any one whatever. There are very many excellent persons entangled in such a position, in whom we find every thing to approve, if we could but forget that they are clergymen. But the vows and profession of that order suit so ill with the actual employment of the parties, that they become stiff, awkward, and unprofitable, the moment they begin to remember their theoretic character. In the vast majority of instances, this secret consciousness forbids their looking on a literary life as their ultimate design, and eminence in it as their chief external ambition; consequently, they cannot give themselves to their literary work with single-hearted earnestness, nor make any proficiency, even in the professed academical studies, at all commensurate with what might be expected from national universities possessed of advantages so signal.

We are aware that many causes within the universities themselves,—Oxford in particular,—co-operate with the incubus of clerical professionalism in retarding the advance of valuable studies; and this is too large a question to be here treated. But we cannot avoid touching on several topics which belong expressly to the process by which the clergy are secularized. We find, for instance, in these universities, so many unseemly *inducements to take holy orders*, which insure a regular supply of secular clergy. A young man who has gained a Fellowship in one of the colleges, finds that he must vacate it with extreme inconvenience and loss,—involving perhaps the loss of the college Tutorship,—unless he is ordained: although not one of the offices which he is filling is pretended to be the proper employment of a clergyman, or to be for a moment contemplated in the Ordination Service as fulfilling a clergyman's duties. Or perhaps he is about to succeed to the college Tutorship, and can retain his Fellowship *without* ordination: yet the head of the college makes ordination an essential condition of the tutorship,

because it is usual and is thought respectable. Or again, after staying some years as Fellow, it becomes apparent that no permanent place is open for him as a layman: whereas, if he is ordained, he has access to the college livings, and has in prospect a provision on which he might prudently marry. Even on a layman, who has no connection with the foundation of a college, the genius and hereditary instinct of the place imposes numerous disqualifications. It is seldom to him that a nobleman is recommended, who is seeking for a tutor to his son; or if a lay-tutor be possibly accepted in some case of rare literary merit, the patron finds no established method of expressing his permanent gratitude, such as the ecclesiastical patronage of the crown furnishes to those who have political influence. Or to come down to commoner cases:—next to the academical colleges, no places offer so natural a field of service to those who have acquired skill and interest in the university studies, as the numerous Public Schools and Grammar Schools of the country. But it is seldom that a candidate for the head-mastership of one of these can have the remotest chance of success, unless he be an ordained priest. Even for the inferior masterships of the public schools an immense premium is attached to the clerical name. Almost all head-masters prefer clergymen as their assistants, and we doubt whether even Dr. Arnold would have dared to introduce into his school one lay assistant out of five. Thus the clergy in England have been allowed and assisted to monopolize education, and all sorts of bribes are held out to tempt well-meaning men to despise their Ordination-vows. While many such inducements operate with more or less consciousness in those subjected to them, an equally strong and silent agent is at work,—custom and the public opinion of the universities,—to draw as much as possible into the clerical current. And after all, what training for the holy profession is received by those who are expected to enter it? Is it any practical experience in the trials and supports of a religious life, or in the inferior departments of religious teaching? The question would make an academician smile, if it did not make him angry. But then, has not the clerical candidate at least much intellectual attainment of a properly religious character? No. He is often an accomplished man, and capable of afterwards acquiring much, if leisure sufficient be afforded: but his previous studies have been classical, (or mathematical,) not theological. He may have read history; but Greek or Roman, not Jewish or Ecclesiastical. He may have read philosophers, but not Fathers. He may have studied Homer and Æschylus in their native tongue, but not David and Isaiah. He may be familiar with every river and mountain of Greece,

but probably knows less of Judæan than of Egyptian geography. He is acquainted, it may be, with the whole controversy concerning the authorship of the Epistles to Phalaris: he can judge whether the Rhesus and the Iphigenia savour of the style of Euripides: but he is unprepared to discuss the question, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews bears the marks of Paul's composition, or whether the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel come from the same hand. He may be able to give a lucid account of the doctrines and genius of Aristotle, Zeno and Epicurus; but to the discriminating peculiarities of Paul, James and John, it would be unfair to expect him to be alive.

Now we know that some who are, on the whole, advocates of the church as it is, would, like Dr. Arnold, take the bull by the horns, and avow that Plato and Aristotle are far more improving books than Athanasius and Augustine: and some may in their heart add, that technical divinity is of little or no use. In their view, we presume that to *secularize* the clergy (that is, in their honourable interpretation, to turn them into a *religious laity*), is the best thing that can be done for them. Hating, as we do hate, clerical professionalism, and emphatically condemning that separation of laity and clergy which has always been the child and fruitful parent of superstition; we of course cannot totally oppose ourselves to this rather eccentric defence; which cannot be urged, except by those who are willing to pull down the church-system in many of its most essential points. At present, unfortunately, their desirable object of converting the clergy into a religious laity is anything but accomplished; and the steps so tortuously made in that direction win the little good at the expense of prodigious evil—untruth, hypocrisy, and a thousand bad consciences. Abolish the ordination-service, and good university-men will become a mere religious laity; but while that service is submitted to, they feel that they have no right to be such.

Universally it is certain, that the examination for orders cannot be made so strict as to exclude (on intellectual grounds) more than a small fraction of those young men, whose wealthy relatives design to present them to some family living. It is a part of the system to enable the patrons so to employ their rights; and every attempt to thwart them directly will inevitably fail while the system itself stands. Hence even the intellectual qualifications appropriate to a clergy *cannot* be secured by the clerical examination. This is quite consistent with the fact to which we are not blind, that in so large a body of men, who have enjoyed a long and refined, though seldom a profound mental culture, rare individuals exist, and must exist, who to their other accomplishments superadd a discipline and study properly theological.

From the universities we pass to the cathedral towns. Behold there a demure, shovel-hatted, sleek-faced, well-fed body, whose rather haughty demeanour shows that they consider themselves the aristocracy of the place. That they are often kind and friendly neighbours may be gladly admitted; that they know how to do the honours of the festive board, and can make themselves very agreeable over a bottle of wine, we believe on valid testimony. Towards friends who rejoice in the honour paid to them, English natures are seldom morose. But our question is, What effect on religion and on the church has the maintenance of these self-important and pompous personages? Their use must be primarily sought, by asking what they were intended for? and the reply is, that they are of use for keeping up daily chanting to the walls of some more or less magnificent cathedral. This is a part of popery; and whatever defence of it be made by the lovers of music and architecture, no philosophic theory will get over the inherent repugnance there is between such services and the reformed religion. If any recital of prayers be 'vain repetition,' the daily double performance of the same weary service is such; nor will it ever be permanently endurable to any, except to those in whose minds many *other* important principles of popery have deep root. On the clergy themselves we hesitate not to say that the effect is most deadening. The proof of this is found in the college chapels, where the chaplains almost universally acquire a rapidity of utterance and flippancy of manner, which is most offensive to strangers, though ordinarily not perceived by residents. In the cathedrals the chanting and the monotony of the voice conceals from the hearer the heart of the reciter; but the sameness of human nature justifies the inference, that a Prebendary or Precentor offers up prayers with the same sort of *habitual* devotion as that with which a Tartar churns his prayer-mill.

This clerical aristocracy of the cathedral towns is not likely to concern itself much with the work of the prophet, when so fully occupied with that of the priest; but as three months' residence is often enough, some of them reside for the other nine months on a parochial benefice, and get some relief from the round of ceremonies. On the whole we may say, that the holders of these cathedral stalls are taken either from aristocratical families, or according to aristocratical interests; and by their close political connexion with the surrounding country-gentlemen they give valuable help in retaining the town under subserviency to Tory domination. For eighty years, indeed, their aid went to the Whig party: but it seems to be destined that they should always be, in one form or other, a support to the power which permanently rules at court; and like so many

other parts of the State-Church, they in fact serve no end so prominent as their political one. The action and reaction of the system perpetuates the secularity of this body of clergy, among whom it is barely possible that a Puseyite enthusiasm may rise, but from whom it is morally certain that no vital spiritual power will ever go forth. In proof of this we may appeal to those places where the cathedral influence is most predominant, as Canterbury, Durham, Oxford, Salisbury. If in all England religion were as apathetic, intellect as dull, and the bearing of the middle classes as unmanly, as in that portion of these cities which is subjected to priestly power, a very black futurity would lie before us.

In the *parishes* of England, however, lie the appropriate duties of the clergyman; and it is on these that the advocate of the church, as by law established, would be wise to rest his chief argument. If the parson had no existence as the member of an *order*; if he had his present relation to his flock, but no relation at all to any without the parish; then, in the cases where pastor and flock tolerably agreed, a large balance of good would seem to be gained by his position among them. The presumptuous and hostile attitude which he assumes towards dissenters is chiefly (though not solely) due to his connection with his own order; and would soon be greatly modified, if he could be regarded as a parochial minister and nothing more. And some of them in their hearts long so to be. Such *endure* episcopal visitations, but would rather be without them, and feel their parish to be their real charge, and its welfare their sufficient reward. No one, we think, can read what the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, has done for the place of which he is perpetual curate, without seeing what a blessing a parochial clergy *might* be. These, in fact, are precisely the men who are dangerous to dissent. Those who vex Christian people by puffing off the virtues of the church, force others to canvas the merits of the system; but those who try to make that part of the church over which they have controul, as efficient, as spiritual, as popular, as courteous, as they are able; and say as little as possible about the church as a whole;—these men lead hundreds to forget their objections to the system. In spite of its glaring and indefensible faults, its very antiquity gives it an immense hold over common minds; hence a parish minister has great power to do either good or evil. Where no higher or better truth is offered to the flock, it is but a cheap concession to allow that *any* sincere teacher is of value. But, unhappily, the relation of the clergy to one another, to their bishop, to the universities, to the state, secures that in every new developement of truth the majority of them shall take the worse side. The secular influences

also, of which we have complained, follow them into the parish. If a clergyman becomes a magistrate, he is expected to uphold and severely enforce the cruel game laws, or he will lose caste with all the squires around. In every election his help is counted on by the same parties. In return, he looks for handsome subscriptions to his various parochial objects, (if he is above caring for access to their dinner tables,) and by their aid and influence hopes to keep all the petty schools of the place under his own controul. At his request, the squire refuses land for a dissenting chapel or schoolroom to be built on; nay, we have known clauses inserted in the lease of every cottage in a parish, by which the lease is forfeited, if on a single occasion a meeting of dissenters should be held in any of them. The temptation of squire and parson to play thus into one another's hands, is in country parishes generally too strong to be resisted; and in this part of the establishment also, the truth is clearly enough exhibited, that what is called 'The Church of England' is, at bottom, a machine of the aristocracy for class purposes.

In the very large towns, where dissenters are perhaps strong, but population stronger, and vice stronger still, severe criticism on a parochial clergy that has any small portion of earnest desire to do good, would be thrown away;—and we shall therefore decline to criticize them. But if there is anything finally adequate to condemn the established church-system, it is its utter inapplicability to the state of these towns. It assigns to clergymen a territorial domain, called a parish; and although the rapid rise of a trade should double the population in five years, no division of the parish ensues. A Brighton, an Islington, or a Manchester, preposterously remains 'a parish' long and long after it is physically impossible for the minister to perform more than a fraction of the duties theoretically assigned to him. And why? simply because the whole increase of income to the rector, contingent on the increase of population and wealth, is looked upon as his personal right;—a vested interest, which must not be interfered with. In the same spirit, the secular interests are always made more important than the religious ones. A new bishopric is supposed to be wanted; but it must not be made, because there are no means of securing for the bishop above £1000 a year: or because the king's ministers will not consent to his having a seat in the House of Peers, and the Church is too proud to accept anything lower than a *Lord Bishop*. 'Take care of the temporals, and the spirituals will take care of themselves;' is throughout the reigning maxim.

And to return to the populous towns; the system of territorial assignment, more than any other single cause, has led to

that state of things which now animates the outcry for church extension. Such is the consequence of institutions, which, instead of growing with the nation, are regulated by the enactments of a past age. On every side, therefore, we find 'Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,' written on the walls of the church establishment. Unless those who have power in her councils learn, that she must subsist solely for spiritual, and not for secular objects; that she must abandon all idea of political supremacy; and must, at any sacrifice, attain an efficient internal legislative-and-executive power, capable of remodelling all her arrangements according to the wants of the nineteenth century;—the case is plain; the fabric must fall. So vast a body cannot fall quickly; the very rubbish which has fallen already, may give a temporary support;—and, to drop the metaphor, the fears of the aristocracy will uphold the church, until some greater fear prevails. But meanwhile, the process of rotting will go on within; and the discordant opinions of her clergy will become a more formidable danger, the longer it is dissembled. Whether any conceivable wisdom of parliament, convocation, or consistories, could now so re-adapt the antiquated establishment to the wants and feelings of the non-dissenting mass, (while propitiating dissenters, by abandoning all claims over *them*), as to give to the episcopal church a new lease of life; it may be idle at present to speculate: since we see no symptoms, that any are awakened to a need of the very fundamental reforms, which would at any rate be essential.

Brief Notices.

The French in Rheinstadt: a Romance of the day. A Friendly Voice from the Avon's Banks to the Nations of Germany, and other Poems.
By James Nisbet. London: Longman and Co.

THESE poems, without any pretensions to originality, display much feeling and moral force. The 'French in Rheinstadt' seems to be grounded on the attempts of the French in 1830 to renew the work of revolution in Germany, but it is too vague to satisfy the historic reader, and not of that high order of merit, that seizes the imagination of the poetic one. The 'Friendly Voice' is a much more attractive composition, especially to those who have visited Germany, and traversed it, with loving eyes and heart, as the author has evidently done. Mr. Nisbet revels in the charming recollections of his German sojourn, and gives us just such a volume as a man who has looked rather on the smiling outside of things in Germany, than stayed long enough to per-

mit the golden mist of his enthusiasm to disperse, and to give him opportunity to look down steadily into the working of principles in the depths of the social system, is likely to produce. He is enchanted with the old castles on the steepes of the Rhine and the Danube, with the elysian banks of the Neckar, the vineyards, the solemn woods of the Odenwald, and the contented, kindly aspect of the people. He is evidently of a strong conservative tendency, and thinks things not only best as they are, but that even a monarch like the King of Prussia, who has broken his most solemn assurances to his people, who lays a hand of iron not only on the freedom of the press, but on the personal freedom of any eminent man who dares to form an independent opinion, and who deals round him ruin and incarceration to such, is 'a most excellent monarch.' We can sympathise with the author in his love of peace, in his horror of French restlessness and unprincipled outrages on humanity, as in Tahiti, which, however, our government is as guilty for suffering, as the French for perpetrating; and in his appeal to the Germans not to be excited to a similar spirit. But were not Mr. Nisbet the thrall of his conservative opinions, he would see that Germany has no choice in the matter. If the French *will* march across the Rhine, there is nothing left for the Germans but to oppose them; and had he looked deeper into the matter, he would have learnt what a scene of horror and anarchy the princes of Germany are preparing for their country by their breach of the promise of representative constitutions, and by their new system of police and censorship. The German people are a people naturally fond of peace; but they are also fond of freedom, and had the monarchs granted what has long been the general popular desire, free constitutions, they would have given a solid strength, and a buoyant spirit of zealous patriotism to their people, which would have made them firm as one mass of adamant against any assault of France. As it is, however fair be the outside of things, all that is ancient and estimable in Germany is endangered by the smothered discontent that lies far and wide beneath the surface.

Wild Flowers; or Poetic Gleanings from Natural Objects and Topics of Religious, Moral, and Philanthropic interest. By C. S. Pyer. London: J. Snow.

WE somehow overlooked these 'Wild Flowers' in the bloom and spring of their first appearance, but they have a vitality which can survive the frosts of neglect. On examining them, we have been really pleased with their beauties and delicate fragrance. The poems under this title indicate, in almost every page, the sensibilities of the genuine poetic temperament, and which contradistinguish it from the now almost universal ability to compose respectable verse. While *not* challenging the comparison which the reference would seem to imply, we doubt if the *first* emanations of Mrs. Hemans gave more promise of future eminence; but we look upon the volume chiefly as the earnest and

prognostic of advance—in the loftier aims and *in the art* more especially of her vocation—it is sufficiently impregnate with the sterling ore of fancy to preserve these flowers from early fading; perhaps to secure their amaranthine bloom. This may seem not ordinary commendation; but, while for the repression of vanity and on obvious grounds, we would keep the standard high; and while, as will be seen, these poems are obnoxious to critical remark, we feel, that where the *fact* of power, the essence of genius, or a deep spirituality exists, there is, in their respective spheres the germ of all other excellence; its development then becomes matter of cultivation and circumstance.

Among the more prominent excellences of this young writer, we note feelings exquisitely alive to the forms and symbolic significance of nature, and the resulting ability to describe them *at first hand*; and while copying the descriptions of preceding poets so little, as almost to indicate ignorance of their existence, hers show something of the suggestive generalism and bold sketching which avoids a Flemish minuteness of detail, and at the same time connects them with those human interests which give them half their beauty and all their value. The small repetition of imagery, considering the extent of the volume, shows her feeling of the exhaustless wealth of nature in this last respect, as affording a mine of innocent human joy. There is, besides a true poetic tenderness, a deep and pensive sympathy with her kind, a quick ideal realization of the experience, the *sorrows* especially, of human life; and what is of still better omen, glances of that more pervading sympathy, and deep, inward working of our nature, distinctive of the higher order of poetic mind, and which demands a larger moral experience to be developed and completed.

There is, as we have intimated, a base of material excellence in these poems, which can afford some friendly and respectful admonitions; the authoress is too good to be let go without some measure of kindly severity. We are perhaps precluded remarking upon the extremely disjointed character of these productions, since this is but in keeping with their title; yet the talent they display would have justified its *occasional* exertion at least, on longer and more connected themes. A *par-terre* in its place is not less pleasing than the wilder beauties of the woods and of the fields. There is a singular want of the *literary* element in the volume, of the selection and treatment of those striking incidents in history, those displays of the passions, and those deep-graved lines of character which afford to the describer the materials and the means of poetic effect; and which furnish at once the opportunity and the test of poetic pathos and power. The writer, too, shows, as is natural, considerable want of mastery over her art. We meet with many careless rhymes, some false ones, and sometimes with no rhyme at all. A little care and increased practice will remedy these and kindred defects, which, though not affecting the essence of poetry, *do* indicate some non-appreciation of an almost essential of the divine art, music and the soul of harmony. Much care and exercise, the discriminations of the judgment, and the selection of taste, are needful to the perfection of good writing either in

poetry or prose. He who cannot be denied to be a poet, has recorded of his own art :—

————— *Ego nec studium sine divite venâ
Nec rude quid prosit video ingenium.*

Horace, Epist. ad Pisones.

We bid her, even earnestly, to beware of some forms of low colloquialism ; of thoughts merely expletive, which are of questionable relevancy, and with scarcely any logical congruity, the evident result of the exigencies of the metre rather than the course of association, or the suggestion of the forms and hues of fancy. There is one whole piece (page 130.) which most remotely illustrates its heading, reminding us of the book written before its title ; strongly contrasted, however, we are happy to add, with the little gem on the same subject on page 48. We would strongly recommend the reconstruction of not a few lines, and the substitution in several of thoughts more connected and more striking. There is, again, besides the partialities of maternity for some pet terms and phrases, an occasional vagueness which is not mysticism, religious or philosophic ; were it so, the shield might possibly have been spread over her, and more perhaps have been said for it, than this age of steam and facts would relish. It is rather that which betrays the absence of clear and defined thoughts ; in fact, in these instances, abortive conceptions.

The Pictorial Sunday Book. By John Kitto, D.D. London : Charles Knight.

WE are glad to announce the completion of this work, which adds another, and by no means inconsiderable, claim on the gratitude of the religious public to those previously possessed by Dr. Kitto. Such a work was much needed, and we know no man better fitted to supply it than the learned editor. It is designed to present at the cheapest rate a series of engravings illustrative of the Bible history, the prophecies, the psalms, the life of our Saviour, and the Acts of the Apostles ; exhibiting, in the form best adapted to interest and instruct the youthful mind, the scenes of scriptural events, the customs of the Jews, the natural history of Palestine, and the antiquities which throw light on the inspired volume. Matters of controversy are scrupulously avoided, and a course of sabbath reading is supplied, eminently adapted to the wants and capacities of the young. Those parents who have felt the need of suitable occupation for their children on the sabbath, cannot do better than introduce them to such a companion, whose external embellishments attract and gratify the eye, while its communications are well calculated to induce an intelligent and cordial attachment to the best of books.

We thank Dr. Kitto for this labour of love, and strongly commend it to the favour of our readers.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Seas in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823. Commanded by Lieut. (now Admiral) Ferdinand Von Wrangell. Second Edition, with additions. Edited by Lieut.-Col. Edward Sabine, R.A., F.R.S. London: Madden and Co.

THE English public are greatly indebted to Colonel Sabine for having rendered the Narrative of Admiral Wrangell accessible to them. By all who are interested in maritime discovery the volume cannot fail to be highly prized, whilst the details which it furnishes will greatly assist those who follow in the track of the Russian seaman. The present edition has been corrected by M. Von Wrangell himself, and though published in a much cheaper form than its predecessor, contains an additional chapter, sketching the proceedings of the Ustiansk Expedition to the islands in the Polar Sea, opposite to the mouth of the Iana. The narrative contains much to interest the general reader, as well as to inform those who have a professional concern in its details.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Parts I. and II. London: Ward and Co.

THIS little work obtained, we believe, a considerable circulation when first issued about ten years ago. It is now reprinted in an enlarged and tastefully-illustrated form, in sixpenny parts, and is well fitted to accomplish its professed object. The style of exposition is very simple, and adapted to interest the youngest readers. It is at once lucid and attractive, and the wood engravings with which it abounds will serve still further to gratify the juvenile pupil. The parts—of which there are to be twenty-four—are to appear on the 1st and 15th of every month, forming together two volumes.

Knight's Books of Reference. Political Dictionary: containing all the General Terms, whether historical or in present use, of Constitutional and Ecclesiastical Law, of Civil Administration, of Political Economy and Social Relations; forming also a work of universal reference in all the more important statistical departments of Finance and Commerce. Vol. I. Parts I. and II. London: Charles Knight & Co.

IT would as yet be premature to pronounce a decided opinion on this work, the scope of which is sufficiently indicated by its title. Two parts only are published, consisting of two hundred and fifty-six pages; two hundred and forty of which are occupied with the letter A. Judging, however, from what is before us, we strongly incline to the opinion that *Knight's Political Dictionary* will be one of the most useful works which have recently issued from the British press. It embraces a wide range of important topics, the history and science of which are unfolded in a manner highly creditable to the talents and information of the writers. The work is published in monthly parts, price two shillings each, and is intended to be completed in twenty of these, respecting the practicality of which, however, we entertain some doubt.

The Encyclical Letter of our Lord Pope Gregory XVI., to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, issued May 8, 1844. Translated into English by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart. With the Latin text and the authorized Italian translation appended. 8vo. pp. 33. London : John Snow.

Few protestants are aware of the diligence and zeal with which the adherents of popery are now seeking the dissemination of their faith. Facts, however, are so rapidly accumulating, that we shall be forced ere long to recognize the truth, and the sooner this is done the better. An important step will be gained when the true protestants of this country are fully apprized of the measures of the papacy. We may then hope to see them emulate the zeal of their opponents, and when once they do so, we shall have no fear of the result. With these views we thank Sir Culling Smith for the publication before us. It is well timed, and eminently fitted to be useful. It tears away the veil behind which the real spirit of the papacy is sought to be concealed, and discloses to protestant eyes its unmitigated hostility to the general circulation of the inspired volume. The letter of the pope, here presented in an English dress, is an authoritative manifesto against such circulation. There is no gainsaying its evidence, no appeal from its decision, and *his* allegiance to the popedom is more than questionable who does not immediately comply with the mandate issued. This letter was published in Latin and Italian in the official gazette of the papal government, on the 25th of May last; and is now presented to the British public as an instructive warning, adapted to rectify some popular misconceptions, and to stimulate the pious labours of all enlightened protestants. We strongly recommend its early perusal to our readers, and especially to such of them as occupy the ministerial office.

Saul, a Dramatic Sketch. Josephine to Napoleon, with other Poems and Translations. London : B. Kempton.

THE author is evidently a man of classic taste, and of an elegant mind. The volume is a suitable present for his own circle of acquaintance, where it will find many admirers, but it is not likely to win the now sated ear of the great public.

The Life of Sir Thomas More. By the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh. London : Longman and Co.

HAVING repeatedly expressed our opinion of this biography, we need say no more at present than that the edition before us is an exceedingly neat and tasteful one. It is got up in the olden style, and is printed separately from the other biographies with which it was originally associated. Though not able to go to the full extent of the biographer's panegyric, we know few volumes over whose pages we more love to ponder.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Correspondence and some other Remains of the late John Foster, with a Memoir by J. E. Ryland, Translator of 'Neander's Church History,' and Notices of Mr. Foster as a Preacher and a Companion, by John Sheppard, Author of 'Thoughts on Private Devotion;' may be expected to appear in the course of a few months.

Just Published.

Vacation Rambles and Thoughts; comprising the Recollections of Three Continental Tours in the Vacations of 1841, 1842, and 1843. By T. N. Talfourd, D.C.L., Sergeant-at-Law. In Two Volumes. Vol. I.

Journal of a Clergyman during a Visit to the Peninsula in the Summer and Autumn of 1841. By the Rev. W. Robertson.

The Collegian's Guide; or, Recollections of College Days, setting forth the Advantages and Temptations of University Education. By the Rev. * * * *, M.A.

Parochialia; or, Church-School and Parish. The Church System and Services Practically Considered. By John Sandford, M.A.

The Pictorial Sunday-Book. By John Kitto, D.D.

History of the Reformation in Germany. By Leopold Ranke. Second Edition. Translated by Sarah Austin. Vols. I. and II.

The History of Sweden. Translated from the Original of Anders Fryxell. Edited by Mary Howitt. Vol. I.

Saul: a Dramatic Sketch. Josephine to Napoleon: with other Poems and Translations.

A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes; comprising the best Compositions in general use, and including many by eminent English and Foreign Musicians, which are now for the first time published in this country. Harmonized for Four Voices, with an Arrangement for the Organ and Piano-forte: forming the First Part of the People's Music Book. Edited by James Turle, Esq., and Edward Taylor, Esq.

Sacred Music; comprising Anthems by the most eminent English Composers from the period of the Reformation to the present time, Hymns, Anthems, Motets, and Sacred Songs, selected from the Works of celebrated Italian and German Composers, and adapted to English words, with an Accompaniment for the Organ and Pianoforte; forming the Second Part of the People's Music Book. Edited by James Turle, Esq., and Edward Taylor, Esq.

The Natural History of Animals; being the Substance of Three Courses of Lectures delivered before the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.R.S., F.Z.S.

The Curiosities of Heraldry, with Illustrations by old English Writers. By Mark Anthony Lower. With numerous Wood Engravings.

The Scottish Church Question. By the Rev. Adolphus Syden.

Congregational Dissent Apostolical Conformity: an Introductory Discourse. By A. J. Morris.

Old England's Alarum.

Letters on Mesmerism. By Harriet Martineau.

Christian Baptism; an Enquiry into the Scripture Evidence of its Nature, the Mode, Subjects, and Design of the Rite, and the Meaning of the Term. By John H. Godwin.

The Mother's First Book; containing Reading Made Easy and the Spelling Book. In two parts. By Mrs. Marçet.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

For MARCH, 1845.

ART. I.—1. *The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham.* Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition. The first Volume by Robert Southey, Esq.; edited by Mrs. Southey: the two last by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Joseph Lancaster.* Including the Introduction of his System of Education. By William Corston. 18mo.

Few men in their time have occupied a larger share of public attention, or left behind them more enduring monuments, than Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster. Rich in incident, and pregnant with instruction, the lives of both now lie before us; and singularly as they contrast in outward attraction, in bulk, and in literary merit, they shall, for various reasons, receive from us equal notice, and be examined with equal care.

‘Andrew, the son of Alexander and Margaret Bell, was born,’ says Dr. Southey, ‘in the city of St. Andrews, on the 7th of March, 1753.’ His father was a barber, and evidently of no mean reputation. ‘Persons are still living who remember him hastening through the street with a professor’s wig, ready dressed, in each hand, his arms at half stretch to prevent their collision. After trimming one professor, he would sit down and breakfast with him, and then away to trim and breakfast with another; his appetite, like his mouth (and his mind also), being of remarkable and well-known capacity.’ Being a man of ability, he added to his original trade that of a clock and watchmaker, and

ultimately became baillie of the city, quelling, on one occasion, a popular tumult by his personal influence after all other means had failed.

The future doctor was his second son ; a plodding, industrious boy, fond of his books, but hating school, on account of the tyranny which he witnessed and endured. ‘Oh, it was terrible,’ he said, ‘the remains of feudal severity. I never went to school without trembling ; I could not tell whether I should be flogged or not.’

In 1769 Andrew matriculated at the college, eking out his scanty resources by private teaching. Dr. Wilkie, who was at that time the Professor of Natural Philosophy, particularly noticed him. ‘Mind what I say,’ Wilkie would say to him, laying his hand on his head, and stroking it ; ‘pursue your studies, and they will make your fortune. *I never knew a man fail of success in the world if he excelled in one thing.*’ This excellent piece of advice can scarcely be impressed too frequently or too forcibly on young men. ‘Dr. Bell,’ says his biographer, ‘adhered to it in his latter years too literally and too long.’

In the year 1774, having finished his education, he embarked for America, where, for the next five years, he appears to have been chiefly employed in tuition. In 1779 we find him a private tutor in the family of a wealthy merchant in Virginia, enjoying a salary of £200 a year, and, in accordance with what afterwards proved the ruling passion of his life, occupied at the same time in obtaining money, by collecting debts and other transactions in business. ‘This part of his journal,’ says the editor, ‘is filled with memoranda of dealings in American currency and tobacco.’

In 1781 he set sail for England. The voyage was disastrous. Nine days after leaving York, the brig went on shore in lat. 45°. His journal of this event is brief, but graphic :—‘An uninhabited country ; the cold and frost so intense that all safety is despaired of. Almost continual snow. Terrible prospect. Revised my accounts ; and, in expectation of death, devised what I had in my pocket-book, if human being should ever come this way. Snow for sixteen hours. Fair night, and most intensely cold. Observation 45° 50′. A fisher’s tent seen in ruins to the south-west.’

Providentially, the severity of the weather abated ; a small boat passed along shore, and ultimately, after eighteen days’ suffering, they reached Halifax in safety ; where, ‘after a week of good weather,’ he goes to church, and notes it down in his diary, ‘infinitely superior to the meeting.’ Here he embarked afresh, and in due time reached England in safety.

After remaining in London about five weeks, where, he says, 'sight-seeing and coach hire' cost him sometimes 'a guinea a day,' he visited Bath and Bristol, and then proceeded to Scotland, making his way 'sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, and sometimes by stage or other conveyance.' With the startling exception of a duel which he fought with an English student, and in which he endangered the lives of the seconds rather than that of his antagonist, his visit appears to have been passed tranquilly in the society of his old friends and acquaintances, and in the education of two Virginian youths who had been committed to his care.

About this time Dr. Berkeley (son of the bishop), with whom he had become acquainted at St. Andrews, 'encouraged him to take orders in the English church, and promised to render him all the good offices in his power.' By the aid of this kind and zealous friend he soon obtained ordination, and was shortly after elected minister of the Episcopal Chapel at Leith.

Dissatisfied with this position, and seeing no prospect of preferment, he now determined, by the advice of his friends, to go to India, thinking that 'he might turn his talents and acquirements to good account as a philosophical lecturer, and in the way of tuition.' Dr. Southey states that an influential friend (Mr. Dempster) 'omitting nothing that could contribute to Mr. Bell's success in India, thought it fitting that he should be dignified before he went out with a doctor's degree, and accordingly applied for one to the University of St. Andrews.' But from a letter addressed by Mr. Bell to Principal M'Cormick, which has recently been published in a Scotch newspaper, and of the existence of which his biographer was probably ignorant, it appears that the application was his own. 'I think it an object of considerable importance,' he says, 'to be distinguished with the honourable title of D.D.' And then he begs that it may be done as soon as possible, stating that his father has directions about the fees; and adding, with characteristic vanity, 'My mind is above my fortune and above my birth.' To his surprise and disappointment, the diploma granted was that of M.D., a designation of questionable value to one who had neither pursued nor studied the art of medicine.

On the 2nd of June, 1787, he reached Madras, where his reception was so good, that he abandoned his original intention of proceeding to Calcutta, and remained at Madras with the prospect of being speedily appointed to the charge of a military male orphan asylum which was about to be commenced.

The tide of fortune rapidly set in: within two months of his arrival he was appointed (subject to confirmation at home) Chaplain to the 4th European Regiment, then stationed at

Arcot. Nine days afterwards he was nominated to the deputy chaplainship of the 19th Regiment of Cavalry. In October he obtained a second deputy chaplainship to the 36th, then at Poonamalee; and on the day following to a third, in the 52nd Regiment. During this time he delivered a course of philosophical lectures, which produced him the sum of £360. A second course, only producing about one half of this amount, he sailed with his apparatus for Calcutta, where he experienced 'the most gratifying reception.' Lord Cornwallis invited him to his table, and allowed him the use of his court-house for his lectures. The course brought him nearly £500. 'In less than a month after his return to Madras he was appointed deputy chaplain to the 74th, being *the fifth* appointment conferred upon him in little more than a year and a half.' This was, indeed, to use his own phrase, found in an early letter, '*encouragement in the line of the church.*'

But even this was not enough. *Three* other appointments shortly followed, all of which were accepted by the greedy pluralist without compunction. 'Kehama,' says Dr. Southey, with quiet, but biting sarcasm, 'who was in eight places at once, was a type of Dr. Bell at this time. Some of these offices may have been sinecures; but there is good proof among his papers that none of them were sine-salaries.' One of the appointments, that of undertaker-general, was a strange one to be held by a clergyman, and 'curious' indeed are the 'instructions' drawn up by him, in his new character of furnisher of funerals, for the lower functionary who did all the work, and received from the doctor a graduated per centage on the cost of the interment.

Subsequently, the government of Madras and the Directors, were brought to see the unfitness of continuing such a state of things; but, alas, no one seems to have been at all affected by the iniquity involved in thus 'leaving the garrisons and corps destitute of religious ordinances.' The extent of this deprivation may be gathered from the following remarks, which occur in a letter from Colonel Floyd, then at Cheviliimidoo. 'Come here,' he says; 'at your arrival you will find your flock disposed to follow whithersoever you shall lead. I am ashamed to say *I do not think I have either Bible or Prayer Book at this place*, and I cannot answer for it that anybody else has; so you will please to take your measures accordingly. We have one or two little ones that we mean to present to you for baptism.' Yet Colonel Floyd was not a thoughtless man. He writes: 'I am covered with confusion when I reflect to how little account I waste the fleeting hour. Others are idle too, but that is a shabby consolation. A man in truth lives but so many hours as he employs. What children many are who die of old age!'

Still not satisfied, the Doctor remembers Mrs. Berkeley's advice to 'plough with the heifer,' and writes to Lady Dacre, as well as to Mr. Dundas and Mr. Smith, earnestly soliciting them to procure his removal to Calcutta, 'and his appointment to the first vacant chaplainship at that settlement.' Mr. Smith excused himself on the score of illness. 'What other replies he received,' his biographer tells us, 'is not known.' 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'his patrons thought the solicitation as unreasonable, as in truth it was.'

The death of his father, of which he was informed by letter in 1789, affected him deeply. 'After trying in vain,' he says, in a letter to Dr. Adamson, 'to stand this shock, I have left my duty to my friend and colleague, Archdeacon Leslie, and returned to the country, where I am secluded from every European countenance. Here I am at leisure to indulge grief, and thereby to prevent its violent effusion; to survey my past life; to correct those errors that may have brought upon me such sufferings; and to lay down rules for my future conduct, from which, if I ever swerve, it must be from depravity of inclination, and not strength of temptation.'

In the spring of 1793, he delivered a third course of lectures at Madras, in one of which 'he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India.' He had previously been elected a member of the Asiatic Society, and he now realized about 600 pagodas.

Scarcely had the lectures been concluded, before the governor in council appointed him 'to do duty as chaplain to the army assembled before Pondicherry, with an allowance of one hundred pagodas *per mensem*, to defray his extraordinary expenses while so employed. Here, (when not engaged in some of the mournful offices which he was called upon to perform,) 'his time passed pleasantly.' When the batteries were opened, he was rash enough to go into the trenches, and 'Colonel Floyd, who was the most intimate of his friends, when he took possession of the fort, ordered him to walk into it by his side.'

The expedition over, a new and altogether different scene now opens. The Military Orphan Asylum in Madras is at length established, and Dr. Bell offers his services as superintendent *without salary*, a step which some of his friends thought he had taken with 'far too little consideration of his own interest.' But the Doctor, wiser in his generation than they suspected, adhered to his own judgment, and declined receiving any compensation out of the subscription.

To this important work he devoted himself, with a zeal and assiduity highly creditable. Struggling manfully against the difficulties of his situation,—hindered rather than helped by

obstinate and incapable teachers,—distressed by the want of discipline, and painfully conscious of the unreasonable time consumed in imparting to the children a knowledge even of the letters of the alphabet, he pondered much and deeply on the perplexities of his position, and amid surrounding gloom, looked anxiously, but in vain, in all directions, for a single ray of light. Mr. Southey's words will best describe the breaking of the day.

'Things were in this state, when, happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground, and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn before them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went, 'Ευρηκα, 'I have discovered it;' and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner, with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed, as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will, and with merely common ability, Dr. Bell might never have cried 'Ευρηκα a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by their incapacity; baffled, however, he was now sensible that he must be, if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Friskin; he was the son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the asylum, and was then about eight years old. Dr. Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method which was to be pursued, and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Friskin, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

'Though Dr. Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been as it were compelled. What Friskin had accomplished with the alphabet class, might, in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected as he had been, for their aptitude to learn and to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Friskin the charge of superintending both the assistants and their classes, because of his experience and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This

talent, indeed, the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr. Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed his orders. To them a smile of approbation was no mean reward, and a look of displeasure sufficient punishment. Even in this stage he felt confident, that nothing more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding; and this, accordingly, was done. The experiment, which from necessity had been tried at first with one class, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and what is most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement, not less in consequence of the system, is said to have kept pace. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority, not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary; such interference prevented all that tyranny and ill-usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding-schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive towards others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school room, and to wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a week during the hot season, and once a week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

‘As to any purposes of instruction, the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr. Bell’s vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers.’

His letters to his friends from this time (1792) until his return to Europe, which took place, in consequence of the failure of his health, in 1796, are filled with accounts of the school, which now engrossed all his thoughts. From these it clearly appears, that he considered the main principle of his system to be, ‘tuition by the scholars themselves, or, as it was

afterwards called, mutual instruction,' and that he had carried this principle so fully into action, that 'the whole business of instruction was for a time carried on exclusively by the boys themselves.'*

While, however, we freely admit thus much, we can by no means allow the claim subsequently made on his behalf, that he was as much the *discoverer* of the principle of conducting a school by means of the scholars themselves, 'as Franklin was of electricity, or Jenner of vaccination.' The chevalier Paulet had certainly preceded him. In the *Literary Repository* for April 16th, 1788, there is an account of the establishment of this celebrated man in Paris, translated from the *Journal of Geneva*. Two principles are there distinctly laid down as carried out in his school. One is, that 'the pupils govern themselves;' the other, that 'the care of instruction is to a great extent devolved upon the scholars.' A president of the parliament of Bordeaux, who was visiting this institution, was, it is said, so much struck with the abilities of a scholar of fourteen, in instructing his class, that he engaged him as tutor to his son, a boy of eight years old. Similar details abundantly shew that fifteen years before the Madras Asylum was instituted, the principle of mutual instruction was both known and practised. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Dr. Bell was at all acquainted with this experiment. His plans were unquestionably his own.

He now turned a longing eye towards England. How long he should stay, and with *how much* money he should be satisfied, are questions frequently occurring in the correspondence. 'Bring a good constitution, and £10,000 with you,' says his friend Mr. Dempster, 'and you wont desire to return from wanting the comforts of life.' 'Single gentlemen,' writes Mr. Ames, 'may certainly be comfortable upon £500 per annum, but if a family is in view, double that income will be necessary.' But the Doctor again looked further than his friends. 'Say,' he writes to Mrs. Cockburn, 'what *the living in the church* should be, to induce a man to forego India?' The reply is not

* Dr. Bell's philosophical apparatus having been purchased by the government of Madras for the purpose of being presented to Tippoo Sultan. Smith, one of the boys of the asylum who had occasionally assisted the Dr. in his experiments, was appointed to take charge of it on the road, and to exhibit before the sultan. Tippoo was found to possess more knowledge of this kind than was supposed. 'He exhibited a condensing engine of his own making, which spouted water higher than Smith's;' he 'understood the management of the electrical machine;' and instead of regarding the experiments as mere amusements, he immediately sought to make the apparatus available for the introduction of useful knowledge among his people.

given. He sailed for England on the 20th of August, 1796, having accumulated, according to his own carefully drawn account, £25,935 16s. 5d., a tolerable reward for nine years' clerical service in India, and a convincing proof that he had not sought in vain for 'encouragement in the line of the church.' After this it seems scarcely necessary to parade his disinterestedness in declining a passage home at the expense of the charity.

On his arrival in London, Dr. Bell lost no time in communicating with the India House, but began at once to take measures for securing a retiring allowance from the East India Company. He first of all consulted Mr. David Scott, the chairman, and wrote to his early friend, Mr. Dempster, to request his interest. Mr. Dempster's reply does him great credit. 'I have,' he says, 'as little interest as you with Mr. Scott. The very little I have I would rather reserve to help the helpless, than expend in adding more rupees to the enormous heap you have brought home with you.' 'Nothing daunted by this rebuff,' says his biographer, 'he proceeded to draw up a memorial, addressed to the Court of Directors,' in which he set forth, in strong colours, the extraordinary success which had attended his labours in the asylum, ascribing it entirely (on the authority of the Madras government) to his new system, and '*to the disinterested conduct he had shown* in refusing, while so employed, to accept any salary.' After a few months effort, he succeeded in obtaining a pension of £200 per annum.

He now (1797) printed a report of the asylum, which he entitled, 'An Experiment in Education made at the male asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a School or Family may teach itself under the superintendence of a Master or Parent.' This pamphlet he recommended by letter to the attention of David Dale at Lanark; he sent copies to many influential persons in different parts of the kingdom: he attempted to introduce his plan into various schools both in England and Scotland; and in one of his letters to the printer, he says:—'You will mark me for an enthusiast, but if you and I live a thousand years, we shall see this system of education spread over the world.'

On the 3rd of November, 1800, he married Miss Agnes Barclay, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, of Middleton; and, in 1801, 'he received and accepted the offer of the rectory of Swanage, in Dorset, from the patron, Mr. Calcraft, with whom he had not been previously acquainted.' With his wife he appears to have received £7,500; the value of his living, including the patronage of the parish of Worth, was at least £800 per annum; his pension from the East India Company

was £200 per annum; and his Indian spoil was £25,935. Early in December (1801), he took possession of his preferment, and preached his first sermon on Christmas Day; having by this time, one would think, reason to be abundantly satisfied with 'the encouragement' he had met with 'in the line of the church.'

Leaving for awhile the good Doctor thus comfortably provided for, we turn to contemplate another and very different character, whose name, now first noised abroad, was destined, strangely enough, to descend to posterity, side by side, with that of Dr. Bell.

JOSEPH LANCASTER was born in Kent Street, Southwark, on the 27th of November, 1778. His father was a Chelsea pensioner, who had served in the British army during the American war. To the pious example and early instruction of his parents he always attributed, under the divine blessing, any acquaintance he possessed with the power of religion. 'My first impressions,' he says, 'of the beauty of the christian religion were received from their instructions.' There is a touching beauty in his own account of himself as a little child, retiring to a corner, repeating the name of Jesus, and as often reverently bowing to it. 'I seemed to feel,' he says, 'that it was the name of one I loved, and to whom my heart performed reverence. I departed from my retirement well satisfied with what I had been doing, and I never remembered it but with delight.' This little incident was an epitome of the man, and, inconsistent as it may seem to be with his future religious profession as a member of the Society of Friends, it truly shadowed forth the enthusiastic, not to say passionate feeling, which through life so eminently characterized him.

At the early age of eight years he was pondering the Gospels in secret retirement and delight, his heart 'filled with love and devotion to God,' with 'breathings of good-will to the human race,' and with 'desires to devote his life to the service of God.' At fourteen, Clarkson's Essay on the Slave Trade came in his way, and alone, and without taking counsel of any one, he determined to go to Jamaica, to teach the poor blacks to read the word of God. Mr. Corston's narrative of this adventure is so brief and simple that it scarcely admits of condensation:—

'With a view to accomplish his purpose, he left home for Bristol, without the knowledge of his parents, having only a bible, Pilgrim's Progress, and a few shillings in his pocket. The first night he slept under a hedge, and the next under a hay-stack. On his journey, he fell in with a mechanic who was likewise going to Bristol. They

walked together; and as Joseph's money was all expended, his companion sustained him. On arriving at his destination, he was penniless, and almost shoeless. He entered himself as a volunteer: and was sent to Milford Haven the next morning. On board he was at first the object of much ridicule, and was contemptuously styled *parson*. The captain being absent one day, the officers asked him if he would preach them a sermon. He replied, 'Yes; if you will give me leave to go below for half an hour to read my bible.' They said, 'O certainly, an hour if you choose.' When he came up, there was a cask placed upon deck, and the ship's company were all assembled. Having placed him upon the cask he proceeded to lecture them upon their habits of profane swearing, drunkenness, &c., at first much to their mirth and amusement; but after a little they began to droop their heads, when he told them if they would leave off these wretched practices, repent, and turn to the Lord, they might still be happy here and happy hereafter. After this sermon, he was treated kindly—no one was suffered to laugh at him, or use him ill, during the three weeks he remained on board.

'His return home to his parents was occasioned as follows:—a dissenting minister at Clapham, happening to call in at his mother's shop, found her weeping, and in great distress. On his kindly asking the cause, she informed him that her child had left home, and she knew not what was become of him. He endeavoured to pacify and comfort her with the hope that the Lord would restore him to her; and then enquired where she thought he was gone. She replied,—'Why we think to the West Indies. He has felt much and talked much about the poor Blacks lately, from having read Mr. Clarkson's book about them.' 'O come, my good woman,' he rejoined, 'take comfort. I am intimate with the captain of the Port Admiral's ship, at Plymouth. I live at Clapham. Should you hear of your son, let me know.' In about three weeks, a letter was received from Joseph—his parents informed the minister—he wrote to the captain—and Joseph was soon sent home with a new suit of clothes, money in his pocket, and his carriage paid by coach.—pp. 2, 3.

Between this period, and that of his attaining the age of eighteen, he seems to have been an assistant at two schools, one a boarding, the other a day school; and thus, as he afterwards states in a letter to Dr. Bell, he became acquainted with all the defects attendant on the old system of tuition in both kinds of schools. At eighteen he commenced teaching on his own account in his father's house, and the following description of the undertaking, extracted from an old report of the Borough Road School, is from his own pen. It refers to the year 1798.

'The undertaking was begun under the hospitable roof of an affectionate parent: my father gave the school-room rent free, and, after fitting up the forms and desks myself, I had the pleasure, before I was eighteen, of having near ninety children under instruction, many of

whom I educated free of expense. As the number of scholars continued to increase I soon had occasion to rent larger premises.

‘A season of scarcity brought the wants of poor families closely under my notice: at this time a number of very liberal persons enabled me to *feed* the hungry children. In the course of this happy exertion, I became intimately acquainted with the state of many industrious poor families, whose necessities had prevented the payment of the small price of their children’s tuition, some of whom had accumulated arrears for many weeks. In every such case I remitted the arrears and continued the children’s instruction free of expense.

‘The state of the poor, combined with the feelings of my mind, had now blended the pay school with a free school. Two benevolent private friends had been in the habit of paying for five or six poor children at the low price I had fixed as the assize of education or mental bread for my neighbourhood. I easily induced these friends to place the money they gave, *as pay*, in the form of a subscription.’—pp. 6, 7.

On the outside of his school-room he placed the following printed notice:—‘All that will, may send their children and have them educated freely; and those that do not wish to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they please.’ This filled his school; but, as might have been expected, left his income scarcely adequate to his own board and comforts.

As the number of his pupils increased, a new school-room became necessary. It was provided, chiefly through the benevolent aid of the late Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, ‘who,’ says Lancaster, ‘appeared to be sent by Providence to open wide before me the portals of usefulness for the good of the poor.’ ‘The children,’ he adds, ‘now came in for education like flocks of sheep; and the number so greatly increased, as to place me in that state which is the mother of invention. The old plan of education, in which I had been hitherto conversant, was daily proved inadequate to the purposes of instruction on a large scale. In every respect *I had to explore a new and untrodden path*. My continual endeavours have been happily crowned with success.’

The question now arises, and it is an important one, in reference to *character*,—did Lancaster believe at this time, that he was, ‘in deed and in truth,’ exploring a new and untrodden path; or, was he well aware that he was only walking in the footsteps of another? The *fact* is undoubted, that he was now managing a thousand children, aided only by boys acting as monitors. The point in dispute is, whether he was doing this by methods of his own devising, or, whether, as Mr. Southey harshly expresses it, ‘deriving from Dr. Bell his knowledge of

the system, he claimed for himself with consummate effrontery, the honour of the invention?' We can only say for ourselves that, after carefully perusing all the evidence that has been offered in support of this frequently repeated charge, we see no reason whatever to believe, that Lancaster was guilty of acting the base and unprincipled part attributed to him; and believing this, we cannot but severely blame those who have accused him so harshly and so rashly.

The truth is, so far as we have been able to ascertain it, that both Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster were, to a certain extent, inventors, and *both*, to a much larger extent, adopters and improvers of existing plans. Pressed by the same difficulties as Dr. Bell, and like him, familiar with military tactics, Lancaster appears, without being conscious of it, to have resorted to the same expedient. Inspired by equal, if not superior energy, he seems to have produced the same result. Excited by similar success, and perhaps inflamed by like vanity, he imitated his predecessor in magnifying the importance of his method, and in claiming an amount of merit *as a discoverer* which, to say the least of it, was preposterous and absurd. But that he was 'fraudulent,' 'dishonest,' 'tricky,' and 'immoral,' or, as Coleridge expresses it, that he was 'a wretched quack,' 'a liar,' 'an ignorant, vulgar, arrogant charlatan,' we do not for a moment believe. Whatever were the faults of his maturer years, his early life was that of a sincere, humble, and disinterested christian.

Lancaster's own account of the matter, given in a letter to Dr. Bell, dated Nov. 21st, 1804, carries with it all the appearance of truthfulness and integrity; and as at that time he was corresponding with the doctor as a friend, was proposing to visit him at Swanage, was asking his advice, and soliciting his aid, there seems no reason for supposing that he would do otherwise than express himself with straightforwardness and simplicity. He thus writes:—

'I began a day school (in 1798). The methods I pursued soon became popular, and people sent their children in crowds. This plunged me into a dilemma; the common modes of tuition did not apply; and in puzzling myself what to do, *I stumbled upon a plan similar to thine*; not, however, meeting with thy book till 1800. I have since succeeded wonderfully, yet not equal to my desire. If thou wilt favour me with any original reports of the asylum at Madras, for nothing is more essential than minutæ, I should be much obliged.'

Now let it be borne in mind, that at this time Mr. Lancaster's pretensions were not concealed; that for some years he had been claiming through the press, to be *the inventor* of his 'improvements in education,' that in doing this, he had referred

distinctly and by name to Dr. Bell, recommending his book to the friends of education, acknowledging without reserve the value of 'several useful hints' he had adopted from it, and stating, that in some things he had 'been endeavouring to walk in his footsteps,' and then let any candid person say whether, if Dr. Bell had regarded him as a mere plagiarist, he would not have availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the receipt of this letter, to unmask his hypocrisy and to expose his pretensions?

The editor says, 'It does not appear what answer Dr. Bell returned to this letter.' As the original reply is now before us, we can supply the deficiency. It shall speak for itself.

Swanage, 6th Decr., 1804.

'DEAR FRIEND.—I was yesterday favoured with your letter, and the outlines, &c. I had before heard of your fame, and the progress which you had made in a new mode of tuition, and have long expected the pleasure of seeing you at Swanage, and, though your letter does not promise me a speedy accomplishment of this expectation, still I shall hope that you will fulfil your intention as soon as shall suit your convenience.

'When I put my Essay on the A. B. C. into the hands of my bookseller I said (with the apology suited to such enthusiasm,) that 'before the end of the next century every school in Europe would be taught on this principle.' I was pleased to see it some time ago acted upon and recited in the reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and am delighted to hear that in the beginning of the century you have afforded such a specimen of the success of this system. I am fully sensible of the many disadvantages which you have to encounter, and as recounted by you they are, for the most part, such as I could have foreseen. I shall endeavour to find my original reports at Madras, that I may communicate them; but you will not meet with the details which you expect in them, as they were presented to those who had daily opportunities of seeing the seminary. Nor can I pretend to recite a thousand particulars by letters which I could do *viva voce*, and which I hope to do soon in thy school, which I promise myself much pleasure in attending when I am next in town.'

After answering some questions which Lancaster had put relative to his mode of selecting monitors, and of preparing sand for the alphabet classes, he proceeds;—

'I have been strongly urged to publish a brief extract of my essay for general circulation. Now, you will do me a kindness by taking a copy of my publication, and drawing your pen through every line which you think might be spared, without any essential defect of information, taking care to efface whatever is not necessary to give an idea of the system of instruction. By this means I apprehend the pamphlet may be reduced to a very few pages. At the same time I shall be glad of any observations which you may see fit to make, and

particularly whether any part is difficult to be understood, and where you think a fuller explanation necessary.

‘In this way I may have an opportunity of recommending your institution, more general and more effectual than any other I could propose. For this purpose I must see every thing with my own eyes, and by hearing of your difficulties I shall best know what requisite information I omitted in the report of my system which does not comprehend more than the general principle and outlines of the mode of tuition. At all events I shall trust to your erasing every thing which can possibly be left out in my publication as not bearing upon the elucidation of the system, but which I thought it necessary to insert in the first publication for this reason.

‘My success in this new mode so far surpassed my expectations, and appeared so wonderful to those who witnessed it, that I was often told the report would not gain credit in Europe. On that account it appeared absolutely requisite to give authentic documents to prove the reality of the facts recorded, and this was the main object in introducing the system to the world. Without ascertaining the facts I expected little attention to the system, which I imagined would be by most people ranked amongst those novel and delusive theories which often appear on the stage of existence, only to vanish for ever. It is now time to give circulation to the system itself, in a manner calculated for general use, and unencumbered of every thing foreign to its elucidation and demonstration.

‘I take the liberty to make this request to you, the only person to whom I have applied, and whom I have been induced to apply to in consequence of your letter, the object of which I suppose can be best forwarded in this manner; and, because I consider, that to one who has matured the subject of these communications as you have done, and had such experience, it will cost no trouble to expunge such parts of my publication, as does not go to the explanation of the system; and, as it is a far easier task for any person, master of the subject, to do this than the writer, whose mind is often warped by prejudices unknown and unfelt by himself. How far mine is so, I shall know from your communication compared with my own ideas.

‘Let me once more mention my purpose, to discard as much as can possibly be parted with, so as not to injure the explanations of the system. The object of my original publication was not merely to narrate the outline of an experiment, but also duly to authenticate the facts by which the experiment was proved to be successful, in order to hold out grounds for others to give it a further trial, and to correct and improve my system, which I am confident will admit of many alterations and amendments; but which alterations and amendments will only occur to some rare genius, if he has no experimental practice, or to those who like you are engaged in similar attempts, and in a situation widely different from that in which I was placed; and, under circumstances, many of which you have detailed, that do not admit of the same practices, and which require an alteration suited to the situation, circumstances, genius of the nation, and condition of the youth.

'When I began this letter I meant only to acknowledge your acceptable communication, to request the favour of a visit from a friend with whom I can indulge and revive my old favourite pursuits, almost forgotten in this insulated situation in which I am placed, and to say, I would not fail to visit your institution as soon as I can make it convenient to be in London. When this will be I cannot at present say, but your letter has revived and renovated old ideas, and I have written as to an old friend. I dare not venture to read over this long and hasty scrawl, lest I should treat it as I wish you to do the experiment—reduce it to a few lines.

'I am anxious to see your book, and still more to see yourself; and remain, my good friend, your sincere well wisher,

'A. BELL.'

'Be pleased to send my experiments, which I trust to your goodness to erase as proposed—by two-penny post, under cover to John McTaggart, Esq., Scot's Yard, London, whom I expect soon to see at Swanage. Scot's Yard, is in Bush Lane, Cannon Street, near the Exchange.'

Lancaster shortly afterwards visited Dr. Bell at Swanage; he remained there several days, and seems to have been pleased with his visit. A year afterwards, Dr. Bell, in writing to Mrs. Trimmer, smiles at the absurdity of his attempts 'to form teachers by lectures on the passions,'—a thing he never pretended to do,—and observes, sensibly enough, that 'it is by attending the school, seeing what is going on there, and taking a share in the office of tuition, that teachers are to be formed, and not by lectures and abstract instruction;' but he finds no fault with Lancaster beyond this,—that he 'solicited' his 'subscription oftener than once,' 'which,' says the Doctor, 'I flatly declined;' not, however, on the ground of his acting unfairly, but simply for this reason,—that he had determined to confine his offices to the schools under his own immediate eye.

Mrs. Trimmer seems to have been the first to suggest the idea of Lancaster's criminality, and the motive is but too obvious. Her letter is dated 'Brentford, Sept. 24th, 1805,' in which, after informing him of her intention to insert some extracts from his 'Experiment on Education,' in a periodical she was publishing, she adds,—

'From the time, sir, that I read Mr. Joseph Lancaster's 'Improvements in Education,' in the first edition, I conceived an idea that there was something in his plan that was inimical to the interests of the established church; and when I read your 'Experiment in Education,' to which Mr. L. referred, I plainly perceived he had been building on your foundation. You know, without doubt, how the public mind is, I may say, infatuated with his plausible appearances, and I judge, by the republication of your 'Experiment,' that you are not an unconcerned spectator of this perversion of what you have

applied to so excellent a purpose. Engaged as I have long been, in striving to promote the interests of the church, by the exertion of my little talents for the instruction of the rising generation, and the prevention of the mischief that is aimed against them in various ways, I cannot see this 'Goliath of Schismatics' bearing down all before him, and engrossing the instruction of the common people, without attempting to give him a little check. Indeed, I told him a year ago, that I should, at my first leisure, attempt to analyse his system, and this I shall soon set about. But, preparatory to it, I thought it might answer a good purpose to point out in an incidental way, by means of a review of your work, that Mr. Lancaster was not the original inventor of the plan. If the sale of your pamphlet is extensive, I may, perhaps, have done what was unnecessary; but, knowing my motive, you will not think me impertinent.

'I have the honour to be, rev. sir, your most obedient and very humble servant.'

'SARAH TRIMMER.'

To this letter Dr. Bell replies in a style unworthy of himself, and altogether unlike his former communication. 'Mrs. Trimmer's letter, although the production of a sensible and christian woman, was jesuitical; it was all but an avowal that she was about 'to do evil that good might come.' It was to Dr. Bell, 'Satan in the guise of an angel of light.' It found 'something' in him that responded to its evil suggestions. It awoke slumbering jealousy and pride, and it drew from him the following pitiful remarks on the character and conduct of his last year's guest.

'During his stay with me, which was of some days' continuance, I detailed many particulars of my practice, and many opinions on the conduct of a school, with which he was in some points totally unacquainted. I observed his consummate front, his importunate solicitation of subscriptions in any and every shape, his plausible and ostentatious guise; and, in his third edition, I think I see something which indicates that he is confident he cannot stand alone, basking in the sunshine of royal countenance and popular applause, forgetting, for a while, his own presentiment, 'That, as much as he is cried up, so much will he be hereafter traduced.'

'The plan of instruction in a public charity, by teachers, assistants, tutors, as I have styled them—or, monitors, as he denominated them—appears to me, who am an enthusiast, so simple, so natural, so beautiful, and so true, that it must sooner or later have obtained a footing; and all I ever expected by my humble essay, printed rather than published, was, that it might fall into hands which would bring the system forward sooner than might otherwise happen in the course of things. J. L. has certainly contributed to this consummation. How far he has directed it to the best purpose, and whether he has intermixed much quackery, conceit, and ignorance, is another question.'

In her next letter, Mrs. Trimmer gives 'a more particular

T

VOL. XVII.

account of the mode of proceeding which she proposes to adopt, in her intended work on Lancaster,' and, we confess we want language to express the ineffable disgust with which some portions of that letter has inspired us. Lancaster's faults! They were as motes in the sun-beam when compared with the *meanness* of his calumniators. She thus writes:—

'Of all the plans that have appeared in this kingdom likely to supplant the church, Mr. Lancaster's seems to me the most formidable. I will not say that he has any ill *intentions*; but his plan is favourable, in an eminent degree, to those who may have, and after what I have read in the 'Abbé Barruel's Memoirs of the History of Jacobinism, concerning the use made by the Illuminati in Germany, &c.' of schoolmasters and schoolbooks, I cannot but view with a very jealous eye a system which proceeds upon the same *generalizing* plan, which has been resorted to so fatally against the interests of *revealed religion* on the continent. As you condescend to read my 'Guardian of Education,' I beg leave to refer you to vol. i. p. 21, where you will find a translation from a work of an excellent man, M. De Luc, who gives there the history of the origin of the philanthropines, which have done so much mischief; the consequences of which you will see in a translation from the same author, in the number of the 'Guardian' which I have the honour to send you, (viz. M. De Luc's letter.) Mr. Joseph Lancaster's school is, in my estimation, a direct philanthropine, and he has seized upon your admirable plan of instruction, as an engine to give it a speed, and a consequence, which he could by no other means have obtained without it.

'He certainly has brought your excellent plan forward; and had I the power, I certainly should not have *the wish* to do any thing that should have a tendency to stop the progress of it, nor would I deprive Lancaster himself of the merit of having brought it into operation in this country; because he may really be considered, so far at least, as an instrument of good, if he prepares the first teachers of this kind, provided they are under proper inspection and controul afterwards. But as for his *central school* and his *organized plans* to educate the whole body of the common people, without any regard to the religion of the nation, I will certainly do my utmost to check him there, in hopes that others of more ability than myself will be roused. And this is the way I mean to proceed; I will give him all possible credit for the utility of his mode of instruction in reading, writing, &c., if I mention Dr. Bell it will probably be *incidentally only*; or I may even say, 'That, in some respects, J. Lancaster has improved upon your plan.' I will urge the admission of Lancaster's plan into all charity schools, &c., *under certain limitations*. In short, I will strive to write so that his numerous subscribers may not think I mean to attach blame to them for the patronage they have given him; which indeed is not properly given to him, but *unknowingly* to the *inventor* of the plan. Having done this, I mean to show what the education of the lower orders ought to be in respect to religion and morality, and

the necessity there is for giving them *sound principles* in their early years. I shall then examine Mr. Lancaster's system of morals and religion, as displayed in his different pamphlets, and speak boldly in defence of the provision made for the proper instruction of the young members of the church and state, by the *Act of Uniformity*. Perhaps I may venture to show, from authentic documents, the effect of such a generalizing plan as Mr. Lancaster's on the continent, &c.

* * * * *

'A few days ago, my sons, who have among their works a manufactory for tiles, received a letter from him, desiring to have some for his new building I suppose, or rather the extension of his school in the Borough. His seal carried the impression of PEACE! It is a curious fact that he was not originally a quaker, but an anabaptist, intended by his father (who is a preacher himself in this town) for what they call a *minister*. Whether he changed for the love of a pretty quaker, whom he married, or whether the *broadbrim* was the best cover for his scheme, I cannot say; but certainly, in the *quaker-habit*, (from the too liberal indulgences of our church and state to that *humbly supercilious* sect), he may take liberties, and press forward to notice, more than a member of the establishment could do, even with the same degree of effrontery. I was told by one, to whom he boasted of it, that, at his first interview with his sovereign, he stood with his hat upon his head and made a long oration, while his Majesty remained condescendingly *uncovered*, or at least holding his hat above his head.'

Dr. Bell, thus afresh and more deeply excited by poison so insidiously conveyed, again writes in a tone every way disgraceful to him. He is acknowledging the receipt of Mrs. Trimmer's book.

'You have achieved a work of great national importance. J. L. would not have been unmasked for years but for you. Ever since I conversed with him, and read some of his familiar letters, I have suspected that he has much assistance in his published works of every kind. He is illiterate and ignorant, with a brazen front, consummate assurance, and the most artful and plausible address, not without ability and ingenuity, heightened in its effects under the Quaker's guise. His account of his family in unguarded moments—Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Infidels—is most extraordinary. While I am writing I am favoured with yours of the 10th, and rejoice exceedingly in the debut which your admirable production has made. The great defects of J. L.'s system are detected with such perspicuity, as must carry conviction to every son of the church; and you have gone a great way to show his want of originality, which may easily be followed up.'

And yet this very man had, only two short months before, admitted to the same correspondent, that Lancaster 'displayed *much originality*,' both in the application of the monitorial system, and in *his individual improvements*. We shall say no

more on this long since deceased controversy; less we could not refrain from stating, in justice to the memory of an ill-used and calumniated man.

With renewed pleasure we now resume the narrative of Lancaster's *progress*, associated as his efforts ever must be with the subsequent spread of knowledge, the growth and enlargement of the popular mind, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the labouring classes of society in these realms. Even his enemies were constrained to allow, (no mean praise) that to him,—to his 'zeal, ingenuity and perseverance,' were to be attributed the awakening of the public mind to the duty of caring for the instruction of the poor, and the exhibition of an agency by which it could be promptly, economically, and efficiently accomplished.

We left him busy in the new room for which he was mainly indebted to the late Duke of Bedford—a thousand children daily gathering for instruction, and a few friends supporting him by their annual subscriptions. Nothing can be more beautiful than the account given of his position and character at this time. He was always domesticated with his pupils. In their play hours he was their companion and their friend. He accompanied them in bands of two, three, and (on one occasion) of five hundred at once, to the environs of London for amusement and instruction.

Nor did he care only for their intellectual necessities. Distress and privation were abroad;—he raised contributions, went to market, and between the intervals of school presided at dinner with sixty or eighty of the most needy of his flock. 'The character of benefactor he scarce thought about; it was absorbed in that of teacher and friend. On Sunday evenings he would have large companies of pupils to tea, and after mutually enjoying a very pleasant intercourse, would conclude with reading a portion of the sacred writings in a reverential manner. Some of the pupils would vary the exercise occasionally by reading select pieces of religious poetry, and their teacher would at times add such advice and observations, as the conduct of individuals, or the beauty and importance of the subject required. Is it any wonder that with pupils so trained, to whom so many endearing occasions presented, evidences should abound of affection, docility and improvement? In them he had many ready co-operators, and, however incapable of forming designs, never were agents more prompt and willing to execute.' These were his best and most joyous days. Happy would it have been for him, though certainly not for mankind, had he never emerged from this scene of humble quiet usefulness, into

the turbulence of a world, which distracted him by its excitement, injured him by its praise, and finally cast him off, for faults of which itself had been the parent.

He was now rapidly becoming an object of public attention. His school-room was visited by 'foreign princes, ambassadors, peers, commoners, ladies of distinction, bishops and archbishops;' his publications were passing rapidly through editions, each larger than its predecessor: his school, ably and zealously conducted by youths trained under his own eye, and imbued with his own enthusiastic spirit, was forsaken for lectures in all the principal towns of the kingdom, in every part of which he was received with the most marked and flattering attentions from all classes; even the monarch did not disdain to admit him, uncovered to his presence, but sustained, encouraged and applauded him. The interview which took place at Weymouth in 1805, is described by Mr. Corston, and is too characteristic to be omitted.

'On entering the royal presence, the king said:—'Lancaster, I have sent for you to give me an account of your System of Education, which I hear has met with opposition. One master teach five hundred children at the same time! How do you keep them in order, Lancaster?' Lancaster replied, 'Please thy majesty, by the same principle thy majesty's army is kept in order—by the word of command.' His majesty replied, 'Good, good; it does not require an aged general to give the command—one of young years can do it.' Lancaster observed, that in his schools, the teaching branch was performed by youths who acted as young monitors. The king assented, and said, 'Good.' Lancaster then described his system; and he informed me, that they all paid great attention, and were highly delighted, and as soon as he had finished, his majesty said:—'Lancaster, I highly approve of your system, and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the bible; I will do any thing you wish to promote this object.' 'Please thy majesty,' said Lancaster; 'if the system meets thy majesty's approbation, I can go through the country and lecture on the system, and have no doubt, but in a few months, I shall be able to give thy majesty an account where ten thousand poor children are being educated, and some of my youths instructing them.' His majesty immediately replied:—'Lancaster, I will subscribe £100 annually; and,' addressing the queen, 'you shall subscribe £50, Charlotte; and the princesses, £25 each; and then added, 'Lancaster, you may have the money directly.' Lancaster observed:—'Please thy majesty, that will be setting thy nobles a good example.' The royal party appeared to smile at this observation; but the Queen observed to his majesty—'How cruel it is that enemies should be found who endeavour to hinder his progress in so good a work.' To which the king replied:—'Charlotte, a good man seeks his reward in the world to come.' Joseph then withdrew.

At this time money appeared to him to be flowing in, in a perpetual stream. Unaccustomed to its management, and ignorant of its value, he expended it with thoughtless profusion, if not with sinful extravagance. He was, in fact, at this period in so high a state of excitement as to be totally unfit to manage his pecuniary affairs. 'The day after to-morrow,' he writes from the country to a friend, 'is my birth-day. I am nine and twenty. I wish *all my children* to have a plumb-pudding and roast beef; do order it for them, and spend a happy hour in the evening with them, as thou didst this time last year, in my absence in Ireland; *furnish them with money*, and when the good Samaritan comes again he will repay thee.' And so he went on. Yet, as might be expected, not without many severe trials and struggles. A faithful and valued friend, still living, who never forsook him either in evil report or good report, and to whom he was largely indebted through life for pecuniary aid, has related to us his own singular introduction to him, which took place about this time. Having heard of Lancaster and his system, he says:—'I called at his school to inquire about the training of a teacher, and after some conversation relating to the necessary arrangements for the man's attendance, I slipped a ten-pound note into his hand as an acknowledgment of my obligations. What was my astonishment to see this quiet man, with whom I had a moment before been calmly conversing, at once turn pale, tremble, stand fixed as a statue, and then, flinging himself upon my shoulder, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, 'Friend, thou knewest it not, but God hath sent thee to keep me from a gaol, and to preserve my system from ruin!'

And this was the state in which he lived for years,—excited, enthusiastic, the creature of impulse and passion,—his zeal 'eating him up,' his judgment weak and oftentimes perverted. His letters to his friend Corston, without doubt, faithfully reveal the 'inner man,' and they are always excited, imaginative, and passionate, sometimes enlivened by a tinge of humour oddly contrasting with depression and melancholy. The alternations of hope and fear in his mind are here seen to be rapid and powerful. Yesterday, 'bile, fatigue and grief overwhelm' him; to day, he has 'the valley of Achor for a door of hope.' At one time, the 'iron hand of affliction and sorrow is upon him,' and he is 'throwing himself at the footstool of his Saviour and his God, pleading his promises, pleading his fulness, pleading his wants, and *there* resolving to succeed or perish.' At another time, he is exalted, 'telling the high and mighty ones that the decree of heaven hath gone forth, that the poor youth of these nations shall be educated, and it is out of the power of man to

reverse it.' One day, he is 'peaceful and resigned,' feeling that he is 'sent into the world to do and to suffer the will of God,' and welcoming 'sufferings and the cross as the path the Saviour trod.' The next, he is shouting 'victory, victory, the enemies are amazed and confounded; the stout-hearted are spoiled; they have slept their sleep; none of the men of might have found their hands; the Lord hath cast the horse and his rider into a deep sleep.'

To his enthusiastic and imaginative temperament things innumerable present themselves as 'signal interferences.' He 'wonders at Providence' every step he takes. His friends will see 'wonders next spring.' The invisible power of God goes through him 'far more sensibly than the circulation of blood through his veins.' He is at Dover, and after attending two public meetings on education, holds a private conference with a select party; serious conversation takes place; 'a solemn covering' comes over them,—'it seemed a power almost apostolic.' After standing an hour amongst them, he closes with solemn prayer, 'going boldly to the throne of grace in the sacred and powerful name of Jesus.' He carries the same spirit into the world with him, and applies it, without discrimination, to his pecuniary circumstances. He is pressed for money, but he cannot believe that, 'if the Almighty has designed the education of the poor of London, a few poor pitiless creditors can prevent it;' only let the eyes of his friends be opened, and they will see 'the mountain full of horses of fire, and of chariots of fire, round about Elijah.' He is in 'watch and ward' arrested for debt, and in a spunging-house; he has been there three days, and no one has been to see him; but he is 'as happy as Joseph was in the king's prison in Egypt.' Corston visits him, and stays an hour or two with him. 'After my departure,' he says:—

'He rang for the sheriff's officer, to take him to the Bench; but obtained leave to call at home on their way thither. When he got home, his wife and child, and all his young monitors, were assembled, overwhelmed with grief because he was going to prison. After being with them a little, he opened the parlour door, and said to the man, 'Friend, when I am at home, I read the scriptures to my family, hast thou any objection to come in?' He replied, 'No, sir,' and went in. After he had read a chapter or two, he went to prayer. The man soon became deeply affected, and joined the common grief. After prayer the man returned into the other room, and Joseph in a few minutes said to him, 'Now, friend, I am ready for thee.' They had not gone many paces from the door, when the man said, 'Sir, have you got no friend to be bound for you for this debt?' Joseph replied, 'No, I have tried them all.' 'Well,' replied the man, 'then I'll be bound for you myself, for you are an

honest man, I know' He surrendered him at the King's Bench and they took his security for the debt. About ten o'clock the next morning, he came jumping into my warehouse, Ludgate Hill, saying, 'Ah, friend William, did I not tell thee that thou wast not to assist me this time?'—pp. 35, 36.

This arrest brought matters to a crisis. A friendly docket was struck against him, and his creditors were called together. The result was, that in 1808 his affairs were transferred to trustees,—a fixed sum was allowed for his private expenses—a correct account of all receipts and expenditure was for the first time kept; and shortly after an association was formed, originally entitled 'the Royal Lancasterian Institution for promoting the Education of the Children of the Poor,' and subsequently, for the sake of greater simplicity, comprehension, and brevity,—the BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

We now revert for a few moments to Dr. Bell. During the period to which we have been referring, the Doctor was by no means an idle or unconcerned spectator. In November 1805, Mrs. Trimmer had published her pamphlet entitled 'A comparative View of the new Plan of Education promulgated by Mr. Joseph Lancaster, and of the System of Christian Education founded by our pious Forefathers.' In this work she considers, that a national system of education ought to be 'built on the Church Catechism;' and expresses her opinion although without, or rather *in spite of evidence*, that *under the name of the leading principles of christianity*, Mr. Lancaster builds on the basis of morality alone. She regards the first as 'teaching duties,' the latter as 'creating habits:' the one, (the Church Catechism) as 'calculated'—we are at a loss to conceive how—'to regulate the passions and subdue the evil propensities of the youthful heart;' 'the other,' (the leading principles of christianity,) 'in some things cherishing and indulging the passions beyond due bounds.' The more she looks into Lancaster's works, 'the worse opinion' she has 'of his views and intentions.' It is 'a great satisfaction' to her 'to find that he is attacked from another quarter.' Her 'fear' is, that 'the methodists will make great advantage by the plan.' She is told 'by a lady who visited the school last summer that there were thirteen of the principal methodist preachers of London there that day;' with much more in the same strain. Dr. Bell writes to her, observing very sensibly, that there was but one way in which Lancaster's efforts could be effectually checked, and that was by doing something themselves. Every letter from Mrs. Trimmer now brings him some new information, and he urges her to write constantly and unreservedly to him. She responds, by

rejoicing, that 'through the well-directed zeal of an excellent friend,' the 'arrogant quaker' has been disappointed in his attempt to set up a school at Windsor, and she has 'every reason to think that all which he included under the term royal patronage will be in future discontinued.' The 'dignitaries of the church also,' she informs him, 'even the highest, are fully convinced of the danger of the plan of forming the children of the lower orders into one organized body, and have consulted together concerning the measures which it may be proper to employ to prevent its taking effect.'

Dr. Bell now turned his thoughts towards leaving Swanage, and accordingly wrote to Mr. Calcraft, 'requesting his influence in favour of his either exchanging Swanage for some preferment more eligibly situated, or of some other arrangement whereby he might be enabled to render his services more available to the cause of education.' He also addressed a circular to certain members of the government, stating his wish to have some 'official post,' whence he might be enabled to 'rear in Europe the fabric' of which he had 'laid the foundation in India.' 'It was my official situation of minister of St. Mary's, at Madras, and chaplain of Fort St. George, &c.,' he says, 'that gave weight and influence to my gratuitous services in the organization and superintendence of the male asylum; and I now make a tender of my gratuitous services in favour of any public institution where government may deem them useful.'

No notice appears to have been taken of this application, and from this time till the year 1811 the work dragged heavily. In vain did Dr. Bell write,—'it cannot be dissembled that thousands, in various parts of the kingdom, are drawn off from the church by the superior attention paid to education out of the church,'—in vain did he visit bishops and archbishops, giving on one occasion 2,000 copies of his 'Experiment on Education' to the Archbishop of Canterbury for distribution among his clergy;—with the exception of being called upon to re-organize the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, and to introduce his system into a few other schools, nothing effectual was done. Prevailing distrust, if not absolute dread of education, paralyzed every effort, and effectually checked any well-organized movement in its favour. Southey boldly asserts, that the heads of the church did their duty at last, not because they were persuaded to it, but because they were 'frightened and shamed into it by the Dragon.*'

The extent to which this feeling prevailed, may be surmised from the fact, that Dr. Bell so far yielded to it, as to insert in the third edition of his 'experiment,' the following paragraph:—

* Lancaster. An educational caricature was at this time exhibiting, called 'Bel and the Dragon.'

‘It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, *or even taught to write and to cypher*. Parents will always be found to educate at their own expense, children enow to fill the stations which require higher qualifications, and there is a risk of elevating by an indiscriminate education the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot.’

Thus far is given by the editor, who kindly does his best to deliver the Doctor out of the inconsistency into which he had fallen, and which had justly exposed him to the taunt of being an advocate for the universal *limitation* of knowledge. But Dr. Bell went further than this. He stooped to sneer at ‘utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge,’ which, he said, ‘would soon realize the fable of the belly and the other members of the body; and confound that distinction of ranks and classes in society on which the general welfare hinges, and the happiness of the lower orders, no less than that of the higher, depends.’ This was pitiful, from a man who at other times professed such zeal for education. What right had he afterwards to complain that the names of Mandeville and Bell were associated, when he had thus gravely argued that the children of the labouring classes were to have ignorance, which Shakspeare calls ‘the curse of God,’ rivetted upon them because their parents subsisted by daily labour? The following is from a letter to him by Mr. Coleridge, under date of the 15th of April, 1808, and apparently written with reference to the false position he had now assumed. It is worthy of that venerable man, and adds another proof to the many already extant, that those were right who always held him to be infinitely superior to the party with which he was associated.

‘I confess that I seem to perceive some little of an effect produced by talking with *objectors*, with men who, to a man like you, are far, far more pernicious than avowed antagonists. Men who are actuated by fear and perpetual suspicion of human nature, and who regard their poor brethren as possible highwaymen, burglars, or Parisian revolutionists, (which includes all evil in one,) and who, if God gave them grace to know their own hearts, would find that even the little good they are willing to assist proceeds from fear, from a momentary variation of the balance of probabilities, which happened to be in favour of letting their brethren know, just enough to keep them from the gallows. O, dear Dr. Bell, you are a great man! Never, never permit minds so inferior to your own, however high their artificial rank may be, to induce you to pare away *an atom* of what you know to be right. The sin that besets a truly good man is, that, naturally desiring to see instantly done what he knows will be eminently useful to his fellow-beings, he sometimes will consent to sacrifice a part, in order to realize in a given spot, (to con-

struct, as the mathematicians say,) his idea in a given diagram. But yours is for the world—for all mankind; and all your opposers might, with as good chance of success, stop the half moon from becoming full; all they can do is, a little to retard it. Pardon, dear sir, a great liberty taken with you, but one which my heart and sincere reverence for you impelled. As the apostle said, Rejoice! so I say to you, *hope!* From hope,—faith, and love, all that is good, all that is great, all lovely and ‘honourable things’ proceed. From fear,—distrust, and the spirit of compromise—all that that is evil.’

During this year (1808) Dr. Bell succeeded in exchanging the living of Swanage for the mastership of Sherburn Hospital, valued at about £1200 a-year, and, as residence was not required, he took a house in London. Here he remained in tolerable quiet until the year 1811, when the formation of the Diocesan Societies, and soon after of the National Society, took place.

The immediate cause of this latter and more important movement was, a sermon preached in St. Pauls’, at the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity schools of London, by the Rev. Dr. Marsh; in which, after maintaining that all national education ought to be conducted on ‘the principle of the religion by law established,’ he attacks Lancaster’s method as a *dissenting plan*, and urges the association of churchmen with churchmen, ‘in order to retain the faithful band’ who are still disposed to ‘rally’ round the church.

On the 16th of October (1811), THE NATIONAL SOCIETY was constituted, and, after some opposition on the part of the Bishop of London, Dr. Bell was elected an honorary member of the general committee, and thus in fact installed as director general of the institution. Whether Dr. Bell’s liberality of sentiment on some points was, or was not the cause of this opposition does not appear, but it is gratifying to find him in a letter to Mr. Southey saying, ‘I am free to confess that I think we should draw the children to church by cords of love, and not drag them by chains of iron. But in this opinion I differ from many of the wisest and best men.’ Southey, too, has some admirable observations on this subject. ‘The children should be *allowed*,’ he says, ‘to accompany the master to church, not *required* to do it; and this not merely for the sake of the orthodox dissenters (to whom, however, it ought to be allowed,) but because *it is better that they should go with their parents*, than with their schoolfellows and their master. In the one case, example is as likely to be mischievous, as it is sure to be beneficial in the other. Everyone will understand this who recollects with what different feelings the church service impressed him, when he attended in his own parish church by his

mother's side, and when he went among a drove of school-boys.' Intolerance, however, gained the day, and 'chains of iron' were judged to be more efficacious in promoting church going, than 'cords of love.'

From this time until his decease, a period of above twenty years, the life of Dr. Bell blends with the progress of the National Society and of its schools. To the service of that society he devoted himself with unwearied zeal and assiduity, travelling extensively on its behalf, and labouring for the diffusion of his system with untiring energy. The crowded meetings of the British and Foreign School Society appear occasionally to have carried both astonishment and dismay into the more orthodox camp, but on the whole, things went on quietly. In the month of January (1818) the Doctor was presented to a stall, 'of good value,' in Hereford Cathedral, which he subsequently exchanged for one in Westminster abbey, valued at £1100 a year; 'the rich preferments,' he says, 'which all my brethren enjoy, being shut against me,' at Hereford. In soliciting this exchange through the interest of the Bishop of Durham, he modestly says,—'If unexampled and *disinterested* services to the crown, to the church, and to the state, entitle a man to the notice and the favour of the minister, I shall not be afraid to put my claim in competition with that of any other man. If sacrifices made, odium incurred, and successful struggles encountered in their behalf, and *without their support or protection*, give pretensions, mine have not been wanting to a degree that few will believe.' This letter displeased the bishop, as well it might, and he returned no answer. But Dr. Bell was not to be so easily put aside. At no period of his life had he ever lost any thing for want of solicitation, nor did he now withdraw his claim because others might imagine that he took too high a view of his own merits. He steadily persevered, and his wishes were ultimately acceded to.

The same year that brought Dr. Bell 'the stall of good value,' saw his less favoured rival an exile, never to return, on the shores of America.

Lancaster's affairs were indeed transferred to trustees, but the man remained unchanged. He was still the victim of his impulses. The excitement of his mind never subsided. The repression of his extravagance was to him an intolerable interference. One by one he quarrelled with his friends; then separated himself from the institution he had founded; commenced a private boarding school at Tooting; became still more deeply involved; went through the Gazette; and finally, wearied with strife and sorrow, sailed in the year 1818 for the new world.

For the few subsequent notices of his life and character we are indebted to a manuscript communication from himself which has been kindly placed in our hands in order to enable us to complete the sketch we have undertaken.

On his arrival in the States he was everywhere welcomed and honoured as the friend of learning and of man. His lectures were numerous attended, and, for a time, all appeared to go well with him. But his popularity rapidly decayed. Rumours of debt and of discreditable pecuniary transactions in England, soon followed him; sickness, severe and long continued, wasted his family; and poverty, with her long train of ills, overtook him. Under these circumstances he was advised to try a warmer climate, and an opening having presented itself in Caraccas, he was assisted by his friends to proceed thither. He went with his son-in-law and daughter (who afterwards settled in Mexico), and, to use his own words, 'was kindly received,—promised great things, honoured with the performance of little ones,' and—after expressing, in no measured terms, his indignation at the breach of all the promises made to him,—was glad to leave his family, and escape with his life. This was accomplished by a hasty flight into the interior, from whence he subsequently reached the sea shore, and embarked in a British vessel bound for St. Thomas.

During his stay in Caraccas he had entered a second time into the marriage state, and his account of the performance of the ceremony is curious, as being probably the only instance yet on record, of a quaker wedding in South America.

The party met in Lancaster's school-room. At the time appointed General Bolivar with his leading officers and a large party of gentry and merchants assembled. 'Bolivar's suite,' he says, 'were extremely puzzled at the large maps, some busying themselves with looking for Caraccas in Asia and in Africa. The ceremony commenced by the whole party being requested to sit in silence. After a time this was broken by a notary, reciting the names and connexions of the parties, and proclaiming that each had promised, in the fear of God, to take the other 'for better or worse, for richer or poorer,' and so on. The witnesses set their hands and seals to the contract,—Bolivar signified his approval, and the marriage was regarded by all parties as binding.

After a short stay at Santa Cruz and St. Thomas, where again his lectures were attended by the governor and the gentry of the island, he returned to Philadelphia. Again sickness overtook him, and poverty, and much sorrow. In miserable lodgings, with an apparently dying wife, pinched by want, and pressed hard by difficulties of every kind, he appealed to the

benevolent, and in addition to other aid, obtained a vote of 500 dollars from the corporation of New York. This enabled him to take a small house, and to recover strength.

He now determined to return to England, and all but agreed for his passage, when circumstances induced him to return through Canada. On his arrival at Montreal he commenced his lectures, and again for a time floated along the stream of popular favour. His worldly circumstances improved, and he determined to give up the thought of returning to England, and to settle in Canada. After a time, and probably through his own folly, he again sank, and then opened a private school for subsistence. In this school room he held 'silent meetings' on 'first days,' sitting alone, while his wife and family were gone to church. 'Here,' he touchingly says, 'I sometimes found the chief things of the ancient mountains, and the precious things of the everlasting hills resting indeed on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him who was separated from his brethren,' by distance,—by faults,—by circumstances—and by the just but iron hand* of discipline. I longed again and again to come more and more under the purifying and baptizing power of the truth which had been the dew of my youth, and the hope of all my life in its best moments, whether of sorrow or of joy.'

The last letter received from him was addressed to Mr. Corston, from New York, and dated 21st of 9th month, 1838. He was then in the enjoyment of an annuity which had been raised for him in England, chiefly by the exertions of the friend to whom we have already referred. His mind at this time was evidently as wild as ever, and his energies unbroken. He is still ready to undertake 'to teach ten thousand children in different schools, not knowing their letters, all to read fluently in three weeks to three months.' The 'fire that kindled Elijah's sacrifice,' has kindled his, and 'all true Israelites' will, in time, see it. And so he runs on.

But his career was rapidly drawing to a close. He had fully resolved on a voyage to England; but about a week before the affecting accident occurred which occasioned his death, he expressed some doubts on the subject, saying, 'He knew not the reason, but he could not see his way clear in leaving America.'

On the 23rd of October, 1838, he was run over in the streets of New York; his ribs were broken, and his head very much lacerated. He was immediately taken to the house of a friend, where he died 'without a struggle, in the fifty-first year of his age.'

* He had been disowned by 'the Friends' chiefly on account of his irregularities in money matters.

In 1830 the health of Dr. Bell decidedly failed; and in 1831 Sir Benjamin Brodie stated his agreement with Dr. Newell in the opinion, that the nerves of the larynx were in a degree paralytic, as well as the organs of deglutition. His mind was, however, in full vigour, and his vanity as rampant as ever. 'His money,' says his biographer, 'was now a burden to him.' After changing his mind again and again as to its disposal, he at length suddenly transferred £120,000 to trustees at St. Andrews for a projected college. He then wrote to Dr. Southey, requesting that he and Mr. Wordsworth would edit his works, and begging their acceptance of £2,000, and all expenses paid, and the expenses of those they might employ. Southey accepts the trust, and incidentally refers to his own declining strength. 'I am old enough myself' he says, 'to have the end of my journey in view, and to feel what a blessing it will be to escape from the cares of this world, throw off the burden of human infirmities, and be united in the kingdom of heaven with those dear ones who have gone before us.'

Dr. Southey very properly urged that as almost all his wealth had come from the church, some of it, at least, ought to *return* to it; and suggested to him a plan for augmenting poor livings. Dr. Bell at first seemed to acquiesce, but soon after altered his opinion. One-twelfth of the amount he had placed in the hands of trustees (£10,000) he subsequently gave to the Royal Naval School, and five other twelfths he transferred to the towns of Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Inverness. His Scotch estates, producing a yearly rental of about £400, he made over to trustees for the purpose of promoting and encouraging the education of youth in Cupar Fife, subject to a miserable annuity of £100 per annum to his sister; £20 annually to six other persons; and £10 to Thomas Clark. His princely donation to St. Andrews proved most unfortunate; it involved him in disputes with the trustees, terminating only with his death, which took place at Cheltenham on the 27th of January, 1832, in the 79th year of his age. His remains were removed to London on the 9th of February, and deposited in Westminster Abbey on the 14th; the highest dignitaries of the church, and other eminent persons, attending as mourners.

The leading features of Dr. Bell's character have been so well portrayed by Mr. Bamford, that we cannot do better than extract from his 'Notes.' He is speaking of him as he appeared to the teachers with whom he constantly came in contact:—

'Acting as general inspector of all the schools united with the society, and anxious for the diffusion of his system, he apparently sacrificed every comfort, by continuing to undergo, in traversing

from school to school, great bodily exertions and great mental excitements. The gratification which he derived from the display of a particular kind of knowledge, from the reception of praise and respect, the tribute due to his discovery and public reputation, encouraged and fed his restless vanity to such a degree, that his feelings, unless relieved by indulgence, would have made him intensely miserable. He had become so accustomed to bustle and change, and to new faces with new admiration, that he could never be happy for any length of time in one place. His fame, too, was spread, and a monument of renown erected by the establishment of every school. The fervour of travelling, and the excitement of fresh company, were necessary to carry off that exuberance of passion which, if not thus spent, would, I think—even if he were alone and in solitude—have accumulated and overflowed in vehement and fiery fits. Food, too, was continually required to nourish those notions of his self-importance which stationary friends, by too great intimacy, might neglect or refuse to gratify. It is true, that disregarding all personal care, and toil, and expense, wherever his services could be useful, however distant the place or unknown the applicants, no self-considerations restrained his zeal, or came into competition with his eager desire to bring his system into public notice and favour, and to keep up its character and reputation with others. In process of time, however, this craving for admiration from diversity of persons increased into a strong and overpowering feeling. It was not surprising, therefore, that he wrought himself into a belief that, as he was signally appointed by Providence to be the means of bringing to light such an instrument for the education of the body of the people, and the consummation of the blessed Reformation, so it was his duty personally to give his assistance whenever it was desired or likely to advance his great object. Still, perhaps, it had been better for himself and the cause in which he was engaged, either to have confined his instructions to fewer places, or to have communicated them with more grace. Previously to his arrival in any town he was, from his public character and his disinterested employment, regarded as highly as his own pretensions could desire ; but a first or second visit most commonly lessened the respect or checked the ardour of those who had given their time and money towards the establishment of the schools, and who found themselves and their labours frequently depreciated, censured, and offended. Many anxious friends of schools, who had welcomed his coming, in the hopes of being assisted and encouraged by the sanction of the discoverer of the system they were patronizing, became disgusted and disheartened, and have now either given up their interest in schools altogether, or only attend in spite of the reflection that he, who should best know and judge impartially, could find nothing to commend in their exertions. I do not mean to say that he found fault where there was no reason ; but his manner of examining schools, and addressing visitors and masters, was in general so opposite to the courteous and complacent behaviour by which great men become beloved, that many

unkind feelings have been excited against him which he might very easily not only have prevented, but in their place have established unalloyed admiration. Instead of delivering his instructions and making his remarks in a gentlemanly and conciliatory mode, so as to gain upon adult masters by his suavity, his personal behaviour was such that he was almost universally dreaded and disliked. His treatment of them in their schools, in the presence of their pupils, was frequently calculated to create any other sentiments than respect and attention. His conduct not only at the time alienated them from him, but it created a dislike which embittered and rendered heartless all their subsequent endeavours. It might be commonly true that there was ground for his observations; but his style of talking to them, and his remarks, with a kind of boundless rage and bluster, were, in their estimation, not only unkind and unnecessary, but vexatious and oppressive. These were evils which, in a great measure, he might have avoided, without exhibiting less earnestness or producing less benefits; besides, clothed as he was with authority, the tyranny was the more galling.'

His passion for money was inordinate, and it deservedly brought upon him, especially in his management of Sherburn Hospital, annoyance and obloquy. His views of human nature were affected by this propensity, and were consequently low and mean:—

'He regarded money as the *primum mobile*, and only efficient stimulant in the world. He excited masters by a negative kind of threat. He did not say, 'Do this, and you shall have so much beyond your regular and fixed salary:' which at best might be barely sufficient to command the necessaries of life—but, 'Do this, or you shall be mulcted, or lose your situation.' He would have had all the masters under such an arbitrary kind of control, that if the school did not weekly and monthly increase in numbers, and order, and attendance, and improve in progress, the masters should be subject to weekly and monthly fines, and be paid according to the periodical state of the school. 'I can do more,' said he to the Archbishop of Canterbury, taking a half-crown out of his pocket, 'I can do more with this half-crown than you can do with all your fixed salaries.'

His treatment of Mr. Bamford shows how well he understood the art of managing men for selfish ends, and how unscrupulously he practised it:—

'In his treatment of me,' says that gentleman, 'he exercised that mixture of severity and apparent good-will which, however at times unpleasant to my feelings, had so much influence over me, that I adhered to him most exclusively; and as he impressed upon me, looked upon all others who spoke kindly to me, or wished me to seek some relaxation, as insidious enemies. He professed to have no other object in view but my good; and by opening mysteriously to me the power of future patronage, with the necessity of implicit re-

liance, I was encouraged to expect a reward proportionate to any exertions I should make, however laborious or supererogatory. To him, therefore, I devoted myself. He found me docile, tractable, affectionate, and without guile or suspicion. He wished to train me up in that exclusive attachment to him and his pursuits, which rendered me a useful and necessary instrument for his present purposes, and which would prepare me for any future operations. He, therefore, exacted of me the prostration of the intellect, the affections, and the actions. All were to be at his disposal. Private views, and opinions, and friends, were to be discarded; and with a pure admiration and dependence, I yielded myself solely and wholly to his will. Severe and hard to endure was this course of discipline. He soon found that with the more gentle qualities of my nature, there were also united a warmth and impetuosity of temper, with a pride of spirit, which could be with pleasure led by gentleness, but which was fretted and wounded by harshness. But what could the vain ebullitions of youth avail against the cool and practised aims of age? By raising expectations without directly promising—by manifesting a parental care for my welfare, by professing sincere regard, by holding up inducements and future advancement, by candidly and honestly telling me my faults, by an air of the strictest justice, by enforcing unequivocal veracity, and every moral virtue, with a rigid industry, he bent and warped my mind to such a degree, that all my powers, and thoughts, and sentiments, were employed exclusively to please him, and fulfil his directions. I viewed nothing in the world but through the speculum he presented. Of himself he gave me a picture which I loved. He represented himself as delighted with truth, a lover of candour, the patron of merit; and he signaled me out as his little Lake boy, his protégée, nay, as his son, whom he regarded and trained up as his own. This, notwithstanding the many bitter moments of discipline which were used to try me, could not but gain upon such a heart as mine, particularly so inexperienced a one.

He never appears to have lived happily with his wife, and in June, 1815, a regular deed of separation was drawn up and finally executed. He nowhere exhibits *amiability* of character. Few, if any, loved him.

His vanity was prodigious: sometimes it is hateful, sometimes amusing. Mr. Davies, his amanuensis, whom he would keep employed for months together almost night and day, apparently regardless of his health or comfort, having on one occasion written to him an account of the progress he was making in the wearisome task assigned him of compiling from an immense mass of papers a complete edition of all the doctor's works, receives the following consolation:—‘Go on. *You must be well aware how instructive, how exceedingly instructive* your present task is to you, and must still further be when I come to criticise and correct all you shall do.’ Davies writes that he is

at work from six in the morning till ten at night; to which the doctor replies: 'You must work, not as I have done, for that I do not expect, but as you can. *Your labours in no other way can be so profitable to the world, or so improving to yourself.*'

Mr. Bamford's account is equally ludicrous.

'He triumphantly displayed the mighty advantages with which I was favoured in being allowed to copy and transcribe, from little scraps of paper and backs of letters, the chaotic effusions of his ardent mind. 'This was real training, far better than being at the university; and nobody knew where it might end, or what you may come to, if you give yourself up to this thing.' He would remark, after he tried my fidelity,—'Now you know all my concerns; other people require oaths of secrecy; no man engages a common clerk, without having security for his faithfulness; but here I allow you to see my papers, and trust only to your honour. Though I do not ask you to swear, yet I expect that you will consider yourself as fully bound, as if you were sworn to secrecy.'

In this respect alone,—the attaching of vast importance to supposed discoveries in education,—Lancaster resembled him. *He*, too, had his 'mysteries,' known only to the initiated. He, too, was a moral spectacle, and a wonder to himself. If Bell 'wielded one of the most stupendous engines' known 'since the days of our Saviour and his apostles,' Lancaster was not a whit behind in celebrity. He could instruct 'a thousand children at the same time out of one book;'—his 'youngest pupil could teach arithmetic with the certainty of a mathematician without knowing anything about it himself,' and by these 'wonderful inventions' the world was to be regenerated. If Bell 'attached an overweening importance to trifles, and insisted with vehemence on all his notions being adopted,' Lancaster, (we were about to say,) outdid him,—but that was impossible,—in this species of extravagance. Yet his boasted methods of punishment were radically bad, and have long since been abandoned as degrading and mischievous; and his system of rewards, including 'badges of merit,' 'orders' of merit, chains, medals, and expensive prizes,—scarcely less objectionable, have shared the same fate. Time has already set its seal upon the doings of *both* these men, and judgment has long since gone forth. But how different is the verdict to that which they so fondly anticipated. On all the *peculiarities* in which they gloried, men already pour contempt. The *monitorial* principle survives; but the trappings with which they encumbered it have long since proved worthless. Their pride is in the dust; their ambition, a vain show. Posterity will remember them rather as party leaders than as inventors or philanthropists, and succeeding generations will honour their zeal, their energy, and their per-

severance under difficulties, rather than their wisdom, their genius, or their modesty.

The *diversities* of character in the two men were many and striking. Lancaster, through his whole course, is the religious enthusiast; Bell, from youth to age, is distinguished by worldly-minded prudence. While the one is burning with desire to teach the blacks to read the bible; the other is quietly earning a reputation for sobriety and circumspection. When Lancaster is 'frequenting the meetings of Friends, and sacrificing worldly prospects to obtain inward peace,' Bell, is fighting a duel, and preparing to take orders in the church. While the unworldly quaker is exclaiming, 'I don't want a stock of money, I only want a stock of faith;' the 'disinterested' churchman is insatiate in his lust after place and preferment. While the one, generous to a fault and benevolent to a weakness, is complaining that his 'soul succumbs under the burden when he sees hearts breaking under distress' and he 'cannot or dare not help them;' the other, careful, and a little covetous withal, is pinching the 'brethren,' and bringing upon himself a visitation from the bishop. Both are proud; but with this difference,—Lancaster is arrogant, Bell, vain. Both are self-worshippers, 'the eye' of each is 'ever on himself,' but the result is not the same: in the one, self-complacency *destroys love*; in the other, it produces something like insanity. Under its influence, Lancaster, always generous and fervid, becomes habitually wasteful and flighty; Bell, with a natural tendency to be hard and grasping, becomes as habitually selfish and morose,—'of the earth, and earthy.'

In contemplating Dr. Bell as a beneficed clergyman, the mind is painfully affected in discovering no evidence whatever of spirituality of heart. He is always 'high and dry.' He has evidently more faith in natural philosophy, than in the gospel as a means of evangelizing India. Principal M'Cormick writes expressing distrust of the 'well-meaning but ill-judging patrons of plans for the conversion of Gentoos, and ridicules the idea of attempting to teach christianity to the natives of Bengal by 'preaching its doctrines *slap-dash*;' and faithless Dr. Bell, instead of rebuking his scepticism, replies, that without the power of working miracles '*none can ever* throw down the barriers which enclose their sacred shrines, or gain any converts whom a rational divine or pious christian, who sets any value on a good life, would not blush to own.'

His theology, too, is more than questionable. He understands by our Saviour's declaration, that we must become 'little children' in order to 'enter the kingdom of heaven,' that, 'among children, and from them, and by becoming as one of

them, we are to learn those simple doctrines of nature and truth, *innate in them*, or which readily occur to their minds, as yet unbiassed by authority, prejudice, or custom.' And he calls this the 'school of nature and truth pointed out by the Son of God.' We are by no means disposed to make any man an offender for a word, but we cannot help observing, that if Lancaster had expressed himself so incautiously, the friends of Dr. Bell would have eagerly seized upon the passage as conclusive evidence of a socinianized mind.

Lancaster had his theological heresies, but they are of a totally different complexion. *His* perversions of scripture are all mystical, and it is curious to observe how they blend with his burning temperament. He is an 'Elijah,' a 'chosen vessel,' a David before Goliath—a Joshua before Jericho. Imaginative and excitable, he is *always* on fire; Bell, very rarely, except when defending 'his system.' The former often manifests heat without light; but the latter, as a christian, never warms—all is cold as death. Coleridge, in one of his letters to Bell, unconsciously reads his friend a lesson when he observes, 'A man who has nothing better than prudence is fit for no world to come;' he might have had poor Lancaster in his eye when he added, 'and he who does not possess it in full activity is as unfit for the present world.' Both might have profited by his conclusion. 'What then shall we say? Have both prudence and the moral sense, but subordinate the former to the latter; and so possess the flexibility and address of the serpent, to glide through the brakes and jungles of this life, with the wings of a dove to carry us upward to a better.'

Lancaster's lack of prudence was happily supplied by a little band of men, now all gone to their reward, who, at great personal sacrifice, nobly came forward in the hour of need, and saved the schools he had established from utter and irremediable ruin. On two or three of these departed worthies we must bestow a passing notice.

WILLIAM CORSTON, the simple-minded author of the 'Brief Sketch,' to which we have been so largely indebted, was once well known as the party who introduced into this country the manufacture of British Leghorn. Having shown that instead of being imported as heretofore from Italy and France, it might be manufactured by our own poor, he opened a warehouse for its sale on Ludgate Hill. The discovery attracted much notice. The 'Society of Arts' pronounced the invention a national benefit, and rewarded the inventor with a gold medal. The 'Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor,' also noticed

this valuable branch of manufacture in their reports. After many vicissitudes, some of which obliged him more than once, to compound with his creditors, he eventually succeeded in his undertaking, and after a long and laborious life, retired on a small property to his native village of Fincham in Norfolk, where, at a very early period of his career he had established a school for poor children. It is due to this good and honourable man to state, that after emerging from pecuniary difficulties he called his creditors together, and with rare probity paid every debt in full.

William Corston was a Moravian by religious profession, a man of tender spirit and of warm affections. We have often heard him relate with brimming eyes the circumstance which first led him to take so deep an interest in the education of poor children. 'I was going,' he used to say, 'when I was about twenty years of age through Butt Lane, Deptford, when I heard voices singing, and looking up, saw a board on which was inscribed, 'To the glory of God and the benefit of poor children. This school was erected by Dean Stanhope.' I stood looking and musing upon it, when the voices of the children so affected me that tears flowed down my cheeks, and the prayer immediately arose in my heart, O! that it may please God that I may have it in my power one day to build a school like this for poor children!'

* He accomplished his object, and the school still stands, bearing the same inscription—'To the glory of God and the benefit of poor children.'

Lancaster never had a more attached friend than this good Samaritan. In all his trials we find him pouring his sorrows into the sympathizing bosom of the man whom he delights to call his 'friend,' his 'fellow labourer,' his 'brother,' his 'best beloved and faithful one,'—and he never appeals in vain. In later years, Mr. Corston spent most of his time at Fincham, where he died on the 25th of May, 1843, in the 84th year of his age.

JOSEPH FOX, to whom Lancaster was introduced in 1807, was a medical man, not less eminent for his professional skill, than for his extensive and diversified benevolence. He was, like Corston, a man of quick feelings and of sensitive nature. In religious sentiment he was either an independent or a baptist, we are not sure which. Fox, while at Dover, was taken by the late Sir John Jackson, with whom he was residing, to hear Lancaster lecture, and such was the effect produced upon him by the fervid oratory of the speaker, that at the conclusion of the lecture he

* By some unaccountable mistake Mr. Southey has attributed this incident to Lancaster, and made him the straw-plait manufacturer.

rose, and with the greatest emotion and solemnity exclaimed, 'Were I to hold my peace, after what I have now heard and experienced, the stones might cry out against me.' His heart and hand were from this moment truly devoted to the work.

On his return to London, it was agreed that he should meet Lancaster to dinner at Ludgate Hill, and Mr. Corston thus describes the interview.

'After dinner, our first subject was the debt. 'Well, Joseph,' said Mr. Fox, 'what do you owe now? Do you owe a thousand pounds?' He only replied, 'Yes!' After a little time, he asked, 'Do you owe *two* thousand pounds?' A significant pause ensued. Joseph again replied 'Yes.' The third time he inquired, with increased earnestness, affectionately tapping him on the shoulder, 'Do you owe *three* thousand pounds?' Joseph burst into tears. 'You must ask William Corston,' said he. He knows better what I owe, than I do myself.' Mr. Fox then rising from his seat, and addressing me solemnly, said, 'Sir, I am come to London to see the devil in his worst shape; tell me what he owes.' 'Why, sir,' I replied, 'It is nearer *four* thousand than three.' He returned to his chair, and seemed for some time to be absorbed in prayer—not a word passed from either of us. Mr. Fox at length rose, and addressing me, said, 'Sir, I can do it with your assistance.' I replied, 'I know, sir, that God has sent you to help us; and all that I can do is at your command.' He rejoined, 'I can only at present, lay my hand upon two thousand pounds. Will you accept all the bills I draw upon you? and every one shall have twenty shillings in the pound, and interest if they require it.' I replied, 'I will.' We then all instantly rose, and embraced each other like children, shedding tears of affection and joy. 'The cause is saved!' exclaimed Mr. Fox. I replied, 'Yes; and a threefold cord is not easily broke.' Thus, through the gracious and almighty hand of Him, who prospers his own cause, and makes it to triumph over all its enemies and obstacles; thus was the foundation laid for the maintenance of an institution, which was destined to confer the blessing of *christian* education upon millions and millions of mankind.

'We immediately, and with renewed energy, proceeded with the work. Two days after, the bills, forty-four in number, were drawn, accepted, and given to the creditors; and, with gratitude to the Divine goodness, it may be added, that they were all honoured as they became due.

'Soon after this, we were joined by several valuable friends, and on March 1, 1808, a committee was formed, consisting of the following persons:—

'(Their names are given in the order in which they engaged in the work.)

'THOMAS STURGE	WILLIAM ALLEN
WILLIAM CORSTON	JOHN JACKSON
JOSEPH FOX	JOSEPH FOSTER.

‘From this time the accounts were properly kept, the trustees holding themselves responsible to the public. Nevertheless, they were further called upon to advance large sums, from time to time; and for nine years, cheerfully sustained the burden of a debt of £8000.

‘At length, Mr. Whitbread, who attended the committee, observed that it was a *shame* that a benevolent public should let six gentlemen be so far in advance for so long a time; and proposed that a hundred friends should be sought for, who would undertake to subscribe or collect £100 each for the work. In three years this plan proved successful, and in that time was raised £11,040, by which a new school was built, and the establishment greatly enlarged. And in the year 1817 the trustees were exonerated.’—pp. 54—57.

Mr. Fox devoted himself with characteristic energy to the work he had undertaken, and on the formation of the British and Foreign School Society in 1808, he became its secretary; an office which he rendered honourable by his gratuitous but unceasing and unabated labours. He died on the 11th of April, 1816, at the early age of forty years.

The last survivor of this little band was WILLIAM ALLEN, whose recent departure in a good old age, has been noticed in most of the leading periodicals of the day. A few words regarding this venerable philanthropist, must complete the hasty and imperfect sketches on which we have, perhaps, too rashly ventured.

WILLIAM ALLEN, at the period to which we have been referring, was a chemist, carrying on an extensive and lucrative business in Plough Court, Lombard Street, and at the same time delivering a course of lectures at the Royal Institution. Here he had formed friendships with Sir Humphrey Davy and other eminent persons, which ended only with their lives.

In the year 1805 he visited Lancaster’s school in the Borough Road for the first time. He was much struck by what he witnessed,—became a subscriber to the school, and availed himself of every opportunity for drawing attention to its merits. In 1808 he joined Lancaster’s other friends in undertaking the responsibility of his debts, and was for upwards of five and thirty years treasurer to the institution which arose out of his movements.

His life was eminently active and useful. In the year 1818, being then a minister among the Society of Friends, he visited Norway, and from thence proceeded through Stockholm and Finland to St. Petersburg. Here, in conjunction with two other friends he compiled the excellent volume of scripture selections which, in connection with the entire scriptures, has ever

since been used in the schools of the society. This volume was immediately translated and printed in Russia for the use of the schools in that great empire.

After leaving Petersburg, he proceeded through some of the large towns of Russia to the German colonies on the banks of the Dnieper; and thence to Constantinople, Smyrna, Greece, and the Ionian Islands. After a detention at Zante in consequence of serious and protracted illness, he returned home through Italy, Switzerland, and France. In 1822 he again visited the continent of Europe, and at Vienna and Verona among the ministers of the different courts of Europe then assembled, proclaimed the iniquities of the African slave trade, and pleaded the cause of the oppressed Greeks, and of the persecuted Waldenses of Piedmont. For the former he obtained some important privileges, and for the latter he secured increased liberty of conscience.

At home he was well known as an ardent and untiring philanthropist;—in character, unspotted,—in charity, abundant,—in manners, a courtier,—in purity of life, a saint. His latter years were chiefly passed at Lindfield, in Sussex, where he had established schools of industry, and here he died on the 30th of December 1843, in the seventy-third year of his age. His last thoughts were on the love of Christ and on the true unity of a redeemed people; his mind dwelling with lingering affection on the words of Jesus, ‘that they may be with me where I am.’ ‘I in them, and thou in me, that they all may be one in us.’ In the near approach of dissolution a heavenly serenity settled on his countenance: his hands were raised in the attitude of prayer, and then tranquilly rested on his bosom, as the redeemed spirit was gently released from its earthly tenement.

Should his life ever be written,—and it would be an instructive one—the great lesson to be gathered from it would be, the practicability of combining through a long life, the obligations of trade, the pursuits of science, the enjoyments of philanthropy, and the duties of a gospel ministry. We can conceive of nothing better calculated to correct early and ill-directed ambition, to check youthful pride, or to cure unreasonable disgusts, than the observation of so healthful an example, as that of a man whose varied honours were but successive developments of growing character, each appearing in its *appropriate* season, and each bringing with it its suitable reward.

Of the remaining three early friends of Lancaster, only one was known to the writer of this article—JOSEPH FOSTER, an upright and honourable man,—generous, hospitable, sincere, incapable of meanness, and indignant at wrong. He too has

gone to his rest, the only one who has left his name and place in the society occupied by a son.

Of the *political* founders of the institution few now remain. The Dukes of Kent and Sussex, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, Mr. Whitbread, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Horner, Sir James Macintosh, and many others who might be named, are all gone. And Rowland Hill, whose cheerful voice used so often to ring through the committee room, as he led in his retiring but noble-hearted friend John Broadley Wilson, who usually accompanied him from his Friday morning service; and Wilberforce, in a somewhat equivocal position, as an annual subscriber, a vice-president, an eloquent advocate, and yet, according to his sons, a disapprover of the society; and humbler names, a sacramental host, who did good service to the cause in their day and generation, have gone too, leaving the principles they espoused, and the society they established, to be defended, sustained, and preserved for succeeding generations by those who cherish their memory, and occupy their places.

In looking back over the ground we have now traversed, and retracing step by step the progress of popular education, it is melancholy to observe how identical are the accusations brought against the friends of Scriptural and comprehensive education now, with those that were made thirty years ago; and how inevitable is the conclusion—forced upon the mind in spite of efforts to the contrary—that faction, party, secular interests, and sectarianism, have had far more to do with the educational strife of the last half century than any love for ‘Christ’s holy gospel,’ or righteous jealousy for the honour of his word. As far back as 1811 we find Mr. Fox vindicating the institution from the still undying calumny of being favourable to Unitarianism. This ridiculous charge was *originated*, it appears, by Dr. Marsh, in consequence of one of the speakers at a public dinner of the Unitarian Fund having observed, that ‘he looked on the endeavours of Mr. Lancaster in the most favourable point of view, because his enthusiasm was merely directed to education.’ In the ‘vindication,’ Mr. Fox indignantly denies any such tendency, and startles us by stating, that Mr. Lancaster, in order to prove his orthodoxy and fair dealing, had actually printed an edition of the church catechism on three large sheets of paper, that it might become a school lesson, and that *as such*, it was then used in his schools at Canterbury, Cambridge, Lynn, Ipswich, and other places. That such a compromise of principle failed to placate the bigots who opposed him, is certainly by no means to be regretted. Lancaster

saw his error, and fell back upon the great protestant doctrine of the sixth article of the church of England, which declares, that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not found therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'

By the teaching of 'leading and uncontroverted doctrines,' as opposed to 'peculiar religious tenets,' which were to be excluded, Mr. Fox boldly asserts was meant, 'those principles which are received and acknowledged by *every class of christians*, considered as such, *who do not think it idolatry to address worship to Jesus Christ*.' 'This is plain language—it excludes Unitarianism altogether. It does more; it proves that from the very first, *the principle* of the British and Foreign School Society has been, in accordance with its universal practice, not only not to exclude, but positively to introduce, and, as much as possible, to teach in scripture language, those great truths which Unitarians deny, but which have ever been the consolation and joy of all real christians. And yet—such is the power of prejudice, when sectarian purposes have to be subserved—that even within the last twelve months we have heard it asserted in public, by one who ought to have known better, that if evangelical religion be now taught in British Schools it is by a side wind, by a sort of pious fraud, and in opposition to its original constitution! while others, affecting a liberality which they do not feel, lift up sanctimonious eyes, and still timidly express doubts as to the bible being used, or as to religious principle being regarded in the selection of teachers. 'Pharisees,' 'hypocrites,' our Lord would have said to such,—'first take *beams* out of your own eyes, and then shall ye see clearly to take *motes* out of your brother's eyes.' Let the young and ardent take warning in time. Let them beware, ere it be too late, of the *immoralities* of the religious. Let them know that deep as is the guilt involved in the indulgence of dispositions so opposed to the 'gracious image of the Son of Man,' as detraction and slander, these are but the every day enormities of those who stoop to lead sects, and to contend for party. Let them learn early to dread the influences of vulgar praise and conscious power. Let them be assured that the victories even of truth are too dearly purchased, if they are obtained by the loss of candour or at the cost of charity.

Poor Lancaster, who had often occasion to join with the Psalmist and pray—'Deliver my soul, O Lord, from *lying* lips, and a *deceitful* tongue,' being charged with Deism, once published his 'belief,' and if words have any meaning, it is abundantly satisfactory. We quote it as a curious and almost solitary

instance of Quaker theology thrown into the form of a *crede*. 'I am,' he says 'a firm believer in the divinity of Jesus Christ. I believe that the Holy Scriptures were given by inspiration, and contain in writing the revealed will of God. I believe the doctrine of the fall of man, and the alienation from God consequent on that fall. I believe that there are three that bear record in Heaven; the FATHER, the WORD, and the SPIRIT, and that these three are one. I believe in the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. I know that salvation can only be obtained by the name of Christ, and by the oblation of himself which he made on the cross. I believe THE APOSTLES' CREED to be a just inference from the scriptures, at once excellent, simple, and expressive; but it was not given in its present collective form by inspiration, as the writings of the apostles were; and who can blame me for preferring, as an individual, the inspired writings of the apostle, which contain the substance of the creed in almost every page, and often in a few lines, to any inference therefrom by men, however excellent in their kind? Can such inferences rival the beautiful language of St. John, or the majestic yet simple eloquence of St. Paul?' SOCINIAN, DEIST, INFIDEL! May thy sound faith, and loving heart, inspire us with a large charity for thy many faults and grievous wanderings!

The recent movement of the Wesleyan body, and the formation of 'the Congregational Board of Education,' render it more than ever necessary that the principles of the British and Foreign School Society should be clearly stated and thoroughly understood. On the advantages to be derived from congregational schools, when conducted on comprehensive principles, and on the obligations resting upon churches to do their part in removing the dense mass of ignorance by which they are surrounded, we have long since expressed our opinion. Fifteen years ago we urged their establishment, and we have seen no reason materially to alter the opinions we then expressed. But then, we have always held that congregational schools of this description are, after all, only British schools under another name; and we are now happy to find our judgment in this matter sustained by an official paper of the society, which runs thus:—

'In order to establish a *British School*, it is by no means necessary that different denominations should unite either in its support or management. Such a school may be sustained and governed as legitimately by an individual as by a local committee. It may be carried on in a building attached to, or distinct from, a particular place of worship. It may be exclusively supported by a single congregation, or it may be dependent upon the subscriptions of a

neighbourhood. The committee governing it may all be of one denomination, or they may be of several denominations. The teacher may hold religious opinions in accordance with those of his committee, or he may differ from them. All these varieties of administration are mere accidents. They leave the essential principle of a British school untouched,—that principle being *scriptural instruction without reference to the DENOMINATIONAL INTERESTS of any one particular section of the church.*

‘So long, therefore, as a congregational school is conducted on what may be termed the principle of religious equality,—so long as it imposes no condition adverse to freedom of conscience, or unfavourable to the undisturbed exercise of parental rights, it is, notwithstanding its organization and management, a British school.

‘Whenever it forsakes this ground, by introducing in school hours, and as a part of school business, some catechism or other human formulary peculiar to a denomination,—whenever it so identifies the Sunday school and the day school, as to make attendance on the one essential to continuance in the other,—whenever it in any way perverts benevolent effort for the education of the poor into an engine of sectarian proselytism, it departs (and just in the proportion that it so acts), from the comprehensive principle of the Society, and ceases to be numbered among its schools. It is then a congregational school, on exclusive principles.

To the latter class of congregational schools we decidedly object. Still more emphatically would we protest against the doctrine, now becoming fashionable in quarters where it was once indignantly rejected, that the education of the people is to be committed to the church. We care not whether by ‘the church’ is meant the national establishment, the voluntary churches of dissenters, or both united; we repudiate the principle: it is as hollow as that which maintains that the instruction of the people is the proper care of the government. We are prepared to stand or fall by the sounder doctrine put forth by the British and Foreign School Society.

‘The direction of popular education is the proper duty and inalienable right of the people themselves. It cannot be resigned to the government. It cannot be yielded to the national establishment. It cannot be laid at the feet of the ministers of religion, either of one, or of all denominations. It is not *exclusively* a religious thing. If in one aspect it involves spiritual privilege, in another it as distinctly includes civil right. To possess it is a *secular advantage*. To be deprived of it is to be brought under a *civil disability*.

‘So complex a work will best be promoted by religious men, acting as christian citizens, and representing in their movements principles rather than sects. To abandon education to the rivalry of conflicting denominations, would be to place universally a particular class of civil benefits at the disposal of religious bodies, to be given or withheld at their option.’

Nor is this all:—

‘ By the union of christians of different denominations, on the principles of the Society, the establishment of schools becomes practicable in districts where it would be otherwise impossible to act efficiently ; a wise and equal distribution of the means of education is secured in thickly populated towns and cities ; that unnatural and mischievous competition which so frequently dissipates strength, which reduces the remuneration of the teacher to the lowest point, and which renders any united system of school inspection all but impossible, is always checked and often prevented ; and the temptation to appoint unsuitable teachers, merely for the sake of securing persons of peculiar religious opinions, is to a great extent removed out of the way.

‘ By confining religious instruction to the sacred scriptures, and by inculcating points which unite rather than those which divide real christians, it presents truth to the minds of children in its just proportions ; it avoids the danger of forming sectarian partizans instead of enlightened christians ; and it prevents the growth of mere prejudices, by withholding from the young sentiments and opinions which can have no practical hold either on their intellects or affections. It thus binds together, by common effort, in a common cause, those who are always too prone to separate ; it enables the stronger to assist the weaker, by generously bearing a portion of their burdens ; and by manifesting to the world the identity of christian character, it tends to promote the fulfilment of the Redeemer’s prayer, ‘ that they all may be one.’—p. 22.

While, therefore, we rejoice in the establishment and multiplication of congregational schools, and hail all such efforts as promoting the great and common cause of light against darkness, truth against error, and holiness against sin, we feel still bound to regard the education of the people as a national object, and therefore to be treated, whenever it is practicable, **NATIONALLY** ; that is to say, ‘ with reference to the country rather than to parties, to towns rather than to churches, to districts rather than to congregations.’

In reading the Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold, we have been much struck with the accordance of that eminent person’s sentiments on education with those which we have thought it right to advocate. His whole life, indeed, might be converted into one great argument for the British and Foreign School Society. He is perpetually insisting that ‘ with the exception of Unitarians, all christians have a common ground in all that is essential in christianity ;’ and beyond that he never wishes to go. Yet he is no persecutor. His letter to a parent holding Unitarian opinions is a model of christian integrity and candour.

Far from imagining that children cannot be trained in the fear and love of God without being separated into sects, he disclaims all wish to bias their opinions on unimportant points, and

labours 'to lead them to Christ in true and devoted faith, holding all the scholarship that ever man had, to be infinitely worthless in comparison with even a very humble degree of spiritual advancement.'

But then he had no exaggerated expectations. 'He had faith in what he believed to be a general law of Providence; and he based his whole management on his early formed and yearly-increasing conviction, that what he had to look for both intellectually and morally, was not performance, but promise;' and 'he did not hesitate to apply to his scholars the principle which seemed to him to have been adopted in the training of the childhood of the human race itself. He shrunk from pressing on the consciences of boys rules of action which he felt they were not yet able to bear; and from enforcing actions which, though right in themselves, would in boys be performed from wrong motives.' His aim, indeed, was rather to make christian men than to produce christian boys. He felt that with children school time is *seed* time, and he was content to see 'the blade' only, in the full belief that 'the ear,' and the 'full corn in the ear,' would follow in due time.

Right views on this subject would do much to check the unreasonable expectations which are so frequently formed by those who establish schools for the poor; the language of mature and experienced piety, instead of being encouraged, would be felt to be inappropriate in the mouth of a child; excited hopes would not be followed by collapse and disappointment; and abundant scope would be found for the sound christian instruction of young persons, without the introduction of topics ill suited to their years, or the factitious development of religious affections.

But we have already far exceeded all bounds in the length to which this article has insensibly extended. We must now part company alike with Bell and Lancaster, and with the societies which respectively embody their principles and form their monuments.

Mr. Southey's book is, on the whole, heavy. It is much too large and loaded with correspondence. Here and there a letter from the Edgeworths, Wordsworth, Coleridge, or the lamented editor of the first volume, relieves a tedium which would otherwise be insupportable. Yet even these, though few in number, are sometimes uninteresting, and only add to the dreary and desolate feeling with which the eye wanders over the three thick octavo volumes which embalm the remains of Dr. Bell.

Mr. Corston's sketch, as a literary production, is not open to criticism. It is the last fond memorial of an old man trembling on the brink of the grave, and recalling scenes still fresh with the recollection of by-gone joys.

Art. II. 1. *Isagoge in epistolam a Paulo apost. ad Colossenses datam, theologica, historica, critica.* Confecit G. Böhmer. 8vo. Berol. 1829.

2. *Theologische Auslegung des Paulinischen Sendschreibens an die Colosser.* Von W. Böhmer. 8vo. Breslau, 1835.

3. *Der Brief Pauli an die Colosser: Uebersetzung, Erklärung, einleitende, und epikritische Abhandlungen.* Von W. Steiger. 8vo. Erlangen, 1835.

4. *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Colosser.* Von K. C. W. F. Bähr. 8vo. Basel, 1833.

THE Epistle to the Colossians greatly needs an English commentary. There is no *good* exposition of it in our language. It is a part of the New Testament, confessedly difficult, and in various aspects most important. In the meantime, some one of the three commentaries at the head of this article should be translated into English. Bähr's would probably be the most popular, although we should prefer Steiger's or Boehmer's. Olshausen's, however, is superior to any other of the same compass. The light of history, especially the history of philosophy, must be brought to bear upon the letter before us. The allusions of Paul lie so much within the apostolic period, that it is impossible to understand the scope and bearings of his statements, or to attach definite ideas to many expressions, without a tolerable acquaintance with the influences which leavened the cultivated Jewish no less than the cultivated heathen mind of that age. To explore this is a task to which the indolent propensity of the English theologian is averse. It must be left to the laborious Germans who love such pursuits; while *we* are content with learning the results of their investigations. They accuse us of doing nothing to advance the interpretation of the Bible, and there is ground for the accusation; although themselves are not free from blame while boldly prosecuting their inquiries.

In examining such questions as are suggested by the epistle, we shall pursue the following order, and inquire:—

I. Who were the persons at Colosse whom the apostle condemns as corrupters of the church?

II. Did Paul himself plant the church in that place?

III. The authenticity and genuineness of the epistle.

IV. The connexion between the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians.

V. The time and place at which the Colossian letter was written.

VI. Its contents.

In discussing the first topic these particulars present themselves:—

- (a) Were the false teachers at Colosse of one sect or class, or did they belong to different and distinct parties?
- (b) Were they Jews or Christians?
- (c) What were the peculiar tenets which they inculcated?

(a) When the various features ascribed by the apostle to these errorists are collected into one portrait, they appear at first sight so contradictory as not to belong to the same individuals. Rather do they seem to describe minds whose psychology is diverse. Hence Heinrichs attributes the characteristic traits enumerated to persons of various parties,—judaists, gnostics, and other heretics. In like manner Whitby thinks, that they point partly to Essenes, and partly to Pythagorean philosophers. Nothing improbable appears in the supposition that a *judaising* tendency is depicted in the words:—‘Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days;’ and a *gnostic* propensity in the following:—‘Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,’ (ii. 16, 18.) The writer does not affirm that all the errors he condemns were held by the same persons. No part of the epistle is directly or decidedly opposed to the hypothesis, that those who disseminated false doctrines among the Colossians belonged to classes essentially distinct; although, at the same time, a line of separation is not drawn between different parties. But when we reflect that Colosse was of comparatively small extent*—that the Christians there were not very numerous; and that the apostle uniformly censures the church as a whole, not certain individuals in it; that the errors in question are successively depicted without any intimation that they belonged to various factions; it is probable, that all the features unite in one portrait, and find their

* It is often stated, that Colosse was a large, wealthy, populous city, and thence inferred that the church there was large and flourishing. This does not appear to be correct. In the time of Herodotus and Xenophon, it certainly was so; but not in the time of Paul. The former historian calls it *πόλις μεγάλη* (vii. 30); the latter, *εὐδαιμόνων καὶ μεγάλη*, (Anab. I. 2. 6). But its ancient greatness sank when Laodicea and Hierapolis rebelled against the yoke of the Seleucidæ, and afterwards of the Romans. Strabo (xii. 8.) calls it *πόλισμα*, a *little town*, in opposition to Laodicea which was extensive and populous. Ptolemy has taken no notice of it in his catalogue of cities. It is true that Pliny reckons it one of the *celeberrima oppida Phrygiæ*, (Nat. Hist. v. 41). but *oppidum* means only a *town*; and the reason why he styles it *very celebrated* is obscure. His authority is of little weight against that of Strabo.

appropriate position in the same persons. A comparison of our epistle with the pastoral letters shews, that similar errors had been promulgated in Crete and Ephesus. It is therefore better to assume, with the majority of modern interpreters, that only one class of heretical teachers is depicted in the epistle.

(b) Eichhorn maintains, that they were Jews, not Christians; a hypothesis afterwards modified by Schneckenburger, and adopted as so modified by Feilmoser. In support of it Eichhorn adduces the phrase, 'not holding the head,' (ii. 19), which is explained, *not believing in Christ*. This, however, is obviously incorrect. Had they been mere Jews, there would have been no significancy in affirming that they did not believe in Christ. 'Not holding the head' must therefore denote, *not holding fast by the head, not maintaining a belief in His essential dignity and power*, but virtually lowering his pre-eminence by adopting and disseminating views in regard to his person, inconsistent with its true glory. Had they not made a profession of Christianity, the apostle would hardly have described, or warned the Colossians against them, with such particularity. The case would have been too obvious to require so much opposition on the part of an inspired writer. *Jews* would have been at once charged with absolutely rejecting the promised Messiah in the person of the Saviour, and thus condemned for their unbelief. It is manifest from the tenor of the epistle, that they were *Christians* not *Jews*, else the pains taken to refute them appear to be superfluous.

(c) In Phrygia, there was a mixture of the oriental and occidental tendencies. The national character of the people appears to have been strongly tinctured with the enthusiastic and the mystical. Such a propensity, turned in a heathen direction, may be observed in the fanatical worship of Cybele; while in the direction of Christianity, it appears in the Montanism of the second century. During the apostolic age, many Jews were dispersed through Asia Minor. Considerable numbers had taken up their abode there previously to the birth of Christ. According to Josephus, Antiochus the Great ordered two thousand Jewish families, with all their effects, to be transplanted from Babylon and Mesopotamia into Phrygia, (Antiq. xii. 8.) Nor were the Jews who had established themselves in this region of one party alone;—they belonged to all the sects into which the nation was divided. Now the people of that time, both Jews and heathens, were prone to speculations respecting the invisible world. Eager to stretch their view beyond the material, they pushed their inquiries into the region of spirits and higher intelligences. It may be readily conceived, that the thirst after such aërial knowledge was accompanied by considerable dissa-

tisfaction, because the votaries arrived at no definite conclusions, nor attained to a full solution of their doubts. In the domain of their shadowy speculations, they found no substantial resting-place. This was the prevalent propensity of the human mind, especially of the Phrygian, at the period in question. Amid the general desire for superior wisdom, and communion with higher orders of being, Christianity was embraced all the more readily, as the means of affording that relief to the spirit which it had elsewhere sought in vain, inasmuch as this new religion professes to release mankind, in some degree, from the bondage of the body, and to communicate a divine knowledge.

But we must consider the tendencies of the Jewish mind itself prior to the reception of Christianity, and the different phases which it presented, before the result of the contact of such mind with the simple doctrine of the New Testament can be rightly developed. There is in mind generally, the practical and the speculative tendency. The former predominated among the Pharisees; the latter among the Essenes,—a contemplative class, who lived secluded from the world, exhibiting a theosophic spirit in union with an ascetic bias. The Essenes, however, were not the only Jews who manifested this mental bias. Many others exhibited a mystic-ascetic direction. At first sight, asceticism might appear inconsistent with the theoretic spirit. It might seem improbable, that the practical and the speculative should be united in the same individuals. But a *false* asceticism, so far from being incongruous with the theoretic propensity, is nearly allied to it. When once the mind turns aside in a wrong direction, or tries to penetrate into the region of clouds and shadows, it engenders notions in regard to the material, which partake of the illusions gathered amid airy speculations. It will then be felt more keenly, that the body is a clog upon the heaven-born spirit, by preventing it from assimilation to angels and spirits, or by obstructing its desires after the invisible and immaterial. Hence the outward frame will be neglected and macerated, and its natural appetites unduly restrained, as though they directly tended to hinder communion with the spiritual world. If we reflect, moreover, that strict asceticism, as in the case of the false teachers at Colosse, often rested on the belief that matter was *essentially evil*, we shall readily perceive the alliance between philosophical speculation and rigid abstinence. The elements of theosophic ascetism were already contained in the Jewish Cabala. It is true that these elements with which the apostolic age was deeply imbued, had not been incorporated into a formal organism, but they were in active operation, and widely diffused notwithstanding. Soon after the apostolic period, they were wrought up into complete and compacted systems.

Let it be remembered too, that before and during the time of our Saviour, Alexandria was the metropolis of philosophy. There Jewish theosophy assumed various garbs, and was extensively cultivated. Allegorical interpretation was fashionable. To the outward symbols of Judaism a higher meaning was attached. A hidden sense was extracted from every part of the Old Testament. Contemplating the external as thus connected with the internal, the learned Jews of Egypt desired to penetrate through it into the recesses of the latter, and so to arrive at profound mysteries which it was the privilege of the initiated alone to apprehend. Such was the class to which Philo belonged—a class resembling the persons to whom reference is made in the present epistle. Now the influences emanating from Alexandria were extensive. A place where philosophical Judaism found its central point, must have had no ordinary effect upon the Jews resident in other, and especially, in neighbouring regions. Doctrines passed through it from the east into the west. Between the developments of the eastern and western mind, it must be regarded as the principal centre of union. Here were many contemplative Essenes or Therapeutæ, and thence came forth a powerful stimulus to the intellectual appetite of Jewish brethren, and even of cultivated heathen, who had not the good fortune to reside at the fountain, and to catch the enthusiastic spirit fresh from its source. It is unnecessary, on the present occasion, to develop the prevailing elements of the Alexandrine theology about the time of our Lord's advent, especially those peculiar elements which constituted the prominent part of Philo's creed. There was a twofold tendency to mystical speculation; viz., the Grecian-philosophic and the Oriental-theosophic; the former more apparent in Philo; the latter, in the case before us.

When Jews addicted to such theosophic-asceticism were led to embrace christianity, they could not easily abandon their previous bias, however opposite to the simplicity and purity of the gospel. Ignorant, perhaps, of the extent and reality of the self-denial which the gospel demands, they adopted it as offering spiritual freedom, and affording farther insight into that immaterial world in which their imaginations loved to luxuriate. But christianity grasped by minds of mystical and enthusiastic tendencies, must have partially disappointed their hopes, especially since they were averse to the renunciation of that boasted wisdom which must be laid at the foot of the cross. In these circumstances it was natural for theorists to modify and adapt the gospel to their wonted modes of thought,—to bring it into union with their mystical notions, and to cast it anew in the mould of their own theosophy. Hence,

pure christianity was disfigured. It cannot be associated with the heterogeneous speculations of oriental theosophy without deterioration of its genuine character. The house where the ark of the Lord is placed, cannot allow a rival occupant. Dagon must fall to the ground. Such was the mode in which it was sought to incorporate a theosophic religion with christianity. The false teachers in question were Jewish gnostics, whose previous tendencies had not been subdued by the all-pervading influence of genuine truth. They therefore modified the gospel to suit their particular views.

We are now prepared to pronounce a decision upon the question whether the so-called philosophy consisted of elements foreign to Judaism, or of materials emanating from that religion alone. We have seen the kind of religious notions current among some of the Jewish sects. Josephus and Philo, who are the principal* sources of information in regard to this point, shew, that philosophical speculations identical with those inculcated by the errorists at Colosse, occupied the minds of the inquiring Jews, and were propagated as matters of recondite knowledge concealed from the mass of mankind. It has been thought difficult, however, to find among the Jews of that period evidence of the fact that the worship of angels (ii. 18) was held by *any* sect in the time of Paul; and again, to discover such sentiments as the apostle confronts, by declaring Christ to be the head of all principality and power (ii. 10), having spoiled principalities and powers, made a shew of them openly, and triumphed over them in his sufferings (ii. 15), i. e., peculiar sentiments in regard to orders of angels, and subordinate deities supposed to possess creative energy. Josephus, indeed, speaks of the three different forms in which the Mosaic religion had been moulded as different *philosophical* directions. The term *philosophy* therefore does not necessarily lead the inquirer beyond the bounds of the Old Testament religion, although it is too narrow to confine it, with Tittmann and others, exclusively to the Jewish law. According to the account given of the Essenes, we should have expected that they, if any of the sects, should have revered angels or celestial spirits. Perhaps, however, it will not be needful even here to travel beyond the limits of Judaism. The mental propensity which has been already described as belonging to the Jews in Phrygia, is nearly allied to an angelological tendency. In consequence of their proneness to the mysterious and the magical, they were eager to cultivate a connexion with superior beings. It is generally admitted that the Jews brought many notions concerning spirits and demons from Babylon; and there is little

* See also Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. 15 (17).

doubt that the cabbalistic doctrine concerning such beings had a strong tincture of orientalism. Accordingly Josephus states of the Essenes, that they *observed the names of angels*. The Alexandrine Jews approved of the sentiment that angels were *internuncii* between God and good men—a sentiment which would easily prepare the way for the adoration of these beings. Still more directly to our purpose is a passage in the *κίρυγμα Πέτρου*, in which it is stated, that the Jews adored angels and archangels—and it is supposed by Grabe that this treatise belongs to the first century.* These Jewish theosophists may have paid a superstitious reverence to angels not only because angels were present in great numbers at the giving of the law, but because from them were supposed to proceed mysterious powers, which raised the initiated far above the multitude. Their acquaintance with the superior natures of the invisible world was supposed to give them a certain relation to the Supreme Deity. 'In that Judaizing sect,' says the excellent Neander, 'which here came into conflict with the simple, apostolic doctrine, we see the germ of the Judaizing gnosticism. Though the account given by Epiphanius of the conflict between Cerinthus and the Apostle Paul is not worthy of credit, yet at least between the tendency which Paul here combats, and the tendency of Cerinthus the greatest agreement is found to exist; and, judging by internal marks, we may consider the sect here spoken of to be allied to the Cerinthian. It is remarkable that to a late period traces of such a Judaizing angelological tendency were to be found in those parts; for at the council of Laodicea, canons were framed against a Judaizing observance of the sabbath, and a species of angelolatry; and even in the ninth century we find a kindred sect, the Athingauians.†

In order that we may arrive at the particular opinions of these heretics, let us consider the passage in which they are described. The apostle warns the Colossians against that theosophy which he denominates vain and deceitful, because the superior wisdom of which it boasted was nothing but a delusion, stating at the same time that it was based on human traditions and Jewish-rabbinic rites, without proceeding from Christ or being in unison with his doctrine. In opposition to it, he sets forth the cardinal truth of the New Testament that the entire fulness of the divine perfections and the divine wisdom dwelt in Christ bodily—that He is superior to all angels and spirits—and that christians, by communion with him alone, receive everything in regard to the divine life and spiritual

* Spicilegium Patrum, Tom. 1. p. 64.

† History of the planting and training of the christian church, translated by Ryland.—Vol. I. pp. 381, 2.

knowledge, which is needed for their complete happiness. United to, and engrafted in him, they require no other mediator. After affirming the spiritual circumcision of the Colossian believers, from which it may be inferred, that the errorists insisted upon the outward rite as necessary to Gentile christians, he reminds them that their sins were forgiven, that they had been delivered from the bondage of the law as a system of legal observances, and that Christ triumphed over all evil spirits—all the opposing powers of the universe—by means of his cross, publicly shewing that he was their conqueror. In consequence of this description of Christ's perfection on the one hand, and the completeness belonging to his people in union with him, on the other—because he is the head of the entire church and of all spirits—the Colossians are exhorted not to allow any man to condemn them in regard to the non-observance of ceremonial ordinances and Jewish rites pertaining to meats and drinks, new-moon feasts, holy days, or Jewish sabbaths, all which externals were only a shadow of futurities, Christ himself being the substance. They are farther admonished not to allow themselves to be beguiled, so as that they should lose the reward attached to faith in Christ, by a pretended humility and by the worship of angels, on the part of those who impertinently pryed into things hidden from human vision, and were vainly puffed up with carnal conceit. These persons did not hold fast *the Head*, from whom alone all growth and nutriment are communicated to the united members of the body. If, says the apostle, ye be dead with Christ to legal observances and superstitious rites, how can ye adopt, as if ye belonged to the world, maxims of human invention enjoining abstinence from meats and drinks; since all such material things are perishable and decaying. These false teachers viewed matter as the principle of evil, avoiding as much as possible contact with external things, especially with flesh and strong drink, because by these they were thought to expose themselves to the malignant influence of evil spirits who were connected with matter. Such ascetic practices have the appearance of superior wisdom in an arbitrarily invented worship, an affected humility which can only approach the Deity through the medium of angels, and in maceration of the body; but yet they have nothing excellent in themselves, or becoming to the body: they only serve to gratify the unrenewed mind by ministering to its pride and self-conceit.

It has been disputed, whether these heretics abstained from marriage, and entertained the *docetic* view of Christ's nature. In support of the former, Col. ii. 21 is adduced, particularly the expression $\mu\eta\ \delta\psi\eta$, which is similarly applied in 1 Cor. vii. 1.

Reference is also made to 1 Tim. iv. 3, where it is implied that teachers of erroneous doctrine, similar to these at Colosse, enjoined celibacy at Ephesus. In favour of the latter, their notion in regard to matter, and the prevailing belief of most heretics afterwards called gnostics, appear to speak. But at the commencement, heresies were not developed in all their consequences; and the ascetics at Rome whom Paul mentions, were not *docetic*, (Rom. xiv.) Perhaps they did not hold these forms of asceticism. Certainly the data on which such peculiarities are assigned to them are indefinite and doubtful. The tendency of mind described is indeed one that would consistently lead to these manifestations of superstition; but the contents of the epistle scarcely justify the assumption.

Thus the whole passage justifies the idea, that the false philosophy combated by the apostle need not be derived in part from a source foreign to Judaism. It was the product of Jewish mind speculating upon divine things, and prying into curious questions, beyond the reach of human research. The traditions which the Judaists had received from their fathers, the cabbala with its complexity and its orders of beings, together with their own investigation of unseen things, sufficiently account for the opinions in question. These heretics did not adopt their peculiar creed directly from any other quarter. They found it in their own books; or rather, it had been already excogitated, and was then current. We need not, therefore, have recourse, with Kleuker, Hug, and Stuart, to the Chaldee or oriental philosophy, of which a full exhibition is given by Jamblichus. The legal rites of the Mosaic economy, in conjunction with those rabbinic-traditional observances which Jewish superstition had superadded, had been brought into the domain of Christianity. Thus the great doctrine of justification by faith alone was virtually impugned. Judaism was idealised; and a rigid asceticism founded upon the inherent evil of matter was practised. The errorists, whose principles we have been considering, indulged in philosophic and theosophic theories based upon ancient traditions; and were reluctant to renounce their pretensions to higher wisdom or their connexion with spirits, for the humbling doctrine of the gospel. Their pride could not deign to bow itself before the cross. They sought to cast christianity into the mould of their own theosophy.

But although it is superfluous to go beyond Judaism for the theosophy of the false teachers, yet there is reason for the opinions of such as find the source and exposition of *the philosophy* condemned by the apostle in the magian or emanation-philosophy. Were it expedient to trace the causes of the Jewish notions then so prevalent in Asia Minor, it might appear, that

the traditional belief of the Jews had been affected by that peculiar offspring of the oriental mind. Ever since the Hebrews resided in Babylon, they were, more or less, influenced by the religion of their Chaldean conquerors. Doubtless, that religion contributed to enlarge or to modify the previous articles of their faith. The Jewish people were ever inclined to engraft foreign superstitions on their national worship. The mixed race, afterwards called Samaritan, the majority of whom came from beyond the Euphrates, would probably vitiate the creed of their neighbours by a tincture of idolatry; for on the return from captivity, many of the restored exiles became intimately associated with that people. There was also a constant communication between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the myriads of Jews who continued to reside beyond the Euphrates. The latter attended the festivals, and carefully observed other customs peculiar to their native land. Hence it is natural to suppose, that several features of the Magian religion would be communicated to the national belief. But this oriental philosophy was not the principal source from which the gnosticism of the errorists in question emanated. It had only an indirect and distant bearing upon their sentiments. There is also ground for the opinions of such as recognize in these false teachers Christian-Platonists, or Platonising-Judaists. There is little doubt that the influences arising from the new Platonism current in Alexandria, affected Cabbalistic Judaism. But it is not consistent with our present purpose to trace the history of Jewish opinions and traditions, else we should investigate with minuteness the Alexandrian tendencies as they contributed to form and change the speculations of the Jews residing in Egypt.

It might be shewn, in like manner, that such as find a condemnation of the Pythagorean philosophy in the present epistle, are not *wholly* in error. Plato adopted many of Pythagoras's opinions, especially his doctrines of *ideas*, and of the transmigration of souls. In the time of the Ptolemies, several philosophers of this sect fled from Italy to Alexandria, where Platonism was prevalent.

Still, however, it is not expedient to travel beyond the Judaism of the period for explanation of the passage in which the tenets of the false teachers are alluded to, since Magianism, Platonism, the philosophy of Greece, and Cabbalism as far as it was the genuine product of the Jewish mind itself, had previously imparted a considerable tincture to the creed of the Jewish people. Whatever portions of these systems were incorporated with Judaism, had been so intimately associated with it before the advent of Christ, as to form a part of its nature. They had been already wrought up into its component elements; and, unless we

go backward, to trace the history of philosophy, the intermingling of different systems, the points of contact they presented to traditional Judaism, and the localities where they were found by the ancient people of God, it is sufficient to take the current belief as it was. Nor should the attention be confined to Jewish opinions and tendencies. The direction of the cultivated heathen mind of Phrygia and Asia Minor generally should also be marked, as affected by the combined elements of different philosophical systems blending together.

After this illustration of the peculiar tenets propagated by the errorists at Colosse, it may be useful to state other opinions.

Some think that philosophy in general, *all philosophy*, is forbidden. So Tertullian, Euthalius, and Calixtus. Others restrict the warning given by the apostle to certain classes of philosophers, to the Epicureans, as Clement of Alexandria; the Pythagoreans, as Grotius; or to such as joined together the Platonic and Stoic doctrines, as Heumann imagines. None of these opinions can claim to be regarded with approval. *Heathen* philosophy the apostle cannot mean by φιλοσοφία, because it is spoken of as an emanation of Judaism, or, at least, as standing in close connection with it. Schoettgen, Schmidt, and Schult Hess, refer the description to the Pharisees. But the mental tendency described, is the opposite of the Pharisaic. The Pharisaic Jews were far removed from gnostic speculation and *false* asceticism. They were occupied with the outward and visible, to the neglect of that spiritual, world in which the imagination of the contemplative finds its congenial aliment. Others think, that the false teachers were Sabians or followers of John the Baptist. So Heinrichs. But this sect lessened the dignity of Christ, and unduly exalted the Baptist. They cannot, therefore, be the individuals here designated. Denying, as they did, the true Messiahship of Jesus, they excluded themselves from the pale of christianity. Besides, there is no trace of their worshipping angels.

Much nearer the truth are those who find the Essenes in this epistle. So Chemnitz, Zachariae, Storr, Flatt, Venturini, Michaelis, Credner, and Bertholdt. Many of the features drawn by Paul agree with the character of this sect as described by Josephus. Their asceticism is quite similar to that of the heretics who endeavoured to seduce the Colossian converts. The objection stated against this view, viz., that the Essenes were only to be found in Palestine and Syria, is of no force, as is shewn by Credner. Neither does their disinclination to proselytism form a valid objection; since other influences may have modified their original character. Perhaps, too, it is not conclusive to urge against it, the virtuous principles ascribed by

Josephus to the Essenes, viz., their modesty, piety, love of justice, benevolence, &c., as contrasted with the affected humility and empty pride of these false teachers. But the hypothesis is too narrow. There is no good ground for confining the individuals to the *Essenes alone*. Other Jews, besides the Essenes, manifested the mental bias delineated by the apostle, although it is quite probable that this sect furnished the majority of the errorists. They led a contemplative life, which agrees well with the general statements of our epistle; but they were not the only persons of that age, to whom the description applies. The true view, as it appears to us, has been given by Boehmer, Neander, Mayerhoff, and Olshausen.

The hypothesis of Scheckenburger and Feilmoser may perhaps require a separate notice. It is a modification of Eichhorn's. According to Eichhorn's opinion, the false teachers must have rejected Christ absolutely; but, according to this qualified aspect of it, they placed him among the mediating spirits whom they regarded with superstitious reverence as subordinate guides to the Supreme Deity. Thus the Saviour was lost, as it were, to view, amid a host of angels; and the question of his messiahship was naturally put aside by the errorists. Hence, their main object was to metamorphose into Jews such as had embraced christianity.* Their chief design was to bring over the christian church at Colosse into the territory of Judaism, rather than to connect their former theosophic views, by which they had spiritualized their Jewish creed, with the simplicity of the gospel. Thus, they are regarded as Jews rather than Judaizing christians. They ascribed to Christ a subordinate position, viewing him as the prophet of the heathen world; and to his religion, as intended for the heathen, a subordinate value. It is difficult, however, to see, how the apostle's reasoning is suited to the particular case of such persons. Doubtless his arguments refute these sentiments; but the question is, do they *primarily* and *directly* apply to them. It must be assumed that the apostle knew the exact nature of the errors disseminated. Whether he had received an account of them from Epaphras, or whether he had become acquainted with them from a supernatural source; in either case, ignorance of their precise form cannot be attributed to him. The more insidious the methods taken to seduce the Colossians, and the more artful the snares laid to corrupt them, the more imperative became the duty of tearing away the mask, and unfolding with the greatest plainness the real belief entertained by the heretics. But the apostle has οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, not ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν; and in the eighth verse of the second chapter, the words, *and not accord-*

* See Schneckenburger's Beiträge, p. 147 and p. 88.

ing to Christ, as subjoined to the preceding, would be irrelevant, not to say trifling, on the ground of these teachers being merely Jews. Besides, the writings of Paul show, that *Judaizing christians* were far more frequent than mere Jews, that the latter gradually lost their proselytizing spirit as christianity prevailed, and that, when they adopted the new religion in any mode, however imperfectly, they sought to *amalgamate it* with their former creed, giving a preponderance to the peculiarities of the one or the other as their mental temperament, or previous habits, or degree of faith disposed them. The milder aspect of Judaism towards christianity, which Schneckenburger so ingeniously urges, would lead them all the more readily to incorporate the old religion with the new ; or rather to embrace christianity as promising superior wisdom ; and afterwards, upon partial disappointment, to bring it into the bosom of their former Jewish creed, instead of absolutely rejecting what they had once adopted. In proportion to the leniency with which they regarded christianity, would be the disinclination to proselytize to *mere Judaism* ; and the consequent desire to go over, at least nominally, to the new religion. The truth of these observations will probably be more apparent when it is recollected, that the Ebionites are always regarded as a sect within the enclosure of visible christianity, though holding *very few* of its tenets, and but slightly differing, as Origen affirms,* from mere Jews. It is *possible* that the Ebionites may have been originally nothing but Jews ; although we believe that they were always Jewish christians who denied the divinity of Jesus, asserting that he was only a man. A comparison of the pastoral epistles will also serve to prove, that the false teachers were *Judaizing Christians* ; since individuals holding the same tenets farther developed had elsewhere appeared,—Jewish gnosticising christians, as Paul's polemic observations in those epistles plainly teach. If there be any weight in these remarks, they will apply to every hypothesis which assumes that the heretical teachers were Jews alone, and must be carried back to the view already stated and commonly received, viz. that they were simply Essenes. One thing is certain, that the individuals in question are alluded to in such a manner as shows that they still stood by themselves, without the enclosure of the church.

It may be also observed, that no definite line of separation is drawn between the members who had imbibed erroneous notions, and those who steadfastly adhered to the simple faith of the gospel. The collected body of believers is addressed as forming one community. The wavering and the faithful are still joined in the fellowship of the church. This is implied in

* Commentar. in Matthæum, tom. xi. p. 249, vol. i. (Ed. Huet, 1679).

the 20th verse of the second chapter : ' Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances,' &c., &c. ; for it is quite improbable that these words refer exclusively to such as had been shaken in faith by the heretics. The admonitions, instructions, and warnings of the entire epistle are addressed to *the church* ; not merely to one section of it, or to certain individuals. In no case is one person singled out or appealed to ; neither are several individuals addressed in contradistinction to the remaining believers. It has been well observed by Olshausen, that such a mode of writing is perfectly adapted to the first stages of the christian life. ' The first traces of heretical doctrine were exhibited at Colosse. The apostle hastened to crush them in the bud, and to bring back the straying to the right path. He had no ground for tracing these errors to wicked intention. He saw their origin in inexperience and weakness : hence he does not immediately apply strict rules ; neither does he proceed forthwith to exclude them from church communion ; but he advances with forbearance, considering and treating the erring as still members of the church, and seeking to bring them back to truth by a mild exhibition of their wanderings. Some years later the matter would have been far differently represented, when Paul, towards the close of his life, wrote the pastoral letters. The evil intention of the heretics had then openly appeared, and Paul dared not any longer make use of unreasonable mildness. The diseased members must be removed, in order to preserve the entire organization in a healthy state.'

Had the errorists in question been mere Jews, it is not easy to account for the mild polemics of the apostle, nor the full significance of his earnest and serious warnings against them. How is it possible that they should not have been openly condemned as anti-christians ? If, as Schneckenburger affirms, the tolerance of these Jews towards christianity was merely an accommodation on their part, in order the more effectually to accomplish their object—an object that aimed at nothing less than the seducing of the Colossians away from the pale of christianity—should the apostle have been less direct or severe on this account in his condemnation of their designs ? Would he not all the more plainly have warned the believers against their insidious arts ? Every view of the subject that can be taken tends to the conclusion, that the errorists were not *merely* Jews, but *Judaizing christians*, with a strong mystic-ascetic bias.

II. It is a matter of great difficulty to ascertain whether Paul

had visited Colosse, and founded the church at that place, before writing the present Epistle. Some attribute the origin of it to Epaphras, or to one of Paul's immediate disciples; while others contend that it was planted by himself. The data upon which any hypothesis can be supposed to rest, are not so definite or satisfactory as the inquirer could wish. We shall briefly allude to the arguments advanced on both sides of the question.

Dr. Lardner has fully stated all the considerations that may be drawn from the epistle itself as well as that to Philemon, in order to support the hypothesis that the church was planted by Paul himself. No less than sixteen arguments are adduced with this view. A reviewer of De Wette's Introduction in the '*Hal-lische Literatur-Zeitung*' for 1828, advocated the same sentiments; which were also defended by Schulz in the '*Studien und Kritiken*' for 1829; by Schott, in his Introduction; and by Bishop Tomline. Wiggers has recently endeavoured to support them by new arguments, in the '*Studien und Kritiken*.' In early times, Theodoret had taken the same view. The great majority, however, of continental critics maintain the opposite opinion, such as Michaelis, Hug, De Wette, Boehmer, Steiger, Credner, Neander, Olshausen, and Guerike.

The following arguments have been adduced by Lardner and others:—

1. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul travelled twice through Phrygia; and it is probable that in one or other journey he visited the principal cities, such as Colosse and Laodicea (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). Was it possible that he should go through the country without planting churches in cities and towns so important as these?

2. The epistle exhibits proofs of the intimacy and affection subsisting between the apostle and the Colossian believers. Paul seems to have a correct knowledge of their state; is confident that they had been grounded and well instructed in the faith of the gospel; speaks of their love to him, and gives them such exhortations as imply a personal acquaintance, and induce the belief that they were first instructed by him. (See i. 6, 8, 23; ii. 5, 6, 7, 20—23; iv. 7—9; iv. 3, 4.) The salutations, too, in iv. 10, 11, 14, suppose the Colossians to have been well acquainted with Paul's fellow-travellers and fellow-labourers; while those in the 15th and 17th verses of the same chapter prove that the apostle knew the state of the churches in Colosse and Laodicea.

3. Epaphras was sent to Rome by the Colossians to inquire of Paul's welfare (iv. 7, 8), a token of respect on their part which presupposes a personal acquaintance. 'And it is allowed that Epaphras had brought to St. Paul a particular account of

the state of affairs in this church. Which is another argument that they were his converts.*

4. The Colossians were endowed with spiritual gifts (iii, 16), which they could not have received from any other than an apostle.

5. 'St. Paul does in effect, or even expressly, say that himself had dispensed the gospel to these Colossians, ch. i. 21—25. I shall recite here a large part of that context, ver. 23—25: 'If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, . . . whereof I Paul am made a minister. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil,' or fully to preach, 'the word of God.' And what follows to ver. 29.'*

6. It is written in chapter ii. 1, 2, 'For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh; that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love,' &c. Here the change of persons implies that the Colossians, to whom he is writing, *had seen his face*, else the writer would have said *your*, not *their*.

7. The Epistle to Philemon affords evidence that Paul had been among the Colossians. The 19th verse implies that Philemon had been converted to christianity by the apostle, probably at the home of the former. He also salutes by name Apphia, the wife of Philemon, and Archippus, probably pastor at Colosse; he desires Philemon to prepare him a lodging; Philemon is styled his fellow-labourer, and Archippus his fellow-soldier; all implying personal acquaintance and mutual co-operation in the gospel in one place, perhaps Colosse.

Those who think that Epaphras, or some other person, founded the church at Colosse, are wont to appeal to chapter ii. 1, believing that the clause, *and as many have not seen my face in the flesh*, includes the Colossians and Laodiceans preceding. Theodoret and Lardner, as we have already seen, object to this interpretation on account of the sudden change of person; affirming that the apostle should then have written, 'that *your* hearts, &c.,' instead of '*their* hearts, &c.' They also refer to chapter i. 7, 'as ye have *also* learned of Epaphras, &c.,' words supposed to imply, that although the Colossians had been taught by Epaphras, he was not their *first* instructor; and to the expression, 'Epaphras who is one of you,' (iv. 12), which the apostle would not have applied to him had Epaphras founded the church; for

* Lardner.

the same is said of Onesimus who had recently been converted, (iv. 9). In speaking of Epaphras, the apostle never adds, 'by whom ye believed,' or, 'by whom ye were brought to the fellowship of the Gospel,' even when he recommends him to the esteem of the Colossians. Some have supposed Epaphras to be the same as Epaphroditus, one of the Philippian pastors. So Grotius, and apparently Winer. It is more probable, that they were different persons. So Steiger, Boehmer, Rheinwald, Lardner, Beausobre, Olshausen, and others.

In reviewing these arguments, various considerations suggest themselves to the mind of the impartial inquirer. It is remarkable that the apostle does not once allude to the fact of his having founded the church himself. This point is adduced on other occasions, especially when the members were in danger of being led away by Judaizing teachers from the foundation he had laid; or when they had already apostatised. Thus in the epistle to the Galatians, i. 6., 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel.' It is no satisfactory reply, that the apostle deemed it unnecessary to state a matter so well known. If in other cases he mentions the circumstance as one that ought to carry weight along with it to the minds of those whom he had instructed in person; if in warning against the teachings and seductions of heretical disturbers, he exhorts to abide by what the churches had received from his lips, and calls attention to the diversity between his own doctrines and theirs, should we not expect a similar course towards the Colossians whose faith was in imminent danger of being corrupted? And yet his personal intercourse among them is neither named nor hinted at. Let the reader compare the procedure of the same Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and a striking difference will be apparent, (1 Cor. iii. 1—10.) Even when commending Epaphras to their affectionate regard, he does not say, that he preached the same Gospel as they had already heard from his own mouth. He does not state, that he built upon the foundation which he himself had laid among them, or that they should implicitly receive his teachings, because such teachings exactly coincided with those which the apostle himself had propounded among them as the true foundation of their fellowship in the faith of the Gospel. All this is singular, if it be conceived that Paul himself planted the church. It is altogether in harmony with this peculiarity, that although various allusions are made to their having heard the gospel (i. 5. 23), it is never subjoined that they had heard it from himself; although this would have been highly apposite amid the concern expressed for their welfare and their leaning towards the heretics. The same force does not attach to Paul's mention of his hearing of

their faith and other virtues, since Epaphras's report concerning them does not affect the point before us.

It is true that the apostle speaks of the Colossians in such a manner as to shew his anxiety for their state, his knowledge of their circumstances, his familiarity with their belief, and with the progress they had made in divine things ; but of these he was apprised by Epaphras. When it is recollected that the apostle had the care of all the churches upon him—that he was properly the pastor of all—that he watched over them with parental solicitude, although he may not have planted them personally, the passages supposed to denote a personal acquaintance, on his part, with the Colossians, will not appear strange. In relation to the messengers sent in various directions to the churches—the exhortations dispatched through them to the various christian communities, the affectionate counsels with which they were charged, the accounts in the New Testament are defective ; but it may be well conceived that such things were frequent. In this way he came to know the peculiar influences to which the converts were exposed from without, as well as the internal elements which pervaded and leavened them in their social fellowship. How natural was it therefore, that the Colossians should entertain a high veneration for the great apostle. If they had love to all the saints, as is said in the first chapter (4th verse) most of whom they had not seen in the flesh, should they not have felt a higher love for Paul. They owed their conversion to him if not immediately, at least through the teaching of persons whom he had instructed and sent. They had heard of his abundant labours and self-denying zeal on behalf of the Gentiles, and they might look to him as their spiritual father in consequence of the relation which Epaphras and others sustained to himself and to them. Not to have written in this manner would have savoured of some other than the ardent and zealous apostle, whose heart was so large as to embrace within its capacious folds all the churches of the Saviour. For these Colossians not to have manifested their love to him, which they must have done chiefly through Epaphras, would have belied their profession and contradicted their christianity. Thus while the entire tenour of the epistle shews that the apostle is writing to converts, disciples, and friends, it is not necessary to assume that they were his *own immediate disciples and converts*. Those who imagine that they must have been such, measure the feelings of apostles and primitive christians by a modern standard. The coldness and negligence now so prevalent among professing christians, especially those whom Providence has placed at a little distance from one another, should not be transferred to the

apostolic age. That were to go in opposition to the testimony of ecclesiastical history.

That the apostle travelled twice through Phrygia does not prove that he visited Colosse and Laodicea. In his first journey he passed from Cilicia and Derbe to Lystra, thence through the north-eastern part of Phrygia to Galatia, Mysia, and Troas. Thus his route lay to the north of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse. In his second missionary journey, he went from Lystra to Phrygia, thence northward to Galatia, and subsequently to Troas. This route was also to the north of those three cities. He may indeed have turned aside from his direct way, and have traversed *all the country of* Galatia and Phrygia in order (Acts xviii. 23); but the word *all* is not in the original; and if Phrygia possessed sixty-two towns, it is impossible that he could have published the gospel in all. Probably, however, there were not so many towns at that period, as there were in the sixth century, according to the testimony of Hierocles. Theodoret thinks it strange that Paul should be in Phrygia and not visit the metropolis Hierapolis; but other cities may have been more important in the eye of the apostle. In regard to Colossians iii. 16, neither it nor the parallel place (Ephes. v. 19—20), implies the possession of miraculous gifts. Such an idea is not suggested by the natural, obvious interpretation.

The words 'for I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted,' &c. (Col. ii. 1, 2), have been urged by parties holding opposite opinions with regard to the founder of the Colossian church. The exposition of them by Theodoret and Lardner has been already mentioned. According to it two classes of persons are specified: first, the inhabitants of Colosse and Laodicea; secondly, those who had not seen the face of Paul. Hence the last clause intimates, by way of contrast, that the Colossians and Laodiceans had seen him personally, especially in connexion with the third person (*their hearts*, not *your*) immediately following. But the pronoun in the third person need create no difficulty. In consequence of *τοιοῦτο* which precedes, the pronoun is put in *the third* instead of *the second* person, the rather because *they of Laodicea* are alluded to in the same person. On the supposition that the last clause explains the two preceding, and points to the circumstance that the Colossians and Laodiceans had not seen his face, there is a significance and coherence in the parts of the verse; but on the hypothesis of Theodoret and others, that significance is destroyed. 'I cannot persuade myself,' says Neander, 'that, if

the Colossians and Laodiceans had received the gospel from the lips of the apostle, he would have placed them so closely in connection with those who were not personally known to him, without any distinction, as we find in Colossians ii. 1; since, in reference to the anxiety of the apostle for the churches, it always made an important difference whether he himself had founded them or not.' The last clause is added for the purpose of shewing that the apostle's anxiety was more intense for such as were personally unknown, than for those whom he had planted and watered. The former lay nearer his heart, inasmuch as they were supposed to be weaker and more tender. Hence the phrase 'and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh,' is subjoined, with the object of expressing the vehemence of his inward conflict in relation to such individuals as he had not seen—a conflict all the more intense in proportion to the power of distance in magnifying dangers real or imaginary. Wiggers prefers the rendering '*also* for those (of the christians in Laodicea and Colosse) who have not personally known me;' but Neander justly observes that this is not natural; for if the writer had intended to express such an idea, he would hardly have failed to limit ὅσοι by adding ὅμων.

The conjunction καὶ (also) at the commencement of the seventh verse in the first chapter does not necessarily presuppose a previous instructor. It refers to the preceding statement. Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Scholz omit it as spurious; and Neander is inclined to adopt the same view. The word ἀπειμι in ii. 5, does not imply, as Wiggers thinks, that Paul had been once present, but is used in antithesis to his *presence with them in the spirit*: 'though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit.'

With respect to Epaphras, he is styled *one of you* (iv. 12). Had Epaphras founded the church, the apostle, it is said, would not have applied such a phrase to him. This assertion is hazardous. Epaphras is described as a native of Colosse, and therefore he took an especial interest in the welfare of his own citizens and neighbours. When the apostle recommends him, what stronger terms could he employ than the following: 'Epaphras who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. For I bear him record that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis' (iv. 12, 13)? What could have been more fitted to draw forth the affection and sympathy of the Colossians, or to fix their esteem? It is true that Onesimus is also described as one of the Colossians; but the subsc-

quent words sufficiently distinguish the same phrase applied in the first instance to Onesimus, and in the second to Epaphras. No significance or emphasis could have belonged to an appendix to the name of Epaphras, such as 'by whom ye believed.' That would have been superfluous.

The epistle to Philemon does not afford sufficient evidence that Paul had been personally present among the Colossians. Philemon had been converted by Paul, not at Colosse, but rather at Ephesus. The salutation of Archippus by name, as well as Apphia his wife, does not argue previous personal acquaintance; although it is not improbable that some of these Colossians may have heard Paul preach at Ephesus, and have been converted by his ministry. Epaphras, however, had given him an account of these labourers in the common vineyard. On the whole, it is most probable, that the church at Colosse was planted by Epaphras. The notices of this person are very brief in the New Testament. It may be inferred from Col. iv. 12, that he was a native of Colosse. Paul styles him a *servant of Christ* (iv. 12), *my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus* (Philem. 23); and *our dear fellow-servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ*, (Col. i. 7). Perhaps he had been sent forth during the apostle's long abode at Ephesus, to preach the gospel in those parts of Asia Minor and of Phrygia, which Paul was unable to visit in person. It would appear that he was put into prison some time after he had visited the apostle at Rome. As he had been commissioned by Paul to proclaim the truths of christianity, all confidence was reposed in him. He taught the same doctrines, and inculcated the same duties as his inspired preceptor. If the apostles were *ambassadors for Christ*, or *in Christ's stead*, as is affirmed in 2 Cor. v. 20; their assistants and co-workers were, in like manner, *their representatives*. Hence Epaphras is styled (Col. i. 7), a faithful minister of Christ *in Paul's stead* (ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν, not ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν). It is by no means likely that the honour of founding the Colossian church was due to Timothy, although Michaelis inclines to that view. Yet Epaphras was not their only teacher. He was joined and assisted by others, such as Philemon and Archippus. This obviates the objection that the Colossians would not send away their apostle while the church was yet in an infant state. The apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors. They were not dependent on one individual for spiritual oversight.

III. *The authenticity* of the epistle is amply attested by quotations in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian; and by various allusions in Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch. Irenæus says: 'And again in the Epistle to the Colossians,

(Paul) says, Luke the beloved physician greets you.* Clement of Alexandria writes: 'And in the Epistle to the Colossians he (Paul) writes, &c.† Tertullian has the following: 'From which things the apostle restraining us, expressly cautions against philosophy, when he writes to the Colossians, 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, contrary to the foresight of the Holy Spirit.‡ The allusions of Justin Martyr may be found in his dialogue with Trypho, where he says: 'Christ is the first-born of all things made; the first-born of God, and before all the creatures.§ Theophilus of Antioch, in his three books to Autolycus, writes: 'He begat this emanated Word, the first-born of every creature.¶ In like manner Marcion received the epistle into his canon, and Eusebius placed it among the acknowledged books (ὁμολογούμενα). But the universal reception of the epistle has recently found an exception in Mayerhoff, to whom may be added Professor Baur of Tübingen. The posthumous treatise of the former needs no formal refutation, since his arguments have attracted little attention and found no welcome response, even among his rationalizing countrymen. The stamp of authenticity is imprinted on every paragraph of the epistle. He who can believe that it was first composed in the second century out of the materials furnished by the epistle to the Ephesians, has certainly failed to perceive its characteristic peculiarities.

IV. V. The connexion between the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians has been treated in a preceding article,¶ as well as the time and place at which they were written.

VI. *Contents.* The epistle, like most others written by Paul, consists of two parts, a doctrinal and a practical. The first extends from the commencement to ii. 23; the second from ii. 24, to the conclusion. Each of these leading portions may be subdivided into two paragraphs, viz. I. (a), i. 1—23; (b), i. 24—ii. 23; II. (a), iii. 1—17; (b), iii. 18—iv. 18.

* Et iterum in epistola quæ est ad Colossenses, ait: Salutat vos Lucas, medicus dilectus (Col. iv. 14). Advers. Hæres., lib. iii. cap. xiv. sect. 1.

† *Kān tḡ pròs Koloσσaίς ἐπιστολῇ, Νουθετοῦντες, γράφει, κ. τ. λ.* Strom. lib. i. p. 277 (ed. Colon. 1688). Conf. Strom. iv. p. 499; v. p. 576; vi. p. 645.

‡ A quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses: Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per Philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, præter providentiam Spiritus Sancti. De Præscript. Advers. Hær. cap. vii. p. 235.

§ *πρωτόκογον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων; πρωτόκογον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων.*—Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 310—326 (Colon. 1686).

¶ *Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικῶν, πρωτόκογον πάσης κτίσεως.*—Lib. ii. p. 100 (ed. Colon. 1686.)

¶ 'Eclectic Review' for April, 1844, article 3.

I. (a). After the salutation, the apostle expresses his thanks to God for the faith and love of the Colossian believers and his unceasing prayer on their behalf that they might be filled with the knowledge of the divine will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, so as to walk worthy of the Lord and well pleasing in his sight, abounding in good deeds of every kind, for which they were strengthened by the power of God working within them. He again expresses his thanks to God the Father, who had prepared him and the Colossians for the heavenly inheritance, since they had been delivered from the kingdom of ignorance, and translated into the spiritual kingdom of the Son, through whose blood alone are procured forgiveness and complete redemption. The mention of Christ and his atonement suggests the propriety of describing his person and dignity. Accordingly, he is declared to be the Eternal God, the creator and upholder of all things and all beings in the universe, the head of the church, and the first-born of the dead, having pre-eminence over spiritual intelligences as well as renovated humanity. This description was primarily directed against the false teachers, who, by placing the Saviour on an equality with angels, lessened his essential dignity. As Lord over all, Christ is said to have reconciled all things by his blood, and the Colossians also, divested of their previous enmity, to the end, that if they continued steadfast in the faith of the gospel, they might be presented faultless in the immediate presence of the Almighty.

I. (b). In this paragraph the apostle expresses his joy in the office to which he had been called, notwithstanding all his sufferings, because these very sufferings tended to promote the progress and to subserve the completeness of the church universal. In discharging the duties of his ministry he affirms that he had to preach the gospel fully, to instruct and warn all men, both Jews and Gentiles, and to present every one perfect in Christ. It was for this that he laboured and earnestly strived, especially for the christians at Colosse and Laodicea, and as many as had not seen his face. For them he entertained the most earnest solicitude that they might be established and knit together in love, being fully assured in their understandings of the mystery of God—the divine purpose of blessing mankind in that Saviour in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He then proceeds to caution them against a deceitful wisdom grounded upon human authority, and not derived from Christ. In opposition to a philosophy so false and dangerous he reminds them that all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in Christ bodily, and that they themselves had been spiritually quickened by his grace, having been delivered from the yoke of legal observances

and superstitious rites. They ought not to allow themselves, therefore, to be seduced from the gospel by a pretended wisdom, which affected intercourse with angels and spirits, enjoined the observance of ceremonial ordinances, abstinence from meats and drinks, and an ascetic neglect of the body. If they had died with Christ to the law, why should they be again entangled with the yoke of bondage?

II. (a). This section is occupied with general precepts of a practical kind, in which the readers are exhorted to be heavenly minded, to withdraw their affections from sinful objects, to crucify the lusts of the flesh, to lay aside such practices as those in which they had once indulged, and to be clothed with virtues belonging to the renovated nature. They are exhorted above all to have the love and peace of God predominant in their hearts, to edify and admonish one another in their mutual intercourse; and at all times to give thanks to God the Father, who had created them anew after the divine image.

II. (b). The apostle now subjoins various directions regarding domestic life, especially the relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, servants and masters. To these is added an exhortation to continued prayer, combined with watchfulness; prayer, in particular, for the writer's release, that he might be at liberty to preach the gospel. He refers them to Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, for information regarding his state; as also to Onesimus, of whom he speaks with affection. The concluding verses are occupied with salutations from various individuals, and an injunction to have the present epistle read before the Laodicean church, while the epistle sent from Laodicea to Paul should also be read in the church at Colosse. The apostle concludes by subscribing the epistle with his own hand, and thus imprinting upon it the seal of authenticity.

Art. III.—*Reynard the Fox: a renowned Apologue of the Middle Ages, reproduced in Rhyme.* Longmans.

AMONG the works which, during the middle ages, obtained a wider popularity than the most popular in the present day can boast, 'The most pleasant and delightful History of Reynard the Fox,' as it was called by our earliest translators, held perhaps the first place. Germany, France, and the Low Countries, each claimed the honour of its birth-place. For many centuries this was the story to which the populace listened with untiring delight; and from the introduction of printing even to the present day, it has often been found, in the rudest form, the sole book

which the German or Flemish peasant calls his own. In England this widely-celebrated 'brute epic' seems to have been known from a very early period; introduced probably by the Flemish burghers, who were so constantly visiting our ports with their merchandize. And although during the middle ages 'Reynard the Fox' never superseded the popular tales and ballads of genuine English growth, at the close of the fifteenth century, and during the following period, it took its place among the books of the people; and many a black-letter copy, and many a later one, printed on coarsest paper and with well-worn types, still attests how interesting and amusing the story of Reynard's unequalled cunning was formerly considered.

A work which attained so wide and so lengthened a popularity, must have possessed a merit of some kind; and therefore we fully agree with the present translator, that 'not without reason on their side are they, who charge it against our early writers upon books, as a very heinous sin of omission, that they should barely have alluded to the existence of a work perhaps the most notable of all the compositions which have come down to us from the early middle age;' a work, we may add, which, from its wide-spread popularity, must have been influential in no common degree.

The same obscurity which hangs over the birth-place of 'Reynard the Fox' rests also upon the era of its production. 'As to its origin, all is dark and uncertain; the more we investigate, the older grows the poem.' In a more elementary form it has been traced as far back as the ninth century; but certain it is, that before the close of the twelfth it was recognized as a well-known work—Richard Cœur de Lion referring to it in one of his satirical poems. That it is very ancient in its origin is, we think, to be deduced from the form of the story alone; one in which the scene is laid not in courts or cities, but in the wild wood, and in which the interlocutors are all brutes.

At first sight, and ere we have become acquainted with the singular skill with which the tale is constructed, and the wonderful force and spirit with which each character—brute though he be—is delineated, we might think this form would militate against its popularity; but the history of popular literature—we use the term here, not in its general, but its strictly specific sense—has shown that 'the brute fable' is most frequently to be met with in the earliest stage of a nation's literature; and that so strongly does the uncultivated mind cling to that species of fiction, that an appeal through the medium of fable to a rude multitude has often proved successful, when close reasoning or earnest and eloquent pleading would have been alike in vain.

And it is natural that this should be so. The mass of the populace, unused to a wide range of thought, have many tastes in common with children, and we all know with what intense delight they listen to stories, in which the lower order of animals are the speakers and actors. It would seem, indeed, as though the slowly awakening imagination required to descend, ere it soared upward. Now the bird, the beast, even the fish, endowed with speech and reason, are not so widely removed from common apprehension as the wild and beautiful, or awful beings which find a place in the popular legends of a more advanced stage of the human mind. The habits of the talking brute belong to every day life, and all his characteristics, whether they refer to his original condition or to his superadded rationality, are still what every mind can comprehend. His very virtues,—fidelity, honesty, kindly feeling, require no effort of the imagination to realize, and his evil qualities,—ferocity, gluttony, force, fraud, cunning, are but the transcript of what may be seen all around.

While we willingly yield our admiration to the artistic skill displayed in the construction of the great 'brute epic' before us, and acknowledge the inimitable talents and knavery of its hero, we still feel assured, that had the poetry, or the characters, been of a higher order, the marvellous popularity of the work would have been proportionably circumscribed. But, although of poetic passages there are very few, and the morality is genuine common place, worldly morality, there is a dramatic character, and a vein of keen, biting, flashing satire throughout, which proves that the most authentic version of 'Reynard the Fox,' though probably constructed from a much older poem, was the production of no barbarous age. We have already remarked, that France, Germany, and Flanders, have each laid claim to it. Much criticism and research have been bestowed by continental scholars on this subject, and the weight of evidence seems to assign to Flanders or North Western Germany the honour of its birth, and about the commencement of the thirteenth century for its date. It was at this period, the most important and stirring of the centuries of 'the marvellous middle ages,' that 'the citizen class made gigantic strides towards the erection of that order of middle rank'—

'in the continental states throughout Germany and Flanders, no less than in Italy and France—in all laying the foundations of that fabric which speedily grew up into a rival stronghold of political power, and set up the burgher commonalty of the towns, in array against the feudatories of the territorial lords. Already had the genius of commerce made her habitation in the Hanseatic Towns; whilst Augsburg, Nuremberg, and other cities of Northern Germany, were fast following

in the wake of busy enterprise and mercantile activity—in amassing the gold which was to be freely bartered for the purchase of privileges from needy barons, made bankrupt by the costly rage for crusading in the Holy Land. These were times of earnestness and endeavour—everything was earnest; men were earnest, and so were their thoughts—their writings; even the romance of life consisted in its reality. Action was the sphere of the higher and ruling, as fact and unsophisticated observation of things as they were, the province of the recluse and reflecting classes. In the camp was bustle and alarm; at the mart was venture and enterprise; in the Church no sleeping, and in the cloister no lassitude: princes, priests, peasants and peers, were alike busy, and alike observed. Even ‘the Schoolmaster’ was out and abroad—and then, more than at any time since, men lived *sub feruld* of the satirical spirit of the age: apologues, apothegms, fables, didactic tales, and pointed pithy diatribes, soaring at the higher quarries, and stooping to the meanest game, were hurtling their shafts through the air, and helping the Walpurgis din of human life.’—Introduction, p. 22.

It was then, as the eloquent Görres remarks, ‘That in a climax of bitter and earnest significance, ‘Reynard the Fox—that great world panorama—was evoked, and stood out in relief, the literal shadow of an imperishable age.’

But it is time to turn to the story, and the opening verses will give the reader a good specimen of the hearty, merry, downright style in which the whole tale is told:

‘ Now Pentecost, the Feast, by some
 Called ‘ merry Whitsuntide,’ was come !
 The fields shewed brave, with kingcups dight,
 And hawthorns kercheft were in white :
 Her low-breathed lute the freshening rill
 Unto the wakened woods ‘gan trill ;
 Whilst, hid in leafy bower remote,
 The Cuckoo tuned his herald-note :
 The meads were pranked in gold and green.
 And ‘ leetel fowles’ of liveried sheen,
 Their pipes with *Jubilate* ! swelling,
 From bush and spray were philomelling—
 The breeze came balmy from the west,
 And April, harnessed in her best,
 The laughing sun led forth to see—
 When Noble (Lion-King was he,
 And sceptre swayed o’er Bird and Beast)
 Held ancient ways, and kept the Feast.
 The trumpets clanged loud proclamation—
 The courtiers coursed throughout the nation—
 Full many a Brave and many a Bold
 Came hastening in troops untold—
 Valiant worthies, Lords of Feud—
 From russet glade and good green wood ;

Long-Bill, and Maggie, the Crane and the Pie,
 With all the elite nobility.—
 For as the King was full intent
 On entertaining all who went
 With royal cheer and deep bibation,
 They scented far the invitation,
 Great and little, all, save one—
 True model of his mother's son :—
 The Fox. . . . '—pp. iii, iv.

And he, conscious of his many evil doings, kept away. Many and grievous are the charges brought against him ; and the wolf, the dog, the cat, and the hare, in turn, ask justice of the king. Greybeard the badger, however, undertakes to vindicate Reynard, which he does in an excellent piece of special pleading, ending with a compliment to the king, and an assurance that

' Reynard's an estimable man—
 He brooks not evil deeds to scan :
 And since the King's last peace, you'll find,
 Its breach hath shunned of every kind.
 One daily meal he scarce partakes,
 And lives, like Anchorite, on cakes.
 With stripes his body chasteneth sore—
 All out of godliness—nay, more—
 The holy man coarse sackcloth wears,
 Eschews all flesh—on salt fish fares :
 No tempter can the saint entice
 From Malepart, his fortalice :
 In cloister-cell, pinched, wan, and wasted,
 He moans his sins, and leaves untasted
 All day his frugal meal, to fast,
 Till penance lift his load at last.'—p. xij.

The reader will readily perceive in these sly hits at the devotees of the day, how irritating to the clergy was the ' Pleasant History of Reynard the Fox.' The ingenuity of the badger might have prevailed, had not chanticleer, with a sorrowing train, come forward to complain of this fasting anchorite having killed nineteen out of twenty-four chickens ! The king, therefore, waxes very wrath, and sends Bruin, the bear, to command his attendance. Bruin sets off with humorous self-importance, not doubting but he shall be more than a match for the crafty fox. Reynard welcomes him right lovingly, and on pretence of showing him a store of honey in the stump of a tree, leads the poor bear to place his paws in it, and then, withdrawing the wedge, leaves him fast prisoner. The cat is next dispatched for the refractory culprit ; and he is beguiled by the story of fat mice in the parson's barn, and caught fast in a noose. Both vic-

tims, after many disasters, appear before the king, and relate their misfortunes. Unable to obtain a more trusty messenger, the badger is now sent; and Reynard, secure in his matchless cunning, boldly sets off to court. On the way, being very devout, he proposes to make confession of his past sins, and, after detailing sundry vulpine enormities, he prays absolution:—

‘Greybeard considerably revolved
How best such sins might be absolved.
At length, a twig he snapped from tree,
And said: ‘Coz! give yourself stripes three
With this small twig; thereafter do
As furthermore I tell to you.
Set down the twig; then over it
Jump thrice: and turn about a bit:
Then back again, and kneel down low:
(Nor sign of hate nor malice, shew)
And kiss the rod. This is expedient:
It ‘tokeneth you are obedient.
Behold the penance I impose!
And from its due observance flows
Forgiveness of all sins on earth,
Committed from the hour of birth.’
Then Reynard cheerfully obeyed,
And straight dispatched the penance laid.
The Badger, next, the Fox did raise,
And said, ‘My son, now go your ways:
Reform your manners; banish hence
All ill, with prayer and penitence,—
Sure means to obliterate the past—
Obey the law; observe each fast:
Keep well the Church’s ordinances:
Leave fowl: shun all seductive fancies:
Molest no more your neighbour’s wife:
Reflect: amend your reckless life:
Theft, murder, wrong of every kind,
Abhor, and certain grace you’ll find!’
Quoth Reynard, then, ‘So be it: I
Will walk a new life till I die!’—pp. lxxij, lxxiij.

How biting is this satire. Reynard arrives at court, and in answer to the vituperations of King Noble, professes his absolute submission to him, as humbly as he had before done to holy church. But this is of no avail; he is condemned to the gallows-tree, he is brought forth, and the rope is about his neck, when, while the crowd are awaiting his last dying speech, he assures them something weighs most heavily on his mind, and it is, that his father has hoarded up an immense store of wealth, where, he only knew, and which was intended for the

purpose of overturning the state. King Noble, and the queen, now prick up their ears, command the rope to be loosed, and conjure the fox,—

‘ By his last hope
Of mercy and of happiness
Hereafter, he would straight confess
The whole of what he knew concerning
The treason.’

Reynard’s speech is an admirable specimen of cunning knavery, playing, alternately, on the fears and covetous propensities of the weakminded. He involves friends and enemies alike in the charge of treason, and then paints so seductively the immense store of gold, silver, and precious stones of which he alone knows the whereabouts, that the easily-beguiled monarch begins to deem him his most stedfast friend, and he and the queen, both urge him to disclose the spot where this vast treasure is concealed. Reynard now, on promise of full pardon, tells them a fine roundabout story; begs them to go, unaccompanied, to the place, and, above all, to be particular as to the hard names which he pronounces. The king very naturally proposes to Reynard to accompany them, but the wily fox suddenly recollects that he is excommunicated, and, therefore, what a disgrace would it be for the king to go—

‘ With Reynard out a pilgriming.
’Twas but the other day that he
Did sentence him to death! now see!
He takes to honour, love, and cherish
Whom holy church casts out to perish!’

The gullible monarch, therefore, agrees that Reynard shall at once set out to Rome for absolution; and he, according, takes leave in the most devout fashion, begging the prayers of every one.

Again, is the knavery of the fox discovered; he has killed the hare, and he is proclaimed outlaw. In the discussions respecting this, there is much sly satire; and the forms of the feudal law courts are ridiculed with a rough humour which appears to us a strong internal proof that ‘Reynard the Fox,’ in its finished form, was the production of one of the burgher class. Reynard, however, does not wait for his assailants, but boldly sets out once again for the court. On the road, he meets Jocko, the baboon, who is going to Rome, and who promises, for a ‘consideration,’ to relieve Reynard from the toil of going thither himself, which he, apparently with great devotion, accepts. To beguile the way, he discourses freely of church and state,—the following is a specimen of his expositions:—

‘ And then began
 Reynard a world of things to scan :
 Disserting much, from King to Clown,
 The vices of the Court and Town.
 But chief the Hierarchy lent
 The staple to his argument :
 And many a sad, severe reflection,
 With sign of much sincere affection,
 On holy men and things he uttered :
 Like bitter bread, with honey buttered,
 It smacked ; and so the Badger thought.
 As on his mind the sarcasm wrought.
 The fond regretful tone he used
 In his anathemas, infused
 A spicy flavour over all—
 The sugared spoon that stirred the gall !

The King by rapine lived, he said,
 As others did : and on this head
 The difference, he asserted flat,
 Was just no more than ‘ round the hat !’
 What ‘s virtue in the one, was vice
 In t’ other, by distinction nice.
 But were it not for monks and priests,
 He said, who rioted at feasts,
 And in excess of every sort
 Grew fat, and frolicsome for sport,
 And in their wantonness of heart
 Such bad example did impart,
 That others of less holy station
 Could not escape contamination—
He never had to sin inclined,
 Nor steeped in wickedness his mind :
 To carnal thoughts had ne’er descended ;
 Nor had his feet once thither tended .
 Where Mother Church forbad to stray,
 Had not her Sons first led the way.

Yes, Greybeard ! Just look at the clergy !
 Good mixed with bad !—and yet, e’er heard ye
 Of any greater sins to others
 Ascribed, than to our surplised brothers ?’ — pp. clxxiiij,
 clxxiv.

Arrived at court, his ready wit again saves him ; and he excites the interest of the queen by a second story, of a wonderful comb and looking glass which, he assures her, he had sent by the hare for her especial use ; but, to obtain possession of which, the hare had doubtless been murdered by his companion. The progress of doubt in King Noble’s mind, as to whether, after all, the Fox

might still be innocent, and the willingness to believe it, in spite of most conclusive evidence, when he finds that the Fox has still valuable jewels which he promises to give him, are painted by the hand of one who has deeply studied human nature ; while the circumstance of a culprit at the bar, telling one entertaining tale after another, as Reynard on this occasion does, reminds us forcibly of the simple state of society, and the eager thirst for 'some new story,' which distinguished those times, when the *disour* was the most cherished companion of princes. Here is a specimen,—an old fable, but never has it been told with more spirit.

' When Reynard thus perceived the sport
His tales afforded to the Court,
And how they riveted attention,
There seemed no end to his invention,—
He told them stories short and long ;
They seemed like Cantos to a Song,
Each of the other quite suggestive,
Converting gloomy thoughts to festive—
As how the Stork was once provoked
By Isengrim, when well-nigh choked
With some great bone : for Long-bill he
Sent off, to come immediately.
The Doctor to his roost had ta'en,
But quickly rose, and grasped his cane ;
Slipped on his shoes and shovel hat,
And sought the Wolf, who moaning sat :
He could not speak, but pointed to
His throat.—The Stork, as wont to do,
First felt his pulse, then shook his head,
Cried ' hem ! ' and said, ' you must be bled ! '
Whereat the Wolf, in angry wise,
Unto the Doctor's wondering eyes
Made plain the grievance—' Is it there ? '
Quoth Long-bill, and began to stare
Adown his gorge—' I'll have it out
In no time ! ' Then, to feel about
For spectacles he did begin,
And asked ' Who could have put it in ? '
The Wolf could make no answer, so
The Stork had nothing more to do
Than operate ; though much it went
Against his inclination's bent,
To prætermit what forms prescribe—
Like all the Apothecary tribe !—
With bill for forceps, leisurely,
The sticking bone he then did free ;
And held his hand out for the fee.

Quoth Isengrim : ' No fee is due !
 The luckiest leech alive are you !
 Within my jaws your sconce hath lain—
 Yet see ! thou hast it whole again ! '—pp. ccv—ccvii.

At length Reynard, emboldened by the interest taken both by the king and queen in his pleasant stories, assumes a loftier tone, and demands that strict legal proof shall be brought of the truth of each and all of his numerous iniquities. King Noble is sorely puzzled how to act ; but not knowing what to do, he makes a right royal speech.

' Reynard ! I'd have you understand,
 That whilst I over this wide land
 Bear sway, none who for justice ask
 Shall go unheeded. Hard the task
 To arbitrate 'twixt right and wrong !
 You must have seen *that* all along,
 In your own case. Both sides I hear,
 But neither makes the matter clear.
 The Hare is killed—that's certain ! granted !
 Who killed him ? Here the answer's wanted.
 Some link is missing in the chain ;
 Therefore, at present, I refrain
 From further comment—nothing less
 I like, than law that's made to guess
 At guilt ;—and the accused, 'tis writ,
 Of doubt shall have the benefit.'

' Quoth Reynard then : ' My King hath won
 A victory o'er Solomon,
 In wisdom, equity, and law !'
 He turned, and by his side he saw
 The Badger, who, from first to last,
 Had marked with interest the cast
 Of all the dice : he had reliance
 On Reynard's tact, and looked defiance
 To all around—their glances met—
 At their embrace each eye was wet !
 With smothered laughter bursting nigh,
 Reynard made feint a deep-drawn sigh
 To heave, whilst (winking all the while)
 He whispered to his friend ' Old File !
 We've done 'em ! '—then aloud, ' One kiss !
 Oh ! Greybeard, what a world is this ! '—pp. ccxiii, ccxiv.

The result of this eventful history is, that the wolf Isengrim, Reynard's especial dupe, demands trial by battle. He flings down his glove, and the fox, sorely against his inclination, is compelled to take it up. The whole of this last 'fytte,' is a

keen satire upon chivalry; and the burgher poet, evidently enjoys the unfair and mean tricks which his hero plays off against his more valiant foeman. Reynard, eventually gains the victory, but as may be supposed, by most unfair means, and the king conferring knighthood upon him, creates him chancellor, in reward of his successful villainies. It was surely therefore in a vein of bitter irony, that the concluding lines of this 'delectable history' were written.

' Good Gentles ! heark'neth what I say ;
 And bear it well in mind, alway :
 Let every man to wisdom turn !
 Love virtue !—evil only spurn !—
 For that alone this book was writ :
 None other drift there is in it !
 About your hearts this precept bind :
 Keep good before, thrust sin behind.
 Cheap, too, this book : with it you buy
 Experience, free of penalty.
 The ' world and all its ways ' is here
 (For money, and the cost not dear !)
 In pleasant masque : read it ! 't will cheer
 Your Christmas hearth, for many a year !'—p. ccli.

Thus ends the story of ' Reynard the Fox.' ' That unholy bible of the world,' as it has been forcibly, but perhaps almost too severely called. The fate of the hero, certainly sets at naught every notion alike of poetical and common justice, for the proper reward of Reynard, was undoubtedly a halter. But then, the satire, keen and bitter, upon the world's ways,—on the triumph of fraud, even more than of might over right, the success of the wicked at the expense of the innocent, the present ascendancy of evil over good, that deep and vexing mystery to the merely worldly man, would have all lost their force, and the gall in which the satirist dipt his shafts, its significance.

In looking over this curious and valuable monument of an age which has never received an hundredth part of the attention its importance deserves, we have been greatly struck with its general similarity to another great work of a rather later period, our own noble vision of *Piers Ploughman*. And well, after contemplating the wondrous life-like creations of each great poet-satirist, may we exclaim with the fervent Görres ' What a marvellous period is this middle age ! How strong were then the people, shooting and unfolding like vigorous buds, all fresh and full of sap. Then, with energetic, truthful, life-reality, idealizing, spiritualizing poetry, stood in intimate union.' Yes, it is strange to those who look at the middle age period, as a dreary, misty, almost lifeless interval, between the stir and

commotion of the irruptions of the northern tribes, and the deeper stir, and more intense commotion at the period of the revival of letters, to find in the very midst of these dark ages, two satires, unexampled in the history of any other period, two satirical epics!

And how wide is the sphere of these two poems—human nature in all its weaknesses and in all its crimes; how extended the pictures,—classes of men, not insulated individuals; and above all, what bold enunciation of truths, which even in the present day, have yet a struggle to maintain their hold. Indeed, more surprising to the reader, unacquainted with the real character of the middle ages, than aught else, is the bold assertion of free principles, which characterizes alike ‘Reynard the Fox,’ and our own ‘Piers Ploughman.’ Much respect have each for the ‘divine right’ of king or priest; and it is a proof to how wide an extent the feeling of contempt for the established priesthood, and of very moderate respect for monarchs prevailed, when we find the Flemish minstrel of the twelfth century, and the recluse of Malvern in the fourteenth, holding the self-same views and expressing them with the self-same earnestness.

There is indeed a ruder spirit, a more scoffing, Mephistophiles character, speaking out in the earlier work, as though the Flemish bard who had seen his rights trampled under foot alike by a crushing native aristocracy and a foreign monarch, could give no quarter to king or noble; and as though he believed not only the priesthood, but religion itself, might perhaps after all be little more than a thing to conjure with; while a more gentle, and in consequence a more enlightened spirit, and a far deeper moral feeling, pervades the allegory of the Monk of Malvern. Still in the grand principles—that all government is for the benefit of the many, not for the gain of the few, and that the clergy form no class professing exclusive rights, but that they are to be judged of just as other men—the two satirical epics of the middle age wholly coincide.

At the present time, the works to which we refer possess a great historical importance. Those reverend gentlemen who are now so persistingly demanding from the public a homage which it is perhaps wise in them to claim, on some mysterious grounds, since obvious reasons there are none,—are always pointing us to these ‘dim ages of faith,’ as the period when the holy priest walked the earth, the gazed at, and admired of all beholders. Alas! for them—how does ‘Reynard the Fox,’ the very hand-book of the people, loudly laugh down their claims. But in France and Flanders, a scoffing, an infidel, spirit prevailed, it may be said; so no wonder the holy priest was an object of ridicule. Well then, turn to moral and religious England,—we

speak not scoffingly, for again and again, when comparing the early literature of England with that of France and Flanders, have we been proud to mark the superior moral feeling of our early writers,—but as though on this very account, the feeling against the established clergy develops itself with increased bitterness.

It may be well to give an insulated passage from a chronicle, proving how some feeble old baron humbly did penance at the command of his confessor; how some dying usurer, fearful of purgatorial retribution for his ill-gotten wealth, joyfully gave up, not merely his tithes, but all he possessed, to the priesthood; or, even how some weak-minded princess might constitute her favorite chaplain keeper of her conscience, and far more gratifying,—of her purse also; but what was the *general* feeling in 'those ages of faith'?—the public, the popular opinion, for there *was* a public opinion then, although there were no newspapers to set it forth. Shall we discover much 'reverence for holy church in the persons of her ministers,' in the scoffing ballads of the de Montfort-rising; in the nick-names bestowed upon the bishops of Hereford and Winchester, or the abuse, how awful! heaped upon the venerable Boniface, primate of all England? Or will these reverend gentlemen, turning with scorn, from the 'sayings and doings' of rebels, as they would call the followers of de Montfort, point us to the following century. Why then things were worse, for the respect in which prelacy was held was rather curiously exemplified by the Londoners when they publicly beheaded one of Bishop Philpots's predecessors, Walter de Stapleton, on plea that he was an enemy to the liberties of the land.

But this execution, it may be said, took place during a period of great excitement. It did so, but had the mass of the people held the clergy in that mysterious respect which their successors claim, they would never have dared to drag a bishop to the scaffold. Men possessed discrimination in the middle ages, and where the clergy were respectable, and consequently respected, they were safe in times of wildest commotion. The rude mob of Wat Tyler, burnt down the palace of the bishop of London, but though encamped in Smithfield, laid not a hand on the plate or money belonging to the priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, that refuge for the sick and destitute; nor, although they burnt and spoiled the Commandery of St. John of Jerusalem, did they touch the convent of the nuns of Clerkenwell. It was against the lordly, the wealthy, the overbearing clergy, that the hostility of the middle ages was directed.

But then, the 'burgher spirit,' we may be told, has always been insubordinate and insolent; and the dwellers in cities,

from the time of the rise of the German free burghs, to the days of the psalm-singing weavers of Norwich and Taunton, and the lecture-loving apprentices of London, have always been distinguished for resistance, 'to the mild rule of holy church.' No, it is not to London, or to the other cities, where the enterprising spirit of England first found a home that we should look, but to the fair villages, and pastoral glens of 'merry England in the olden times.'

Well, look there; and bitter abuse of the clergy, and fierce denunciations of the exactions of the spiritual courts, meet us, as the earliest expression of rustic feeling.* But, 'merry England' has a hero, who serves as an exemplar to the peasantry, just as King Arthur and Sir Launcelot, serve as exemplars to the higher orders. And who is he? and what are *his* characteristics—reverence for 'church and state,' humble submission to the spiritual powers that be? Bold Robin Hood, how does thy laugh ring through the merry greenwood! The pury cellarer of St. Mary's abbey is a prisoner in his hands, and Robin thinks he does holy church good service by mulcting her servant well, and bestowing the spoil on the poor knight from whom it had been taken. The bishop himself rides through the forest with well appointed ménye, he is seized, and compelled to sing mass in a tree, as the price of his liberation. In the name of common sense, what reverence for the clergy could there be in days when ballads like these were sung in every market-place, and echoed on every village green? Where was respect for the servants of holy church? Echo might well answer 'where.'

We cannot conclude without expressing our admiration of the masterly style in which Mr. Naylor has 're-produced' this curious and valuable 'brute epic.' We must also remark, how tastefully correct is the whole 'getting up.' Familiar as we have been with many of the most beautiful manuscripts of the 12th century, we were astonished at the close resemblance of the title page, and headings of the chapters, to the choicest specimens of the middle-age calligrapher. The binding, even to the spirited little vignettes on the sides, is in perfect keeping; and the book, while it forms an important addition to the scholar's library, would be an ornament for the drawing room table.

* Vide 'Political Songs,' edited by Wright.

Art. IV. *The History of Sweden, translated from the Original of Anders Fryxell.* Edited by Mary Howitt. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley.

THIS translation is extremely well timed. It is an auspicious feature of the present day, that it has turned a portion of its vast activity towards a better acquaintance with those northern nations of Europe from whom we derive so much of our language, our customs, our national spirit, and our blood. The neglect of almost all endeavour to make this acquaintance, till recently, is an extraordinary circumstance, when we consider the knowledge of our own history, and the history of the origin and growth of our institutions and language, of which those regions are the great storehouse; and perhaps can only be accounted for by the fact of our always talking and writing of the savage Danes as the enemies of our Saxon ancestors, and of our looking to Germany as to our great original fatherland. But the fact is, that it is far more to these northern nations than to Germany as a nation, that we owe our speech and customs. This speech and these customs were derived chiefly from the tribes of the eastern shores of Germany, and those whom we are accustomed to class under our vague name of Anglo-Saxons, were that great tribe or section of the Teutonic family which stretched itself along the whole north-eastern shores of Europe, from Lapland to France. These were originally but one people, and their languages at the present day remain but so many dialects of the same primitive tongue. The Plat Deutsch, or low German, spoken in Holstein, is far more distinct from the German, than from the Danish or the Belgian; and so much greater is the affinity of this language to our own tongue than the modern German is, that some of our English dialects are but slight variations of this language. Hence, he who instead of confining his study to modern German or to ancient Anglo-Saxon, applies it to any one of the branches of this extensive language, soon finds that he has a key to all the tongues of this far-stretching region, and that in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holstein, Holland and Belgium, he hears at the present hour but modifications, and those very intelligible ones, of the sounds that were heard on our hills and plains, when Dane and Saxon contended for the mastery of this fair isle.

It is evident, therefore, what a flood of light remains yet to be poured from this vast and ancient source on many matters of the liveliest national interest to us. In the department of derivative philology alone, the study of these languages is indis-

pensible. When we take up that stupendous work of human industry, Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, we know not whether more to lament the inadequate knowledge of the great lexicographer for his task, or to admire the ingenuity with which he disguised it. The Doctor had no knowledge of German, about as little of Dutch, except such as looking into a Dutch Dictionary could give him, and even his acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon was superficial. Of Plat-Deutsch and the Scandinavian tongues, he was utterly ignorant. Hence we have derivatives of our words, at third, and fourth hand; in many hundred instances we never come near the root, and have often even French where we should get Danish or Norwegian. As the cultivation of the mother-tongue proceeds, there will come for some future lexicographer the arduous, but most interesting, task of a thorough revision of the labours of Johnson. To take one out of innumerable instances, we shall then not have such a word as 'clover' derived from Anglo-Saxon, but from the direct Swedish Klöver, or more direct Danish, Klover, because it is *clove*, the present Danish word, for divided, meaning also a cross, from the manner of this division. The student of these languages, indeed, can turn nowhere without seeing traces of them all over England in the names of people and places. It is curious, especially in the neighbourhood of London, to see in the Hacons, the Rolfs, the Snewins, the Snellins, the Harolds, Swains, Swainsons, Stensons, and similar names, the descendants of the great Danish leaders who distinguished themselves in the attacks on this part of the kingdom, and made good their settlement here. Again; in our names of towns and villages we often find not so much a German as Scandinavian foundation; Skegby, the building in the wood; Holmby, the building on the island; Kirkby, the church building, &c. But in the laudable work of tracing the origin, and composing complete glossaries of our different dialects, in which so much progress has been made of late years, this northern fountain of original language presents the most wonderful wealth. It is marvellous with what a tenacious and unchanging hold the common people in most parts of the kingdom have preserved their *mother-tongue*, from the days of the Danes to the present. We have been astonished in the cottages of Lancashire we aver, to hear the people calling spiders *Attercops*, a name not derived from the *aranea* of their Roman progenitors, or the *spinne* of their German ones, nor even from the *spindel* of their Swedish ones, so commonly confounded with the Danes, but from the pure Danish term, which has thus clung there unchanged for a thousand years.

Our purpose being at present not philologic or dialectic, we merely allude in the most passing manner to these important

facts. In history we come at once into the most interesting and exciting position. We have the very people as actors in the earlier periods, whom we are accustomed to regard with terror, as the *savage Danes*; they, who carried fire and devastation among the Saxons, and made themselves, as vikings and warriors, a dread and deathless name in our annals. We here learn how they regarded the magnificent isle of England and its people. What were their views and feelings and motives in their expeditions; and we have a strange, wild picture of their life at home in their native north, handed down in their songs and *sagas*, or legends. To this singular scene we seemed to be first amusingly introduced by Mr. Laing's travels in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; and his recent publication of a translation of the *Heimkringla*, or *Saga of Snorro Sturleson*, has further unfolded it. We have the very battle of London bridge with the Danes, and their various expeditions against this country, recorded by their scalds, or accompanying poets, and transferred thence to the pages of their sagas. In the first volume of the history now under review, we possess these in a more compact form, and bearing only their due proportion to the whole national history. These circumstances are of themselves sufficient to invest this history with a high interest, but the introduction by Mrs. Howitt of the admirable *Tales of Everyday Life of Miss Bremer* to our literature, has given a still quicker impulse to our curiosity. We desire to learn something more of the progress and present condition of a people originally so nearly allied to us, and now showing that they can even charm and improve us by their living literature.

The Swedes possess two eminent living historians Gejer and Fryxell. Gejer's history is an admirably philosophical and detailed history, and invaluable to the native, or the minute inquirer, who is anxious to make himself profoundly acquainted with the uttermost facts and springs of action of the Swedish annals. Fryxell has aimed to be more popular. He styles his work himself, '*Berättelser ur Svenska Historien*;'—'*Relations from Swedish History*.' This is, however, rather what he at first intended to make it, than what he has made it. In the preface to this translation, written by him expressly for it, he says,—'The first three volumes (the portion embraced in the two volumes here translated), including the time from Odin to Erik XIV., deposed in 1569, were the author's first essay, in the compilation of which he considered the taste of the general readers alone, and therefore consulted only the ordinary printed authorities; but, in the latter volumes, he has more and more availed himself of the hitherto untouched treasures of the

archives; and thus by greater detail endeavoured to diffuse a clearer light over certain events hitherto but partially known.'

This seems to us the most rational of all modes of writing a national history, and to have been very fortunate for the popularity of Fryxell's work. To compress the dim subjects of unwritten tradition, and to expand as the narrative advances into more known and important periods, is to keep the true measure of the reader's interest. Accordingly, the second of these volumes rises far in interest over the first, and is, in truth, a most deeply engrossing narrative. We shall, therefore, take but a cursory view of the first volume. It opens with a well-digested and sufficient description of the Scandinavian mythology, highly valuable as illustrative of succeeding parts of the history, and which shows us that the details of those wonderful things given us in 'Mallet's Northern Antiquities,' are very defective in their nomenclature, being obviously derived from a German medium, and having therefore all the proper names Germanized. The volume then embraces the heathen epoch from 100 years before Christ to A. D. 1061, or nearly the time of our Norman conquest; a period rather of wild tradition than of history; and then advances to the deposition of Christian I. in 1464. Histories of Sweden are not wanting in English, but being derived as they are from secondary sources, we feel, in perusing this fresh from the hands of a native, to whom all legitimate sources are open, a novel and totally different interest; nor should we do justice to it, did we not give a brief specimen or two of the contents of its earliest portion.

Bodwar, a Norwegian hero, is travelling towards the court of the celebrated Danish king and warrior, Rolf, when, during a night's lodging in the cottage of an old man and woman, as the old man and Bodwar were conversing, the old dame began to weep aloud:—

'Why weepst thou?' asked Bodwar. 'Ah!' said she, 'we had once a son called Hottur, who went to the king's court for pleasure, but the men-at-arms made joke of him, and set him in a heap of bones in a corner of the hall, and it is now their amusement, during meals, to throw the bones they have picked, upon him, which sometimes wound him sadly. I shall never get him back again, neither do I know if he be alive or dead. Now, I ask nothing from thee for this thy night's lodging, but that thou wilt not cast the larger but only the little bones on my son, for thy hands look so strong and so heavy, that he could scarcely bear a blow from them.'

Bodwar promised this, and expressed his opinion that he did not think it very creditable to beat a man with bones, or to use rough play with children or weak people.

This peep at the manners of a Danish king's court at that time is more fully opened on Bodwar's arrival.

KING ROLF'S COURT.

'The following day Bodwar reached Lejre. He led his horse himself into the king's stable, without saying a word to any one, and then went up to the castle. Both the dogs came raging towards him; but he instantly lifted the large stone which lay at the castle gate, and which every one who would be accepted in the king's service must show himself able to raise. With this he slew one dog, and with this dog he killed the other. He then entered the hall, when king Rolf reproached him with the murder of the dogs; but Bodwar made answer, that every freeborn man had a right to defend his own life as long as he could. The king praised his bravery, gave him the surname of Bjarke, and placed him in one of the chief places at his table. Now, when the men had drunk freely, they commenced, according to custom, to pelt each other with the bones they had picked, which occasioned a great uproar through the hall. Bodwar now perceived a great heap of bones in one corner, and on advancing to it, discovered Hottur sitting, dirty, ragged, and trembling within a high wall which he had cleverly contrived to build round him of the bones which had been thrown at him, to preserve himself by this means from being hit by others. Bodwar knocked down the wall, took Hottur by the arm, and lifted him up from amidst the bones; at which he cried and exclaimed pitifully, believing that Bodwar meant to kill him. But Bodwar took him to his own place, and made him stand there behind him. As soon as the courtiers saw Hottur, they began to throw bones at him, so that they often struck Bodwar also; but of this he took not the slightest heed, but only held Hottur fast, who trembled and shook for fear, and desired nothing so much as to run back and hide himself among his bones again. At last he observed one of these warriors fling a great knuckle-bone with all his might at Bodwar, and set up a cry of distress at the sight; but Bodwar caught the bone in his hand, and slung it back with so much strength, that the man fell dead beneath the blow. At this the rest leapt up to defend their brother in arms, but the king forbade it, saying, 'That Bodwar had only defended himself, and that this custom of throwing bones at innocent, unarmed people, was a bad custom of his warriors, and a mark of great contempt and disregard to the king; and that it was time that it should now be given up.' Bodwar, after this, rose yet higher in the king's estimation, so that he was considered the chief among the courtiers. Nevertheless, he never forgot Hottur; but, having washed him clean, and given him fresh clothes, took him always with him wherever he went, and defended him from the jokes and mockeries of the rest.'

Bodwar obtained his wife in a manner equally singular:—

'During this time it happened that a very mighty Berserk (hero,) arrived from Blueland, as Africa was then called, and the negroes,

bluemen. He was called Sot, and brought with him many ships, and a body of chosen troops. He went up into the king's hall with his men, and asked the king's sister Drifva to wife, or else challenged the king to single combat. This the king refused, whereupon the giant mounted the steps of the throne and struck at the king; but Bodwar parried the blow with his good sword, which broke that of the giant in pieces. Bodwar then cleft his head, and all the Bluemen fled affrighted from the hall. Bodwar and the rest pursued them, hewing them down, as far as their ships, where they found much gold and many treasures. After this stout action Bodwar received Drifva to wife, as they had long loved each other, and their life was one of the happiest.'

Another passage may be quoted illustrative of the marvels and mysteries with which the ancient scalds embellished the adventures of their warriors, and which tradition has woven inseparably into her gravest recitals.

'It happened once, that as King Rolf and Bodwar were conversing, Rolf asked if Bodwar knew any king who could be compared to him. Bodwar replied that he did not, but that one thing was wanting to King Rolf's glory, and that was that he should obtain the inheritance which King Adil unjustly retained. . . . King Rolf then prepared himself with his twelve warriors, and a hundred choice men, the best of his court, and set out towards Sweden. One evening they came to a little farm where one peasant lived alone, who came out and courteously invited them to lodge with him. King Rolf answered, that he probably had not room and food enough for them all; but the peasant smiled and answered, that 'he had sometimes seen many more people come to his village, and that they should want for nothing.' The peasant's name was Krane, and he was so wise that he could answer every question they put to him; and, in addition, he gave them better entertainment than they had ever met with before. But in the night they were awoken by such severe cold, that the teeth were chattering in their heads, and King Rolf with his twelve warriors alone could endure it, all the rest went about looking for more clothes with which to cover themselves. In the morning the peasant asked how he had slept, and the king and Bodwar answered, 'Well.' 'I know,' said Krane, 'that your people found it rather cool in my cottage last night; but greater difficulties are awaiting them at King Adil's court, and it would be better that you sent home the half of these weaker people, for there is no chance of your prevailing over King Adil by numbers.' The king approved of the peasant's advice, and sending home the half of his people, continued his journey. When they had ridden the whole day, they came in the evening again to the same farm as it seemed, and the same peasant received them, in the same style as before. They certainly thought that this looked strange, but passed the night with him notwithstanding. This time they were consumed with burning thirst, and with the heat of great wood fires, and so overcome were the

people by it, that the peasant advised King Rolf to send all back, and only take his twelve champions. This advice also he followed, and journeyed on to King Adil's court. There he met with the most treacherous treatment and singular adventures, and was glad to retreat. On the return, 'they came again to the farm of the peasant Krane, who entertained them as well as he had done before, and thought that his prophecy of this journey had been fulfilled, which they were obliged also to confess. Krane produced some costly arms, sword, shield, and coat of mail, which he wished to present to the king, but he would in no wise accept them, thinking it not fit to beg arms from a peasant. At this Krane was greatly angered, saying, 'Thou art not always so wise and prudent as thou thinkest thyself;' and he was so wrath that he would afford them no night's lodgings, but they were obliged to ride on, though night had already closed in. When they had gone to a little distance, Bodwar stopped and said: —'Fools find good counsel too late. Methinks we have unwisely refused that which would have served us for future victory and success, for this peasant must certainly have been the ancient Odin, and was one-eyed as he.' They therefore hastily turned about their horses' heads, but could find neither the peasant nor the farm again, but were obliged to continue their route towards Denmark. Bodwar advised King Rolf henceforth to remain quiet in his kingdom, and avoid war, as it was probable that Odin, being offended, would in future grant him no victory. And the king did so.'

But we must pass over this half fabulous period ;—the rough entertainment which the masculine princess Torborg gave to her suitors ; over the exploits of the celebrated Rognar Lodbrog, and his sons, in their expeditions to England. How they took Hvitaby (Whitby), and Lugduna (Lincoln), 'by the stratagem of begging from King Ethelred as much land as an ox's hide would cover, which they cut into narrow shreds, and made it enclose a whole district ; and all the miracles and saints of the catholic period.

The second volume contains one of the most stirring and eventful narratives in the history of any country in Europe. Christian the Tyrant, Gustavus Wasa, and the gifted but eccentric and unfortunate Erik XIV., fill it with their strange deeds, and singular fortunes. There is no tyrant in the annals of any christian nation, that can boast a bloodier fame than Christian the Second, of Denmark. What is called 'The Blood Bath of Stockholm,' that is, his wholesale butchery of the nobles, senators, and distinguished men, in 1520, is almost unparalleled, and is strikingly described. The monarchs of Denmark, for the three countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were frequently governed by one king, had repeatedly been driven out of Sweden, for their crimes and oppressions, and an administrator appointed in the person of some patriotic noble. This

was the case now. Christian, by force of arms and treachery, had made himself master of Stockholm ; and, amidst the festivities of his coronation, plotted the murder of almost every influential and patriotic Swede. No sooner were those festivities at an end than, his victims having been lured into his toils, the work of butchery began. Senators, prelates, burgomasters, noblemen, priests, and burghers, having been huddled into a tower together, were brought out into the Great Square which was surrounded by Danish troops, and guarded by cannon pointed towards every street, and successively beheaded. Amongst these were Erik Johansson Wasa, the father of Gustavus Wasa, Joachim Brahe, Erik Gyllenstjerna, Erik Lejonhufwud, and sixteen other senators ; thirteen of the town council, and fifteen of the chief citizens. The weather was wet, and the streets actually ran with blood. The next day the work of butchery went on briskly. Men were plucked suddenly from their horses as they came riding by, and were hanged on the spot, or beheaded. The whole city was surrendered to violence and plunder, and the horrible scene was closed by collecting on the third day the dead bodies which had been left on the streets, and burning them in one ghastly holocaust. The bodies of his valiant opponents, particularly the Administrator Lord Sten Sture and his young son, he caused to be torn from their graves, and burnt with the rest. Throughout the country the same horrible massacres were extended, and when, a month afterwards, he departed for Denmark, the wheel, the gallows, and bloody executioner marked his journey. It was on this gory journey that perhaps the most affecting incident in the history of royal murders occurred. In the town of Jonköping, he beheaded Sir Lindorm Ribbing and his servants. Shortly after, seeing by chance Sir Lindorm's two little boys, the one eight and the other six years old, and fearing their revenge in future years, he determined to make away with them both. The oldest boy was led out first, and was beheaded. The younger looked at the streaming blood and the red stains on his brother's clothes, without knowing what it meant ; but when he was led out, he turned with childish innocence to the executioner, and said, ' Dear man, dont stain my shirt like my brother's for then mamma will whip me.' The executioner melted at these words, threw the sword from him, and said—' I would rather blood my own shirt than thine.' But the tiger-hearted Christian who had been an eye-witness of this heart-rending spectacle, was not to be touched by it. In a fury he called for a more savage servant, who struck off the heads of the innocent child and the compassionate executioner.

It was the atrocities of this monster which brought the great

Gustavus Wasa into the field ; and he was already on the way to rouse his abused country to an effectual resistance, when the news of these horrors, and of his father's fate met him. Gustavus Wasa is one of 'the burning and shining lights of history.' He is one of the great of the earth, whose fame cannot be confined to one country, but, like the light of the sun, overspreads the whole world, warming, vivifying, and giving fresh inspiration to patriot hearts, and teaching them in the very darkest times to bid defiance to despotism and despair. It is not necessary for us to trace his career and his glorious deeds ; they are familiar to the young and the generous in all languages. We need only say that they are here described in glowing and impressive words ; and exhibit a great lesson, one of the greatest that man can teach to his fellows,—to stand fast by the right and the noble, and trusting to God's help to hope on in the divine work of beneficence in the face of mountains of discouragement. A more arduous task no one ever set himself than the young Gustavus Wasa ; more daunting discouragement never met any one in the execution of it. His country lay prostrate at the feet of the Danish tyrant, Christian. He himself, with other nobles, had been kidnapped in his youth, and carried off to captivity in Denmark. When he resolved to fly, and had effected his escape to attempt the rescue of his country, it was some time before he dared to venture into his native land, and he sought refuge at Lübeck in Germany, where the tyrant sent to demand him. When he did reach Sweden it was to find only two fortified towns in the whole country in the hands of his own countrymen, and those were defended by two of those high-hearted and heroic women of whom Sweden has been so prolific—Christiana Gyllenstjerna and Anna Bjelke. These received him with joy, but everywhere he appealed to the people in vain. 'Neither salt nor herring fail us,' said they, 'so long as we obey the king.' Such was the debasement of the public mind, and the fear of the despot, that his life was even threatened, and he was obliged to seek safety in the closest disguise. When he reached the solitary manor-house of Tärnö, in Södermanland, where his sister Margaret and her husband Sir Joachim Brahe, resided, their terror was beyond words when he revealed his project, and his sister on her knees besought him with tears and prayers not to involve his whole family in ruin. His brother-in-law, Joachim, hastened to Stockholm to attend the tyrant's coronation, advising Gustavus to make the best of the times, and do the same ; but Gustavus stood firm, and Joachim Brahe, as we have seen, was one of the first to lose his own head on the great day of butchery. This fearful news was brought to Gustavus by Brahe's old and faithful steward, who

had been witness of the awful scene, and he immediately fled to the mountainous district of Dalarna, where the stout and patriotic Stures had ever found a faithful race, ready to come to the rescue of their country. On his journey his faithless servant attempted to rob him; he narrowly escaped drowning by the breaking of the ice as he was crossing a frozen lake by night, and arriving in the country where he hoped to find zeal and faith, he found only shyness or treachery. His adventures in this wild region of mountains and forests, exceed those of any romance. Wandering in disguise from place to place; pursued by spies and bloody enemies, working in barns, hiding for days in mines, wintry woods, and under hedges; everywhere distrusted and rejected. Yet, in spite of all these difficulties, enough to sink the heart of all but such heroes as are prepared to maintain the cause of humanity, or die for it, within one year he became administrator of his nation, and within three, his country was delivered by him, it was free, and he was its crowned king. He had the honour and the blessing of introducing the reformation into it, of giving it new institutions, of establishing its prosperity, and of showing himself one of the greatest and wisest monarchs that Europe has produced.

But his throne was not destitute of disquiet. He had the freedom of his country, not only to achieve but to maintain. His Danish enemies, the partizans and priests of the old papal religion, were ever at work amid the people and nobles to expel him and the new order of things. The great Stures, who had been before the patriot champions of the country, felt themselves overshadowed, and stirred up the mountain tribes of Dalarna against him, and Russia brought down upon him her barbarous forces. The greater part of his reign was a period of anxiety and arduous strife; but he triumphed over all these trials by his wisdom and firmness. Greater trials and greater need of fortitude, however, awaited him from his own children, in whom he was far from happy. He was no exception to the almost universal and singular truth, that no man of first-rate genius or eminence in any department, transmits his genius and his fortune to his son. No mighty poet or mighty conqueror, no genius, hero, or statesman of the first magnitude, produces in his son his equal, far less his superior. Alexander of Macedon, Cæsar of Rome, or Napoleon of France, gave not birth to a second Alexander, a second Cæsar, or a second Napoleon. There has been no second Columbus, Nelson, or Blake; no second Marlborough or Wellington; Washington, Franklin, Cromwell, Hampden, or Pym, left no sons that could outshine them in deeds or counsels of liberty. In the realms of poetry where was the offspring and heir of Homer, of Virgil, of Horace;

where those of Chaucer, or Milton? Where was the son of Francis Bacon that could write a new *Novum Organum*? of Newton, that could draw from the secret depths of nature hidden laws so mighty as he did? Who succeeded to the honours of Locke, of Descartes, of Leibnitz, of Laplace? Who shall succeed to those of Cuvier, of Humboldt, or of Bentham? Where is the new Goethe or Schiller of Germany? Why did Shakspeare leave us no second dramatist to ascend still another step in the scale of transcendent genius, and make even himself a lesser wonder?

It is because the great Source and Giver of intellectual powers has seen fit otherwise to ordain. There may be physical and other causes which operate to produce this striking phenomenon; or, arguing from the doctrines of phrenology and physiology, we should have said that as the races of inferior animals are physically moulded and wonderfully improved by attention to the laws of improvement, so grand developments of head and frame in the human being should produce their like; and by culture and the light and guidance of their superior knowledge and wisdom in the training of youth, their superiors: and that by this means the progeny of heroes, whether mighty in arms, arts, or creative intellect, would go on advancing into higher forms of human greatness. But so far from this, where the highest pitch of mental vigour or wisdom, according to the old measurement of experience, is once attained, there is no maintainance of it even in the second generation; but more commonly a rapid retrogression. It would seem as if the transcendent energies that mark the individual, glorious as they may be, drawing upon him the wonder of the world, and fixing his fame as an eternal star in the heaven of history, are but just what are requisite for his appointed work—are all expended upon it, and leave no portion to be transferred to his posterity. Such men can transfer their power to their work, but not to their children. It is clearly a divine afflatus, and not transmittable and heritable property. Clever people can and do, by mere organization and idiosyncrasy, propagate cleverness in their families for generations. We see many instances of it in society; but the great burning and shining lights burn out. Clever people often produce geniuses, but geniuses rarely ever clever people. Clever and wise mothers are generally the mothers and educators of the first-rate instances of genius. It was the case with Washington, with Napoleon, with Scott; and numerous are the proofs that may be cited: but on the other hand, how few are the cases where a great man is succeeded by an equally great son? Perhaps those of David and Solomon, and Lord Chatham and his second son, William Pitt, are the most like exceptions to this

mysterious rule, which seems thus luminously established that we may perceive beyond all question that genius and intellectual power are the peculiar gifts of God, and that he reserves jealously to himself their disposal and distribution for the needs and guidance of the world.

Gustavus Wasa and his son Erik XIV. are amongst the most striking examples of this law. Gustavus was a pre-eminently handsome man, and as kind and wise, and pious in his family, as brilliantly successful in his political fortunes; yet a more eccentric or unhappy monarch than his son never reigned. He is that Erik of Sweden who sought the hand of our Queen Elizabeth so zealously, and who possesses, therefore, a particular interest for English readers; but, besides this, his fate is singularly attractive from its melancholy romance. Like his father, he was of a noble exterior, and was endowed with many good qualities. He gave the best promise while he was growing up. 'He had from nature,' says Fryxell, 'a handsome and manly appearance, a supple and strong body, developed by a hardy education. When a youth, he excelled almost all his companions in racing, swimming, dancing, in the tennis court, in the lists, and in all feats of agility. It was a pleasure, but a fearful one, to see him careering on horseback. He was likewise richly gifted with mental endowments, and was a remarkably learned man in his day. He wrote an easy and elegant Latin; but he was particularly skilled in astronomy and mathematics. Like his father, he was a lover of music, and composed himself. His poetry was also the best of his day in Swedish.' But, with these advantages, he possessed also violent passions. With the person of Absalom, he had also his ambition and popular arts, and excited fear and jealousies in his father's heart. He had bad counsellors, especially in Dionysius Beurreus, a Frenchman, who darkened his mind with the superstitions of astrology, and Göran Persson, who put him upon dangerous and impolitic acts of government. His magnificent embassies to Queen Elizabeth, and when disappointed there, out of pique, to the queen of Scots, and finally to the princess Renata of Lotringen, heiress of the Danish throne, involved him in much debt, besides filling him with the chagrin of failure. His government gradually grew into one of sternness and blood. He imprisoned one brother, the Duke John, and drove another to madness by prevailing on him to sign his consent to John's death. He imprisoned the heads of the great Swedish family of the Stures, and only when driven to distraction by his violent remorse, liberated his brother John, to be by him captured and committed to perpetual incarceration. His madness was, in fact, become apparent to all, and may tend to excuse many of his crimes, but only aggravate that

of his cruel treatment in his prison by his brother. To this day King Erik is the great hero of the people. His naturally kind heart, his fine person and bravery, his melancholy insanity and more melancholy fate, make his memory universally popular amongst them. Even their greatest poets and romancers have made him their theme. But it contributed not a little to the people's interest in him, that he married one of their own class. After all his royal and state suits, he fell in love with and married Karin Mansdotter, a young girl who originally sate in the market and sold nuts. This poor girl is celebrated alike for her extreme beauty, her good sense, and gentle disposition. It was, perhaps, beyond any earthly power to controul the madness of Erik, but Karin soothed it and often diverted him from desperate deeds. She never meddled with affairs of state, and the only happy hours Erik spent, were those in her society. The love he bore her remained unchangeable. On beautiful summer afternoons, while still reigning, he, with his most intimate associates, would sail on the lake Mälär, when Karin was always of the party, and the object of his constant devotion and tenderness. The evenings were passed in the open air in singing, dancing, and rural sports. As they rowed home at night, Erik sate by her side contemplating the sun-set lingering on the northern horizon through the long summer night, or the stars as they came forth in beauty in the heavens above, and the depths below, listening the while to the songs which echoed from the shores, or from distant boats. They were executed by his orders; he was himself often the author of both the words and music. One of these, in which he extols 'his shepherdess,' promises to love her for ever, and bids her 'thousand good nights,' has descended to us, and is still known and sung by the people.

But still more has the sad music of his captive hours sunk into the heart of the Swedish people. This they still hear in their churches. Besides writing letters to his wife, he employed his prison hours in composing music, and remarks on the books which he read. Sometimes his sorrow found vent in psalmody. Nos. 180 and 373 of the Swedish Psalm-book are composed by him. The latter is one of the most simply touching, and heart-felt confessions of contrition and faith in God ever penned. It tells forcibly the whole history of the royal prisoner's altered heart and fortunes. It speaks from the heart to the heart, and has been appointed in Sweden, one of the Penitentiary psalms sung at the execution of criminals. The music also, by the unfortunate Erik, is worthy of the words; and both make us forget his many crimes in the bitterness of his punishment, and the humility of his repentance.

Here close these two very interesting volumes. We cordially wish both the author and the translator well through the remainder, which will have to deal with no ordinary matter,—Gustavus Adolphus, ‘the Lion of the North,’ the pious and devoted champion of protestantism, Charles XII.; the singular Queen Christina, who again renounced this religion of her greatest ancestors, and sought comfort in abdication and Rome, with the expulsion of the last of the Wasa’s, Gustavus IV., and the enthronement of the Frenchman, Bernadotte, these are characters and changes that present at once to the writer an arduous and a splendid task.

A careful comparison of this translation with the original, has given us the highest respect for the ability of the translator, and her familiarity with the language, as well as for the care with which Mrs. Howitt has carried the work through the press for her absent friend. The translator, whom we should judge from her name, Anne von Schultz, to be an English lady married into a Swedish family, appears to have taken but one slight liberty with her original, that of omitting occasionally a rhythmical stanza; probably doubting its fitness for grave history. We regard these, however, as quite characteristic of a northern history, and counsel her to give us everything of the kind in the future. Her preface, descriptive of Swedish scenery and life, brief as it is, is one of the most graphic and charming compositions of the kind that we have chanced to meet with.

-
- Art. V.—1. *Pastoral Letter of William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* London, 1845.
2. *Correspondence between Henry Lord Bishop of Exeter, his Clergy, and others.* 1845.
3. *Considerations on the exercise of Private Judgment by Ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland in matters connected with the Doctrine and Discipline of that Church.* By James Parker Deane, D.C.L., Advocate in Doctor’s Commons. London: Parker. 1845.
4. *The Helstone Case; or, Twelve Letters on the Rubric and Ritual Innovations* Reprinted from the ‘Standard,’ by a Provincial: with an engraving taken from Bishop Patrick’s ‘Devotions,’ 1672, showing a Minister officiating in his gown at Church. London: Hatchard; Exeter: Hanneford. 1845.
5. *Prayers on behalf of the Church of England and her Children in their present time of Trouble.* By Francis E. Paget, M.A., Rector of Elford. London: Burns. 1845.

At the commencement of the Long Parliament, little more than

two hundred years ago, Rudyard, one of the most eloquent of its members, rose up and expressed himself to the following effect:—‘It is well known,’ he observed, ‘that disturbance has been brought into our country and the established church through vain and petty trifles. The whole realm is distracted about where to place a metaphor or how to fix an altar. We have seen ministers worried to death, against law, against conscience, against compassion. Episcopal inventions have become sieves to winnow the best men—an occupation most suitable to Satan. They have a mind to oppress preaching, for I have never heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with these and the like devices. They would fain evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of true religion by drawing it out into solemn and specious formalities—*into obsolete and antiquated ceremonies*. Let them not say that these are the perverse or malicious interpretations of some factious spirits amongst us: while a Romanist has boasted in print that the face of our church begins to alter, the language of our religion to change; and that if a synod were held, and puritans excluded, our articles and theirs might be soon made to agree. They have so brought it to pass, that under the names of puritans (and he might have added, ultra-protestants), our whole religion is branded; and under cover of a few hard words against catholics, all popery is countenanced. Whoever would be governed by common usage is a puritan, according to them; their great work being to exhibit all persons not of their way of thinking, as people to be suspected! The effect of these ill-judged procedures is weakness and division on every hand!’ Never surely was an historical coincidence of times and circumstances more palpably striking. We owe an apology to our readers for not having before called their attention, in these pages, to the superb drama of confusion now agitating the establishment, which describes itself in every Bidding Prayer as ‘that pure, apostolic, and reformed branch of Christ’s holy catholic church maintained in these kingdoms!’ There are two bishops, more particularly notorious, who have been politely compared by the ‘leading journal of Europe’ to ‘the two tai’s of smoking fire-brands, Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah.’ thousands of clergy and laity having already denounced them as neither more nor less than ecclesiastical incendiaries. The peace of society, throughout extensive districts, has been sacrificed to the freaks of these factious and cowardly prelates. We use the latter epithet with deliberation, although entirely without anger. Like those cunning quadrupeds of the brush, they have effected their mischievous purposes, and then skulked away! Charles James of London, after the vagaries of Ware,

Ilford, Shoreditch, and Tottenham, has laid down his ears, and withdrawn his regulations for the term of twelve months ! What a caricature of papal usurpation and pusillanimity. Henry of Exeter, all but falling into hysterical convulsions, because some poor curate, on a Sunday during the bitter cold weather of December last, was said to have preached in a great coat, which proved not to have been a correct report, has now withdrawn his surplices from the pulpit altogether. The white and the black officials are henceforward to do duty as they have hitherto done for several generations. But who shall heal the breaches and heart-burnings which these attempts at paltry innovation have made ? Who are contending for these bagatelles, but those who have shown themselves the bitterest enemies of vital godliness ! We are reminded of a worthy clergyman who once offended Archbishop Laud by declaring that 'he opined the evening of the world must certainly be at hand, as the shadows were growing so much longer than the substances which projected them !' Since the Reformation, or at least the Restoration, we doubt whether the Church of England has ever been in a more pitiable condition than it exhibits at the present day.

Indeed her state is such, that compassion should swallow up indignation in the bosom of every right-minded spectator. Were some wandering spirit from another sphere to alight on Shooter's Hill or Dartmoor, his eye could not fail to be caught by the incessant excitement and turmoil amongst all the inhabitants of this island. Our harbours would strike him as crowded with vessels, our markets as overflowing with prosperity, our soil as teeming with fertility, our civilization as ripening into the most marvellous refinement. The cancer of pauperism might possibly be just at first concealed ; but the hubbub of public meetings scarcely so. ' Yet, what is it all about,' would be his inquiry as a stranger, or at least some such internal query would flash through his mind. His surprise must surpass description, to be told that the subject matter was, in a certain sense, rather less than the mote in a sunbeam ! When further informed, moreover, that the entire *fons malorum*, out of which, one single drop had scalded and exasperated millions of sensible people, was an institution professedly maintained for the purposes of promoting national edification, would he not answer, ' Why, then, is not the whole affair altered ; why not dry up altogether a fountain of such bitter waters ; why not let the River of Life wend its own way through this otherwise happy land : I cannot understand it ?' Nor does the problem admit of a very easy or superficial explanation. It is an anomaly all over ; one vast, endless, labyrinth of perplexities ; an enormous fraud upon mankind. That so holy and blessed a system as the

gospel of the Redeemer, originated from the fathomless mercy of Eternal Love, illustrated by the life of its Divine Author, and sealed with his own blood, should ever have fallen into the hands of secular men at all, to be by them corrupted and rendered a bane to that world, over which one day it is to reign in the plenitude of its power, is to ourselves an almost inconceivable mystery. Within these realms, however, this phenomenon is still to be witnessed. We possess an hierarchy seated on about fifty episcopal thrones, throughout England, Ireland, and their colonies. Immense revenues are showered into its lap, extensive powers are wielded by its hands, about twenty thousand ordained clergy, bound by oaths and subscriptions, wait upon its will, or rather upon the will of its secular superior. Now, strange to say, amidst infinite pomp and grandeur, it has neither head, heart, nor hand of its own. The premier nods, and this proud prelacy must obey ! Either he, or his predecessors, placed every mitre upon the brow that wears it. In these islands, to adopt a favorite figure, the church is married to the state ; and an iniquitous husband the latter makes her. Richard Hooker, and his followers, consider the limits of the one as also the limits of the other. Those who deny such doctrines are without the pale ; and what is to become of them hereafter, let no man say. But just at present, our attention is imperatively called to the sublunary circumstances of this said church of England : we shall glance for a few moments at the parties within the establishment, then at its internal and external position, and lastly at its future prospects.

None will deny that the members of the church of England constitute an exceedingly numerous, and important portion of our body politic. What their precise numbers may be, it is perhaps difficult to determine ; but probably she baptizes into her communion a large third of our European fellow subjects. Of these, there is an immense mass whom, for the sake of convenience, we shall call the conservatives. They are mostly men, women, and children, who may just be estimated as so much flesh, bone, and sinew. To the vital realities of religion they are utter strangers. Their affections, except so far as mere associations arising out of education and habit may go, are all sent another way. Less than a century since, the church of England consisted of little else than such materials. Let the admirable Samuel Walker, of Truro, be referred to as a witness, himself so attached to his ecclesiastical mother, that neither fire nor sword could separate him. He thus solemnly records the results of a widely extended investigation :—‘ What I see has given me much concern. I see the number of real christians small. I see that the form of godliness has been thrusting out

the power of it, till that itself is well nigh lost in licentiousness. I see the generality dead in sin, and securely sleeping in a profound ignorance of the truth of the gospel. I see our ministry in general, long ago fallen into a dry moral way of preaching, that can neither reach the disease of the hearers, nor has the promise of the Spirit to accompany it. And I earnestly wish I saw none of those, who have undertaken that sacred office, so engaged in ambitious and self-interested pursuits, that they have neither leisure, nor inclination, nor ability to go through their ministerial duties. *In general, I see God forgotten, Christ neglected or despised, and the kingdom of darkness extensively established.* We have copied the words of one of his most serious documents, which, from time to time, he accustomed himself to draw up with all the carefulness of a philosopher, and the piety of a thoroughly upright and conscientious mind. Let Messrs. Venn, Grimshawe, Berridge, Scott, Romaine, Adams of Winttingham, be appealed to for similar testimony. When we add to these the celebrated Hervey of Weston Favel, we have gone far towards enumerating nearly every name at all prominent during those times, for genuine godliness in the establishment. The nation might have become perfectly heathenized, had it not been for these worthies, acting as they did in conjunction with, or strengthened by, the methodists and nonconformists. Matters are somewhat altered now; and yet it must be admitted, that conservatism still constitutes the basis and bulk of the building. It is, after all, a cold though a somewhat colossal affair. The metropolitan cathedral is the very type of it; with its Grecian and graceful porticoes, its ample nave and aisles, its aspiring dome, the insignia of the state all over it, its marble monuments, and its paucity of genuine worshippers! The revenues of its reverend chapter are perhaps equivalent to the privy purse of the pope of Rome; whilst, as to fervour of devotion, it is just out of the question; one would as soon look for tropical productions in the polar regions. Taking the number of regularly ordained clergy at from sixteen to twenty thousand; and calculating from the subscribers to the Church Missionary Society, as well as kindred institutions, that six thousand may be considered evangelical in their sentiments; then allowing from fifteen hundred to two thousand more for the followers, or at least favourers of Pusey and Newman; there will be found left about a myriad of priests and deacons, out of whose ranks we grant that the foxhunters and turfmen are gradually dying off, but whose mighty mass still remains; *mole sud immobiliter stat!* It forms a mountain platform of pharisaical formalism. It supports an ecclesiastical fabric, to which ignorance, and fashion, and bigotry resort upon the Sunday; where decency ministers

at a fireless altar, and a political creed wears the garb of external religion during the hours of stated service. But godliness always catches cold by going there. It is a temple of mammon to all intents and purposes. It evangelizes no souls. It glories in no cross. It wears and wields a sword,—but not that of the Spirit. It assorts well with the pageantry of scarlet gowns, beadles, maces, wigs, powdered menials, and the other gaudy gewgaws of a lord mayor's day. But it is a synagogue of Satan, in which he obscures the realities of another world, by mingling them with the phantasmagoria of this. It is a wonderful part of his grand vanity fair, to which all ages and both sexes are invited and allured when the theatres are closed, when balls and routs are suspended, when pleasure itself wants a change, and the best opera dancers are out of town!

Next to the conservatives, in the church of England, we must take the evangelicals; a class once promising to become an army of confessors,—a host of the 'precious sons of Zion.' But how is the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed! Would not their very progenitors be ashamed of them; those who refused large preferments, that they might fight unencumbered against still larger abuses; those who co-operated with nonconformists, that they might arouse their own brethren; those that could, in an apostolic sense, become all things to all men, that by all means they might save some? Alas! where is the liberality, which once brought the great episcopal commentator to Bristol, on a visit to the respected Principal of a Baptist Academy?—which united John Owen to the Hughes, and Hardcastle, and Clayton, of his day; or at an earlier period consecrated the friendship of the good curate of Truro, with Risdon Darracott, of Wellington? Have not the present evangelical clergy grown conformed to the present world, instead of becoming transformed in the renewal of their minds? We do not, of course, mean to say, that they frequent Drury Lane or Covent Garden, or that they dance the Polka, and play at cards. But what we intend to affirm is this,—that their entire spirit is opposed, not so much to the professions, as to the practices and conduct of their illustrious predecessors. Their general bearing has degenerated into the assumption of sacerdotal usurpation. They have ceased to be men of self-denial and unimpeachable disinterestedness. What the Edinburgh Review has propounded respecting them is too true,—that they obtain the best preferments, wed the prettiest wives, marry the richest fortunes, exhibit the handsomest equipages, and give themselves the greatest airs, of any class of gentry in the country. Their pretensions to more scriptural doctrine, and greater external holiness of life, than their tractarian and

conservative colleagues, are held *in commendam* with a dispensation for all sorts of bad tempers towards those who differ from them. They rally, like janizzaries, round the alliance between church and state. Their company is encountered in clusters, at the palaces of the few prelates upon whom they can reckon as patrons; or at the tables of the great and noble, who now happily coincide with sentiments no longer despised or persecuted. We say it deliberately, and with the means in our hands of proving what we say,—that, with many splendid individual exceptions, not at all affecting the force of our general assertion, they have ceased for some years to be the exclusively-working clergy, which they once were. In the mere matter of ministerial labour, they are surpassed by many parochial pastors of a new, and worse school, whose spiritual knowledge is not to be compared with theirs. But they have lost their first love. Their parishes see less of them, and their bishops more. Our experience in these respects we may venture to describe as strictly personal. They stand aloof from the pious laity; jealous of the slightest conceivable approach to any interference in duties supposed to be exclusively connected with the gown and surplice. Even lay visitation has a green eye cast upon it. The Sunday Schools in our remotest villages will bear no committees; or at least, the vicar and his curate are resolved they shall not. 'We are the people, and wisdom will die with us,' forms their practical motto. Hence they have become cool about the British and Foreign Bible Society; they have withdrawn from the London Missions; they can even manifest a little coquetry with the Puseyism of their rural deanery; they avoid all possible contamination with nonconformity; they have spread over the surface of the kingdom in shallows, rather than deep waters. Whenever asked, as was the case the other day, 'Whether laymen may not consider themselves entitled to touch the ark of the Lord?' the cautious answer was, 'They are permitted *to carry it*!' As a clerical body, they have reposed their head on the knees of a secular Dalilah, wilfully seeking slumber on that pillow of slothfulness and sin; the witch of this world has sold the lock of the Nazarite; and her cry in the moment of danger will be, 'The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!' Let the 'Record' contradict us if it can!

Next in order stands the Oxford party, made up of many shades and colours. Some of these have not as yet disentangled themselves from the sections already reviewed. Conservatism rather likes their brilliant scouring of the outside of the cup and platter. Secularised evangelism mightily approves their potent denunciations of nonconformity. They, on the other

hand, kiss hands in return at the hatred of the first against the puritanism of the second. In fact, one of the characteristic marks of tractarianism and its adherents, is, that upon principle, they have no warfare with the present evil world. They profess themselves perfectly ready at any and every moment to battle against Satan and the flesh : but with the third person leagued in the triumvirate against the soul of man, they can remain at peace, if parties will only be quiet ! We know a most respectable and accomplished rector, in one of the eastern counties, who never fails in performing daily service in his own church ; often throwing on his surplice over his sporting costume, after the first of September ! Puseyism, again, rather affects the seriousness of the evangelicals, and wishes to supplant their tracts, their habits, their once frequent and effective visitation amongst the cottages of the poor, by corresponding publications and customs of its own. Where it most terribly tells, against the latter class of its antagonists, is by calling public attention to their anti-liturgical inconsistencies, and their anti-rubrical transgressions. Upon these, and similar subjects, the 'British Critic' assailed them with 'sharp sleet of arrowy showers,' which has bruised the poor 'Christian Observer' all over, and demolished lesser combatants. The letter of all the canons, many of the homilies, parts of the catechism, and detached portions of the prayer book, have ruthlessly been claimed by the New-maniacs, and played off in battery upon their opponents. We may judge by the test of temper, if there had been nothing else, where the victory has been gained, about the anise and cummin, the copes, albs, tunicles, bowings towards the altar, faldstools, credences, and the like. Dissenters, it must be remembered, may aver that these things are mere trifles ; but clergymen, supposed to be exemplars of piety, who have given an *ex animo* assent and consent to every one of them, are not in circumstances to do so. Here lies the real power of Puseyism, as an accuser against its brethren ; if, indeed, persons may claim that term of endearment, who would embrace each other, about as soon as death and the grave ! Meanwhile, Oxford grows rapidly into the Salamanca of England. Her former profligacy in morals has assumed the cowl and cord of monkish austerity ; like Mephistophiles, when he had taken a fancy to sackcloth and ashes. It is wonderful to see the number of young men, who have caught the contagion. It is nothing to the purpose, that the present Vice-chancellor carried his election by an overwhelming majority, or that a grace has, or rather was to have passed convocation for testing the sense in which the articles are subscribed. The astounding facts are that such an office, coming in rotation, should have been op-

posed at all ; or that the tract Ninety should render an explanatory test necessary. Their treatment of Messrs. Ward and Pusey has undoubtedly been forced upon the authorities in the university, by circumstances ; and it would appear, that there is a section, disposed upon certain conditions, to look towards Rome itself as their ultimate resting place. We have never denied this : but, on the other hand, are fully aware that all along a small body of individuals secretly avowed these tendencies. Yet the utmost extent of their number at present may be stated as under two hundred, and probably not more than one hundred and fifty. What we *have* ventured to assert rather strenuously is, that the mass of tractarians generally entertain no such views or ideas. Their object is altogether of another kind ; and they know that the real Romanizers, within their own limits, are not above one in ten. They aim at something much nearer home—at a petted popery of their own—at a sort of British patriarchate—at a Vatican on the banks of the Thames—at an ecclesiastical domination, which they may work with their own hands, and for their own purposes—at an empire over the conscience of this country, that no one else shall interfere with—at the discouragement of all dissent from their own skeleton of Pharisaism—at the suppression of civil liberty, under their own feet—at the canonization of such men as the ‘Royal Martyr,’ Archbishop Laud, Bishop Ken, or Wilson of Sodor and Man—and finally, at the realization of their most decidedly anti-protestant system ! It by no means follows, however, that because it is thus anti-protestant, it must for that reason be Roman. The persecutor of Dr. Leighton refused the red hat of a cardinal. Puseyism we may depend upon it, is a *tertium quid*, as the logicians say, and smile with contempt, when they say it. It is a *via media*, according to those who have thrown it up, and who mean to spend their lives in walking upon it. It is anglican catholicism, to adopt the favourite expression at Oxford—the high-bred monster of modern ecclesiastical history—a golden calf in Christendom, around which its deluded worshippers dance strange antics, to the cry of ‘These be thy Gods, oh Israel !’

The last party we shall look at, in the establishment, is that of the prelates ; for it is a very singular, yet certain fact, that their lordships, on many occasions, condescend to play a game very snugly by and for themselves. Nay,—amidst the recent disturbances, they have even broken up into little subdivisions. The entire Anglican Episcopate has, we repeat it, split into fragments. The bishops of Worcester and Chester are as different from those of London and Exeter, as though they were not of the same genus. What becomes, we would venture to inquire, of the boasted unity of the establishment ? But let

that pass. The fond conceit, with which the tractarians have tickled those ears that happen to lie hidden under mitres, is, *Episcopus in episcopatu suo solus est, integer atque rotundus*: the object of which patristic gloss is to enable them to escape from the grasp of the Romanist, when he employs their episcopal line of argumentation to defend the primacy of St. Peter and his successors. The remark, in modern times, we believe was first made by the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan, an eminent missionary and East-India chaplain, that the twenty-four or six British bishops resided, like so many spiritual barons, in their castles, governing their respective territories, but rarely acting together, except for defensive purposes. We quote from memory; while such, we are certain, is the substance of what he said. Of late years, these opulent and powerful ecclesiastical peers have been more harassed than before. Their lordships have become, therefore, at once selfish, and professedly disinterested;—secluded by position and rank from their own clergy, and yet beckoning them to their dinner-tables, when anything is to be done against the dissenters;—ruling poor curates with a rod of iron, puzzling them with new readings of the rubrics and canons, discouraging the most active preachers, and promoting only those divines, whose advancement will aggrandize their own family, or gratify the prime minister. How just and unanswerable are the following observations, made by one of the most clever of our conservative contemporaries:—‘A bishop should be to his diocese what a clergyman is expected to be to his flock,—the object of reference in all delicate and intricate matters, the comforter in trouble or difficulties, the anxious rewarder of the laborious, the vigilant censor of the indolent or vicious; his existence should be felt in every parish, and every one of his subordinates (upon the true episcopal theory) should be made aware, that his conduct is well known and justly estimated. This is surely not setting up a very high standard for episcopal excellence; yet who can say that even this is fulfilled in any adequate degree, or in the least of its requisitions? Even in the removal of notorious scandal, what tardiness and inefficiency are exhibited! If it be possible to admit a plea that shall stand between the offender, and his merited sentence of deprivation or suspension, how carefully and tenderly is the dilemma handled! Every one must remember a recent instance, in which the grossest profligacy was sheltered, and the cry of an indignant people for summary justice evaded. But no record of guilt was made,—not even a reprimand, that we ever heard of, was addressed to the reverend and unabashed voluptuary. This was an instance publicly known and commented upon. Are there no private cases of misconduct, foul and abo-

minable, of which none but bishops seem ignorant, and yet which flourish almost at their own doors? To what purpose all this strife about offertories and observances, when so many deeper sources of evil remain to be extirpated, before the church can assume a right position, and fitly discharge her vocation? Again, allowing every consideration for delicacy, when a word of reprobation is necessary against a delinquent theologian, whose station, and perhaps nothing else, has made a gentleman of him,—how comes it, that a sentiment of a similar kind does not pervade the conduct of the episcopal bench towards the great body of the clergy? Why is it that the clergy, generally, and except for particular purposes, know so little, and see so little of their bishops? What keeps them from being better acquainted with each other? Curates have no access, it seems, to the palace, unless by special invitation. Their parochial duties keep them at home; and their unwillingness to go where they are dubious of a welcome, consigns them to the solitude of their villages and hamlets, unknown and unsought for. A man, in our Establishment, may be vigilant and active; he may rejoice in the fruits of his own labours; but he must not, and he does not expect to see them noticed by his own diocesan.

It has always been a common saying with our clergy, that a pastor may do his duty or let it alone! He is neither better nor worse regarded at the palace. His lordship, with a stretch of liberality that does his penetration infinite credit, and saves him a world of trouble, takes it for granted that every one performs his duty: of course they do, and he is perfectly satisfied; as why should he not? And really, when an opportunity of promotion comes in his way, he is perplexed to death with the variety of claimants. There is the nephew of his patron, and the brother-in-law of his dean, and others with great connexions or long purses to recommend them, and no room is left for any besides; and thus many most worthy men and laborious ministers are never thought of for one moment, and live and die in poverty and neglect. We should be glad to know how many poor, unconnected, deserving clergymen the bishops have provided for, *on account of their merits*, during the last twenty years! Such are the illustrations given and the pictures drawn by episcopalians themselves, as to their own spiritual leaders. There is not a thinker, or reader, or observer in the three kingdoms who can disprove the general representation. The bishops, then, constitute a body acting apart from their own people,—an essentially selfish hierarchy. Their movements only coincide, when the standard of temporal alarm is hoisted upon their respective towers. At all other times they all live as they list. Some patronise high notions, some low ones;

more are for peace, on the ground of preserving matters as they are ; others are for open war. The Metropolitan has issued his bull, indeed, to silence all refractory and belligerent suffragans ; yet really, its roar is so very like that of a sucking dove, that even the children are not frightened : its voice, moreover, requires an interpreter, since both evangelicals and tractarians persist in claiming His Grace as on their own side.

These, then, are the parties in the Church of England ; and now let us glance at its internal and external position, in the midst of the most powerful nation of Europe. And nearly the first thing which strikes one is its palpable, glaring, inconsistency. Here we have an institution claiming the most sacred character before men, and yet openly setting at defiance the commands of God ! On the one hand, it asserts an apostolic descent, a divine origin, rights derived from scripture to the spiritual allegiance of these realms, doctrines that cannot be gainsaid, primitive discipline, and an inherent immortality of existence ; on the other, it demands and maintains an alliance with the state, in the teeth of what Christ has declared about his kingdom not being of this world ; it rests its external and visible foundations upon acts of parliament ; it appropriates five millions of revenue to its own purposes, for which it has bartered away every shadow of internal discipline ; and it denounces all attempts made to separate those which the bible says never ought to have been joined together, as so many efforts aimed at the overthrow and destruction of christianity ! Either the church of England can subsist without the compulsory principle, or it cannot. If the former, where is the ground for her trepidation and alarm—her anathemas and horrible insinuations against the dissenters ? If the latter, what becomes of her essential immortality ? Or is it really true that the state alone summoned her into existence, and could to-morrow sentence her to annihilation ? Do tithes, and glebes, and endowments, and secular wealth, constitute her very being ? Upon her own showing, therefore, does she not blow hot and cold with the same breath ? So, again, with regard to her situation between catholicism and nonconformity, her aspect is unquestionably that of Janus—an image with two faces. She frowns, indeed, fiercely upon both ; but let her be asked, with all coolness and kindness, how she came to forsake the quarry out of which she was hewn ? Her answer must sooner or later be melted down to this,—namely, that she exercised the privilege of private judgment. ‘ Very well,’ reply the Wesleyans—with all the representatives of ancient puritans—‘ and it was in the exercise of a similar privilege that we separated from you ! ’ But then we hear of her apostolical succession, of the validity of her

ordinations and sacraments, of the four-first-council character of her discipline and doctrines, of her exclusive authority touching the new covenant, and of her being, like the king's daughter, — 'all glorious within,' a meet spouse for the Redeemer, possessed of both visibility and uniformity. Whence came all these, estimating them at her own value, for the sake of argument, and expounding them upon her own principles? If we attempt tracing them up to some British church founded in the first or second centuries, the higher links, as is well known, vanish in a cloud of legend and traditionary fable. From Rome, alone, can they have been derived, if link is to be added on to link in the ecclesiastical chain: and then, how came the Church of England into circumstances of dissent and schism? There appears to us no conceivable escape from the dilemma. If she conscientiously differed from the Vatican, how can she complain of a conscientious exception to Lambeth? If her Roman mother were not so corrupt as to invalidate the sacraments, how could the daughter, upon her own statements, separate without sin? If the parent had thus degenerated, what then becomes of that which is derived from her? The clean thing can by no just process of induction be brought out of an unclean. Her antagonists above, and her rivals below her, both convict her in the same moment of the same culpability as soon as she dares to open her mouth: *ex ore tuo te instanter condemnavimus!*

Then again, in looking at our ecclesiastical establishment *ab intra*, we cannot fail to be most forcibly impressed with its servility to its secular master. There have been known cases of painful bondage, where there has been no slavish mind. Yet here it is not so. If the resistance of the seven bishops to James the Second be adduced, our immediate answer is, that the foolish monarch had touched the apple of their eye. Had he let the property of the church of England alone, she would have stood by him as she had done by his father; and as too many of her children would afterwards have done by the Pretender, upon the same good understanding, that her pelf and power were to be left untouched. In all that relates to civil and religious liberty, into which scale have our hierarchy and clergy thrown themselves? As directors of the royal, aristocratic, parliamentary, and national conscience, were there ever any audible whispers against smuggling, bribery, simony, the desecration of the holy communion as a test for taking office, or against gambling as permitted in the palaces or mansions of the great? When George the Second avowedly sold place and preferment on behalf of his German mistresses, where were the archbishops and bishops, or the very reverend the chaplains and clerks of the closet? In our own days, how fared the British Sardanapalus,

who had divorced his consort—who turned day into night through his indescribable debaucheries,—who reigned and revelled in oriental voluptuousness, with a spiritual staff around him, pluming itself on the revival of its piety? Our princes and peerage were as profligate as any ever heard of, although living in the midst of Protestantism, until public opinion, without any thanks whatever to the highly salaried establishment, effected, under the divine blessing, a mighty change. In the glorious conflict for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, neither the hierarchy or clergy ever peeped or muttered for many years. The brunt of the battle, with some highly honourable individual exceptions, was borne by the despised schismatics, quakers, presbyterians, independents, baptists, *et id genus omne*, as was often contemptuously observed. In the abolition of lotteries, and all other analogous nuisances, the church remained pretty nearly in respectful silence. It seemed rather to stroke, than to rouse the general mind. Its activity was at least of a passive kind, like that of certain antiquated apothecaries, who hung stuffed crocodiles for their signs outside, and dispensed within for a given premium, opiates, narcotics, charms for the ague, and poisons for vermin. Was it ever known that our thirty spiritual peers in the House of Lords had attended at the cabinet of an administration, to extend the limits of popular liberty, to enlarge the suffrage, to support a Reform Bill, to ameliorate our criminal code, to suppress the game laws, to enlarge the narrow prison, or wipe away the tears of the children of poverty and misfortune? We grant, that when success in any of these particulars has been just on the eve of achievement, or that when an obvious point has to be made in favour of their own side, in politics or polemics, there have now and then occurred some rather over-acted endeavours to discountenance socialism, or shut up brothels. Yet what a scene of ecclesiastical depravity was exposed under the last head. It was discovered that the chapter of Westminster derived large rentals from the tabernacles of public prostitution! It was a Clodius indeed, who called attention to the disgraceful fact; but so it is with all our advantages of an establishment, where factious prelates choose to become tribunes clamorous for freedom and virtue:

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?
Clodius accusat Mæchos, Catalina Cethegum!

The same homage, moreover, which the dignitaries pay to the powers that be, they exact from those beneath them. We remember the bishop of London declaring in parliament that he could obtain at any time, hundreds of petitions of a certain cha-

racter, which he specified, through issuing the requisite printed forms to his archdeacons, and, through them, to his inferior clergy and their churchwardens. Immense indignation was expressed at his lordship's want of tact and delicacy, in thus exposing the nakedness of those with whom he was once upon a par; but the correctness of the statement, as all are aware, it was utterly impossible to deny.

There is also another feature, which meets the notice of every intelligent observer, when he surveys the position of things, within the doors of the church of England. There has come over the spirit of its dreams a most fearful apprehension, that probably a day of reckoning is at hand, when all its wealth will pass away. Hence proceeds that nervous tremulousness which we see now so often displayed. The contest for a church-rate will agitate an entire district. The proposition of Lord Ashley and others, for something like a system of lay-readers, has filled the clergy of nearly all parties with absolute dismay. Their general aspect is that of men feeling as if the ground were about to slide from under them. Hence flows no slight share of the zeal in building new chapels, as if each fresh edifice may act as a buttress of masonry to prevent the landslip. Charges, sermons, addresses on public occasions, are all redolent of alarm. A commutation of tithes has considerably increased their means, so far as mere pecuniary income is concerned; but the sword of Damocles always seems to be suspended over them. The ecclesiastical commissioners are pretending to pare away various abuses, which, in the opinion of the most thoughtful, will rather strengthen their foundations than otherwise: but then follows the distressing imagination, that as the laity have interfered once in this century, and that once rather successfully, they may indulge more fancies, and dare to interfere again. Reform from any quarter, but a clerical one, is the grand bugbear. Meanwhile, genuine spirituality of necessity declines. The wings of the heavenly Paraclete hover not over the house of turmoil and perturbation. Worldliness enters in at the gate in the fulness of a flood-tide. From the ark floating on its waters there issues a raven rather than a dove. Theologians are wrangling from morning to night about topics of small interest to the pious and the peaceful. These hunger and thirst for the hidden manna and the gentle brook of Siloa. Numbers are leaving the establishment in consequence, as many witnesses will testify. Galleries, built recently for accommodating an augmented population, and within the last twelvemonth crowded with attentive hearers, are now deserted. Husks, and shells, and chaff, will never nourish souls for eternity. 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' We write

it without anger, yet knowing that we speak the plain truth, when we reiterate the assertion, that episcopalian pastors are fast losing their influence over their people. Take the case of Helstone in Cornwall. The parish contains 3,500 inhabitants, with only one church connected with the establishment; of which the fabric was found, in 1837, utterly inadequate for the accommodation required. Several old square pews were in that year removed, and their space occupied by modern seats. A large gallery was also added at the same time. The number of sittings was thus raised from 470 to nearly 1,000, of which 445 were free to all persons. Four hundred and ninety were appropriated at fair rents, which never failed to be full; the attachment of the parishioners to their place of worship being truly cordial. 'All went on well,' says an accurate informant on the spot; 'the church funds were plentiful; the spirit in the town for supporting the church was excellent; and in the ensuing half dozen years, no less than £2,500 was voluntarily contributed and expended in adorning and improving the building. An organist was appointed at a good salary; there was a paid choir, and the entire sanctuary was handsomely lighted up with gas. In addition to the appointed curate, a stipend was afforded to a lecturer, for an additional service, out of the voluntary contributions of the congregation. Things proceeded thus satisfactorily until the beginning of 1842, when a gentleman named Barlow was appointed curate. He commenced by preaching in the surplice, and attempting to introduce all the other obsolete ceremonies, so repugnant to the taste of the people, and which have at length aroused their determined opposition.' The congregation immediately began to fall off, and complaints were made to the bishop against the course pursued by the new preacher. His lordship was so pressed, that in order to quiet applications, he withdrew Mr. Barlow, and substituted Mr. Blunt; a most jesuitical procedure, from first to last; for it was notorious, that Mr. Blunt had emptied a large church at Teignmouth, where the gospel had been faithfully and energetically illustrated by an able and much respected evangelical minister. However, Mr. Blunt came to Helstone, ostensibly to mend matters, in reality to make them worse. What ensued has occupied the public journals for many weeks past? But now let our readers mark the result. 'I attended,' says the same reporter, 'yesterday morning, at the parish church, when, instead of being crowded in every part, as formerly, I found it almost empty. On counting heads there were only sixty-five persons, nearly all women, instead of the customary thousand. The new gallery, recently erected, had its dreary vacancy interrupted by two young men, who alone occupied it. There were not a dozen

poor in the free seats, instead of nearly five hundred. The heads of families drove out to the parishes in their neighbourhood, leaving only some of their ladies, to whom it would be inconvenient to go three or four miles out, and who seemed to form the sole audience. The corporation pew was altogether empty. The great bulk of the middle classes and the poor have left the church *en masse*, and now attend the Wesleyan or Independent chapels. Instead of the church being prosperous, it is now bankrupt.' The lecturer and organist have been dismissed through want of funds; and tallow candles are stuck into the gas-burners! Even these are said to have been paid for out of the offertory money collected at the communion, which has kindled immense indignation. Such are the consequences of introducing cold formalism and mere ceremonial observances into the now notorious diocese of Exeter. Precisely the same sketch might be given from various parts of the kingdom,—as to Hurst, for instance, under the auspices of the Bishop of Oxford; or East Farleigh, in Kent, where the Rev. Henry Wilberforce finds a faithful patron, strange though it may appear to repeat it, in his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Amidst all this confusion of fear and folly, on the part of their pastors, there are many episcopalian flocks resolved upon adopting measures correspondent with the crisis. The counties of Devon and Cornwall have most especially roused themselves. They look upon their ecclesiastical head, we are told, 'as an extremely acute and sagacious man; but from past experience, they think him insincere, and distrust him. They suspect him of a covert design in introducing these changes, *to increase his own power and influence, and that of his order, over the laity*. They suspect him of seeking to establish absolute priestly rule over the minds of the people, for each prelate in his see, each incumbent in his parish, and each curate at a tea-party! Since the commencement of the controversy, the clergy in various places had ceased to use the black gown, and had adopted the surplice in the pulpit, with a view, as it is believed, concurrently with the operation of the other parts of their system, to obtain an ascendancy over the minds of the people, by means inconsistent with that religion, the essence of which is, the worship of God in spirit and in truth.' Such is avowed to be the deeply-rooted and general sentiment of the laity throughout considerable districts in the West of England, with which we can ourselves claim no slight personal acquaintance. 'We are not at all afraid,' say they, 'of the bishop, and those of his clergy, who carry out his views, adopting the tenets of Rome, or acknowledging papal supremacy. But by whatever name it may be called, what we are afraid of is, *the attempted establishment of*

sacerdotal domination, the aggressive graspings after power and influence by the clergy; and these we are determined we will not submit to. We say to them—Your ceremonies are meant to abuse, and overawe, and allure the laity under your authority; your offertory collections are meant to give you power, by placing in your hands, uncontrolled, the means of carrying out any object you may desire, even in opposition to our feelings. We distrust you—and we have settled it in our hearts, that we will have none of these changes.’ The writer of these statements has conversed with a great number of gentlemen of station and weight, and with men of all parties; and he believes the foregoing to be an accurate synopsis of what is extending eastward and northward. It thus appears, that the church of England is thoroughly divided against itself; that its followers are straying hither and thither abroad, like sheep without a shepherd; that the murmurings of the tempest, not far off, are heard distinctly by thousands, considering themselves as yet within the pale; only, that those, who have hitherto been shorn, are beginning to look up to their shearers, with eyes more full of indignation than that respectful reverence which they were formerly wont to manifest. We have now taken a rapid glance at the situation of matters *ab intra*; and we proceed, as at first proposed, to survey them for a moment *ab extra*.

Religious state-establishments must always wear a kind of garrison air about them—more particularly when their lot is cast, as it were, *in partibus infidelium*, amongst those who dispute their claims and pretensions. This is peculiarly the case in the British islands. Public opinion stands near the throne, like a fourth estate of the realm, with a pair of balances in her hand. Many of the circumstances connected with the church of England have been weighed, and found wanting—even her own members being the judges. Yet on the whole, she at present bears herself proudly enough, with the crown over her head, with battlements of privilege and immunity all around her, an immense array of officials upon her walls, and the sound of a trumpet issuing from them, not of a very silvery sound. How can persons wonder at this aspect proving unattractive? She says theoretically, sometimes practically too—‘I sit as a lady over the nation—as queen over the people: no one has a right to administer religious instruction within these realms, save myself.’ She describes herself as the Anglican Catholic Church; meaning thereby, that she is limited only by the limits of the state, to whom she is both consort and conscience. All others subsist by mere toleration; to which, by the way, she has never granted any but the most reluctant assent, wrung from her through the civil power, and the force of external circum-

stances. Her salaries and revenues, as we have said, amount to £5,000,000 sterling per annum, besides forty or fifty castles and palaces for her prelates, some hundreds of deaneries and prebendal houses for her cathedral dignitaries, and some thousands of rectories, vicarages, and other parsonages, proverbially the snugest residences in the country, for the comfort of her beneficed clergy. Then she levies £500,000 sterling per annum, under the denomination of rates, for the maintenance of her sacred buildings, the ceremonial of her services, and even in many cases the supply of sacramental bread and wine for the Lord's Supper. Her episcopal and chapter property produce more than another half million per annum: all this vast income, be it remembered, being gathered in without the shadow of delicacy or regard for those who have to render it, and who do not happen to concur with her in doctrine and discipline. Some obstinate John Thorogood may, for all the ecclesiastical authorities care about the matter, lie months in jail, for the non-payment of a few shillings, which he feels he cannot conscientiously give. Nothing, it seems, will induce the establishment to yield on this point, except an annual grant of £250,000 a year from the consolidated fund! Meanwhile, her spiritual courts set snares for tender consciences all over the land. Their chancellors, registrars, and proctors, are found rife and active in every diocese. As to births, marriages, and wills, until of late, her jurisdiction was exclusive; nor will it easily be forgotten, with how bad a grace she conceded an act of Parliament to legalise the nuptials of nonconformists, after their own fashion. Even as it is, her surrogates increase and multiply. The privileges of Doctors' Commons affect the entire national debt, as well as the bulk of real property throughout the empire. One of the mere sinecures of the Arches is worth a clear £5,000 a year; an income nearly equal to that of the president of the United States! Who can marvel, then, that all those who are not of the church of England are against her? She has planted herself in an attitude of decided antagonism to them; so that of course therefore, when she proclaims her love for those without her pale, the latter cannot help reading her declarations backwards. There is no help for it, short of a revolution. Her claims are the only things about her not squeezible. When, for instance, it was demonstrated by algebra and figures, that through turning her leaseholds into freeholds, she might clear enough in extraordinary annual revenue, to form a fair substitute for church-rates, there was a groan from Canterbury to Durham, as if both those cathedrals had been set on fire, with all the other gothic architecture in England, by so many mad incendiaries. So again in the more recent affair of

factory education, her assumption knew no bounds. She would have nothing to say to it, unless she were constituted, to all intents and purposes, sole school-mistress, from Berwick-on-Tweed to the Land's End. The alphabet, horn book, and New Testament, were to acknowledge her absolute sovereignty. In districts where Catholics, Independents, Baptists, and Wesleyans, might be far more numerous than her own members,—still, no matter, her rod must flagellate, govern, and manage all. And this is the establishment which is now convulsing the country.

Her means and modes of controversial warfare are not less peculiar and characteristic. As an institution, she is precluded from affording her opponents any generosity and fairness in discussion, through her liturgies and articles presenting a congeries of inconsistencies. It could hardly indeed have turned out otherwise, from the manner in which they are thrown together. The reformers under Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, clearly meant to construct what we should now call an omnibus, a convenient vehicle, capacious though clumsy, fashioned to contain as many, and exclude as few persons as possible. Those, intrusted with the reins, experienced no particular trouble, so long as the large party inside consented to sit perfectly still. But the moment scuffles arose, the peril of an overturn became imminent. We repeat it, that the church of England is almost compelled by circumstances to summon secular authority to her aid; or else a crash is inevitable. How, for example, can she argue against the Romanist, with her declaration of the real presence in the Eucharist, her absolution of sin on a sick-bed, her implied auricular confession before the communion, her transmission of the Holy Ghost in ordination, her vaunts about an apostolic succession, the validity or invalidity of her own sacraments, the criminality of schism, and the essential visibility and unity of the church? We might add to these her consideration for the three creeds and first four councils, her baptismal regeneration, her denial of the rights of private judgment. On the other hand, how can she argue handsomely with nonconformists, admitting as she does, that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed, or required of any:' or again, that 'general councils may err, and have erred, even in things pertaining unto God:' or again, that 'those are lawfully called and sent to preach and administer the sacraments, who have public authority given unto them *in the congregation* to call and send ministers into the vineyard:' or other similar instances, in which her own formularies are quite as much opposed to each other, as many of her rivals are to herself? And yet she does argue both with

catholics and nonconformists, who in turning her own artillery upon her, force her to scream for secular assistance. Her failure in words must be made good by blows; and it will always be so with all established churches, by whatsoever name styled amongst men. They are in a false position for every conflict which they have to wage. When certain Greek priests in Russia find their flocks rather incredulous, with regard to the sanctity and virtues of an image of the Panagia, they produce the knout in corroboration of their arguments; and the effect is found to be wonderful. Affection we do not say is quite out of the question: yet no form of Christianity can ally itself to the state, without having sooner or later, every now and then, to call in the constable!

Hence the assemblage thickens of thoughtful men out of every class and denomination in society, who are gradually organizing an assault upon this citadel of Satan. The world itself has grown sick of seeing religion arrayed in political colours. It is felt to the very centre of the commonwealth, that something else is wanting for the solace and instruction of our growing population than an alb, a cope, or a tunicle! The opinion gains ground daily, that as an experiment, our national establishment has failed: it has not evangelized the masses; it has not even humanized the savagery which lay so long buried in the coal pits of Sunderland, or in the copper mines of Cornwall; it has illuminated neither the hearth of the British peasant nor the hovel of the Irish cotter; it has lit up no beacons of spiritual gladness upon the mountains of Wales, nor sent thither any 'beautiful feet' to proclaim the fair tidings of joy. Others have effected, or at least attempted, such achievements; but it has been under the frowns rather than the smiles of the Church of England. Not to her is our gratitude due for the disappearance of wreckers from our seacoasts, for the christian philanthropy which could descend unappalled into underground shafts and subterranean galleries, into regions where squalid poverty dwelt in perpetual darkness, and where neither a gleam of sunshine nor the countenance of an established clergyman had ever shone! With regard to the Principality, there are three or four rich bishoprics and several nearly sinecure benefices. We know of one, held by the younger scion of a ducal family, of which the income was nearly £2,000 a year, where the greatest sensation was produced by the permanent residence of a curate some years ago. But it was too late; nonconformity has extended throughout the length and breadth of the valleys. So again with respect to our own agricultural and manufacturing population; ignorance remains gigantic; crime multiplies daily; the virtue of chastity between the sexes is be-

coming more and more rare, except amongst a favoured few ; the poacher prowls abroad unchecked in his midnight career ; the firebrand has ignited during the past year from three to four hundred corn-ricks and hay-stacks in one eastern county alone ; the prisons overflow ; and our union-houses teem with misery ! The Church of England has confessed herself wholly inadequate to meet the calamity : her influence is fast waning into almost universal unpopularity ; the new churches are frequently not filled ; too many of them are supplied by rampant Tractarians—young, empty-headed, conceited collegians, red-hot from Oxford, practising all manner of obsolete mummeries at Christmas in the cold moonlight air, and brimful to the lips in patristic, rather than scriptural lore. We know a parish within thirty-six miles of the metropolis where the gospel has been ably expounded for ten incumbencies in succession, where there is scarcely a single dissenter, where several gentry are always resident, where the farmers and labourers are by no means below the average, where the population is seven hundred,—and yet where the communicants are not more than two dozen ! Nor is this a singular instance, such being about the scale of attendance throughout a most wide and respectable district more than twenty miles square, and including large portions of two counties. What makes it more remarkable is, that there is no leaven of Puseyism in the neighbourhood alluded to. It is nothing more nor less than the sheer silent conviction of internal dislike to things as they are. In one word, the Anglican catholic establishment has failed in her mission. Three centuries of undisturbed possession have brought us to the point at which we now are. *Carthago delenda sit* is the growing conviction of many bosoms, in relation to the present ecclesiastical system ; and therefore let us just take a few cursory glimpses as to the probability of its future prospects.

Our opinion is, that in some sense it will be very much the sport of circumstances, notwithstanding a motto assumed by Lord Eldon, on its special behalf, and which was often quoted during the struggles against Catholic Emancipation,—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari* ! With a premier like Sir Robert Peel, expediency will be the order of the day. Sincerely attached himself to the alliance, so far as he is attached to anything, he will make it play the part of the willow, more than that of the oak, as we have already seen in Ireland. With the usual flourish of the hand, and many more flourishes of rhetoric, the Church of England may still have a great deal to do, under his doubtful auspices, with ecclesiastical commissioners. There will be considerable expenditure of wrath in the House of Lords, abundance of agitation amongst the clergy, and all but open rebellion in the

schools at Oxford and Cambridge: yet, nevertheless, with the present Conservative administration, it will have to give way, to prevent worse consequences. For Tractarianism Sir Robert is known to entertain unmitigated contempt. He will commit himself and his church to as little as possible; throwing out every now and then some tub of concession to the popular whale; at the same time giving the prelacy to understand, that unless they manifest the most perfect quietude and submission, he will politically serve their lordships as the mariners literally served Jonah! In fact, even now the bishops should be learning to swim without bladders, for their seats in the Upper Chamber will not long survive the next liberal ministry. The real storm will probably break out first in Ireland, unless the current disturbances at home proceed from bad to worse, and call for immediate interference. It is understood, that a number of influential episcopalians hold frequent meetings in London, to watch all the changes of the tide, and take their measures accordingly. Grave proposals were started the other day, for summoning a kind of conclave, to put an extinguisher upon the tempest in the diocese of Exeter; but, after much discussion, it was permitted to drop. Should a genuine revival of Convocation occur, which has never met for business since the Bangorian controversy in 1717, an almost immediate explosion might be expected. It would bring the ardent spirits within, as it were, the deep narrow space of a saw-pit full of spiritual gunpowder! All the social materials around us have grown combustible; and an outbreak in the sister island, vast changes on the continent consequent upon the demise of the King of the French, or the pressure of pauperism at home, are events, all or any of which would affect our own position. The Establishment, like a lady of suspicious character, has become a topic of common conversation. She seems destined to pass through a purgatory of anticipated public opinion; and by dire experience, she has already known what it means, *virum volitare per ora*! We are contemplating the subject, upon the supposition that the stream of affairs may, for a few years, flow quietly and smoothly along; but that enormous changes are looming forward, is but too evident. There is an hour not far off, which will test the stability of all our institutions; and how much more that one, which invites attack, which defies reformation, or which at least professes to do so: which puts forth pretensions to perfection: which grasps at dominion over the conscience: which lays fast hold on the present world, with all its gear and greatness, and merely with its little finger points to another, as if just to save appearances!

In that awful contest, every plant, which our heavenly Father hath not planted, will be plucked up; words frequently quoted

by a greater man than ourselves,—the late Robert Hall. He foresaw, more than forty years ago, that affairs would not always proceed in the old channels; that there would ensue a disruption between class and class; that the aristocracy would attempt, at all hazards, to retain their power; but, that the democracy would at last wrest it from them. Indissolubly connected with the former, stands the church of England; her sanctuary is identified with modern feudalism; when convenient to say so, she protests that her altars alone are the places for both spiritual and temporal refuge to the poor and destitute; and verily, if high payment could establish their claims for such refuge, they would have much to advance on the subject, for even labour indirectly, if not directly, contributes towards tithe and church-rate. But what is the plain fact? Go down into any part of the country by any one of our railroads; stop at the first station which shall be at the distance of one, two, or three hours from our crowded capital; thence, wind along the sweet rural lanes, and find your way to the nearest parish-church. It is no doubt an attractive structure, with its silent cemetery of graves, its picturesque yew trees, and its ivy-mantled tower. The clerk or sexton has brought the keys, and your attention on entrance is fixed upon one enormous square pew, absorbing about a half-quarter of the entire space, surrounded with armorial bearings, stuffed and cushioned at the four sides with sofas like a Turkish divan, carpeted all over like a drawing-room, with a dozen ottomans, with handsomely or even superbly bound prayer books and bibles slumbering in morocco cases, a mahogany table covered with a rich crimson cloth in the centre, and a comfortable fire-place in one corner. And this is the ‘home for the lonely;’ to adopt a phrase from one of our most notorious clergy, for the poor man! Why—does he ever set his foot within the limits of that oriental boudoir?—Never,—except to clean, and dust, and take off the gingham against Sunday;—for know, gentle readers, that the real pillow-cases are purple velvet! Where then do the peasantry worship? They kneel on those damp green stones, and sit upon those hard oaken seats, which have no backs to them, for fear, ‘as the parson says, they should fall asleep during the sermon!’ We sketch this picture, applying as it does in its main features to so many localities, because the press has recently emitted a quantity of nauseous cant, about the hardships of the voluntary principle, and the tender mercies of the compulsory one! It may be relied upon, that whatever our establishment may profess in theory, in practice it has no bowels for pauperism. Its genius was conceived in high places. It nestles in the mansion and not in the cottage. It has fellowship essentially with the rich

in fortune, rather than with such as may be merely so in faith and good works. It kneels with the noble and the great. It worships with the proud and learned. It loves fine linen, in more senses than those associated with lawn sleeves and snowy surplices. It prays for the commonalty so long as they abjure schism and rebellion. But its blessing, however sonorous, is a formal and an empty one. It sheds no dews of soft charity on the soul. The hungry, who wait for it, depart as hungry as ever. The very print of its foot is a cloven one!

Now what we aver is, that an ecclesiastical establishment, thus identified with a foredoomed aristocracy, must ultimately perish with that aristocracy. The popular voice has already condemned both. Between them they have had their own way for several generations; and what is the social result? The population of this country increases at the rate of a quarter of a million every week; and our new churches, as Burke says, 'pierce the skies, but do not avert the wrath of heaven!' Schoolhouses are founded in every village; two myriads of clergy exhort, reprove, preach, and, with individual exceptions, are hated. Nonconformists have grown to be numerous, but they were not so always; so that the fault cannot lie with them. But as a writer observes with great truthfulness,—'in spite of all our religious zeal and display, and with converts uncounted in every zone, there appears to exist some radical defect at home, some cause at work, which is incessantly sapping our social fabric, and which taints and cankers all that it touches. What catalogues of wickedness, want, and oppression, now make up the once short and simple annals of the poor. Parricide rises into a common occurrence; children slain by parents, themselves goaded by destitution into desperation; whole families extinguished by arsenic. In Somersetshire, a daughter coolly poisons her infirm parent, just saying to her sister, 'we shall do better without father!' In Suffolk, a grandmother destroys her grand-daughter by the same means, and for the same reason. Near Bridgewater, a widow makes away with her daughter, mother, and brother, after having probably poisoned her husband. On the other hand, the misery of the people goes hand in hand with their wickedness.' Doctor Samuel Johnson also observes in his serious and solemn manner, 'When a great proportion of the people are suffered to languish in helpless misery, that country must be ill-policed, and wretchedly governed. A decent provision for the poor is the true test of civilization. The condition of the lower orders more especially is the true mark of national discrimination.' We are of course not charging all this load of indigence and suffering upon the protestant episcopal body, or on any single institution whatsoever. We are only

endeavouring to draw attention to a state of things, which must, sooner or later, produce an appalling change. If left altogether alone, then spontaneous combustion, so to speak, will be the no less hideous consequence. But meanwhile, the establishment, having committed itself to the anti-popular party, will in our judgment fall, and justly fall, with its selected friends and patrons. Should the revolution assume a violent form, its deposition will be consummated with expedition, and perhaps precipitation. Otherwise it may be more gradual than probably most voluntaries would desire. Either way, however, it must be evident that its days are numbered. Not for another age can Oxford be permitted to glory in her Laudian statutes, as though the ghost of that celebrated arch-prelate were never to be exorcised from the Bodleian and Radcliffe libraries. The bishops of London and Exeter are merely hastening forward what they themselves may possibly live to acknowledge, was stalking on quite rapidly enough. Before the bonds are broken asunder, which fasten together church and state, as also during the period of the process, whether it be longer or shorter, no doubt many individuals, and some groups of individuals, will formally withdraw to Rome. Still larger parties would, we think, join the Moravians and Episcopalian methodists, were greater opportunities offered for doing so in this country. Thousands and tens of thousands will probably become Congregationalists or Presbyterians. The Tractarians will follow their own sullen course, just as their predecessors the non-jurors did before them; yet it may be questioned whether they will maintain the piety of Ken, or the virtues of Kettlewell. They will more likely degenerate into such bigots as Collier,—dull dusty bookworms,—Egyptian slaves, labouring to make bricks without straw, to engraft fervour upon formalism, and substitute theological ethics, if we may be allowed the term, for the vigour and vitality of the gospel. Allowing for these, and other analogous secessions, there will yet remain the dead materials,—the vast carcase of the conservatives of the church of England,—a huge, wealthy, respectable sect, disposed to love order, and eschew enthusiasm; whose best prospect of a religious revival, through the divine blessing, will be in their forcible separation from the instrumental cause of their torpor. No longer having the state to lean upon; no longer encumbered with a hierarchy and clergy looking one way and rowing another; delivered from the stupifying effects of seats in the House of Peers, lazy dignitaries in the shape of overpaid deans and chapters, the millstone of patronage, and the delusive security of the compulsory principle,—they may rouse themselves into unwonted activity, and take their place, as in the United States of America, amongst the other religious denominations of the British empire.

Brief Notices.

Notices of Windsor in the Olden Time. By John Stoughton. Bogue, London. Pp. 236.

‘THE author spent eleven happy years in the town of Windsor. It was natural that he should feel interested in the history and antiquities of so remarkable a place; and therefore he devoted as much time to their investigation as he could spare from more important engagements. On different occasions he laid before the Literary Institution in the town the results of his inquiries; and the papers which he read, excited so much interest as to lead to a request that he would prepare for the press a work upon the antiquities of Windsor. Having collected sufficient materials for the purpose, he felt disposed to comply with the wishes of his friends: and the little book now presented to the public is the fruit of his labours.’—*Preface.*

We are not surprised that when Mr. Stoughton had industriously collected so much interesting information concerning their famous Windsor, the inhabitants of the royal town should have solicited him to make their gratification permanent, by committing his ‘Notices’ to the press. He has presented us with a volume exceeding beautiful in its appearance; while the research which has been necessary, the judgment with which his materials are selected, the skill with which they are arranged, and the true taste and correctness of sentiment which characterise the whole, entitle the volume to our praise, and we cheerfully bestow it.

‘The object of the author has been to present the History of Windsor in such a form as to interest the general reader, and to meet that taste for antiquarian research and historical associations in connexion with remarkable places, so characteristic of the age. He has endeavoured to give some glimpses of the state of society during the successive periods through which his history extends: and if in doing this he may sometimes have a little stepped out of the way, yet he trusts he has succeeded in giving an aspect of more general interest to the local scenes and circumstances he has described. Through the whole work he has also attempted to breathe that moral and religious spirit which should pervade not only the graver studies, but even the literary recreations of intellectual and spiritual beings.’—*Preface*, p. vii.

Mr. Stoughton has succeeded in his object; and his elegant volume will doubtless be received with the favour it deserves.

Outlines of Congregationalism. With a Historical Sketch of its Rise and Progress in the Town of Andover. By the Rev. J. S. Pearsall. London; Snow. Pp. 159.

MR. PEARSALL has exhibited the principles of congregationalism in a clear and able manner and in the spirit of christianity, and we wish his book may have an extensive circulation. It is one which may be unhe-

sitatingly put into the hands of any, whether the uninformed of our friends or such as are strangers to our real sentiments. Should a second edition be called for, we hope to see some grammatical errors (which in the present volume we charge upon the printer) corrected. We refer to such sentences as the following : ' Whilst the noiseless current of ordinary affairs too often *flow* past ;—As Henry, . . . James, or Charles *sway* the sceptre ;—*Have* the church a right, &c. ;—The greatest solemnity and kindness of feeling *was* to accompany, &c. ;—Neither Peter nor Paul *speak* of, &c.'

The Convict Ship. A narrative of the results of Scriptural Instruction and Moral Discipline, as these appeared on board the ' Earl Grey ' during the voyage to Tasmania, &c. By C. A. Browning, M.D., &c. London : Smith, Elder, and Co. 1844. Pp. 324.

THE title will convey a correct idea of this very interesting narrative of efforts, judiciously made, for reclaiming to God and happiness a class of men of whose conversion too many christians would, we fear, be ready to despond. Strong faith, however, in the adaptation of the gospel to its intended end, with great confidence in the efficacy of prayer, when combined with zealous and persevering endeavours made in a right spirit, enabled the pious and devoted author to triumph over difficulties of no ordinary kind. His holy labours seem to have been abundantly blessed of God ; and we cannot restrain the utterance of a fervent wish that just such right-minded christians were found pursuing the work of faith in every receptacle of human guilt and misery. The true philanthropist will derive both instruction and encouragement from Dr. Browning's interesting publication.

Discourses by William Anderson. Glasgow : Jackson. 1844. pp. 346.

ANOTHER volume of sermons ! Well, if preachers will publish, reviewers, we suppose, must read, however much they may envy those who are privileged to hold themselves excused. We say privileged,—for it is often a dull and weary task, that is assigned to us, and we are sometimes reminded of a story current in our school-boy days, for the truth of which we will not, indeed, vouch, but it is a good story enough, for all that. It seems that a certain peer, whose economical organ (if such there be—and if not, we very humbly crave pardon of the phrenologist for making one for the occasion) was largely developed, not to say enormously, contrived, since his estate abounded with rabbits, to regale himself and his chaplain day after day right frugally ; till at length, on the accustomed dish being once more placed upon the board, the aforesaid chaplain intimated his sense of satiety by giving in a metrical grace of some half dozen lines a very pleasant paraphrase of Horace's *Jam Satis est*.

But though these are certainly the feelings with which we take up ninety-nine out of every hundred volumes of modern sermons, Mr. Anderson's book forms a pleasant exception, and we are glad he has published it : we have derived both pleasure and profit from the perusal, and heartily commend it to our readers. The author is evidently one of

those men (and we wish the number were greater) who preach because they feel they have something of importance to communicate. There is the true prophetic spirit in him—'We believed, and therefore speak;' and his sentiments, for the most part, are healthful as the breezes of his native hills. He does not, perhaps, care to ask of the dry and shrivelled spirit of orthodoxy what he shall say, or how he shall express himself, but manifestly seeks the inspiration of the Spirit of truth. Is this a fault? His discourses, however, are thoroughly evangelical: else they would have had but little welcome from us. We can easily imagine, indeed, that his hearers are not seldom conscious of a wish to pause and think over, before they receive, some sentiment which he suggests; but they must postpone the examination, for the preacher is on his way.

Of course we do not intimate a perfect concurrence with our author in all that he advances. We think he fails to establish some points on which he is disposed to lay stress. Among these we include the notion that the infant children of unbelievers, dying in infancy, will not be saved 'with a salvation so glorious as that of the offspring of the saints;' and that the departed infant of pious parents will have a more glorious position than the child, only one of whose parents had been renewed.

We fancy, too, that Mr. Anderson's hearers (who are nevertheless privileged beyond most congregations) must be occasionally conscious of a feeling akin to regret that some more felicitous expression had not been substituted. We cannot think, for instance, that a desirable effect is produced when the preacher addresses some one whom he supposes present, as a 'miserable fool!' or asks, 'can any saint be so befooled as he.' Nor does the expression—'a nuisance to the Lord,' exactly fall in with our ideas of propriety; neither do we admire the attributing to Satan any particular perversion of a text, and speaking of it as 'Satan's commentary.' We should not be disposed to say, 'As soon as there was a God;' nor does the English language easily admit of a sentence so elliptical as—'But what although?'—and we think that the rather frequent exclamation of 'Oh me!' and 'Ah me!' is very far from adding strength to a sentence, or giving effect to a sentiment.

Mr. Anderson will excuse the expression of a wish that in preparing for the press a volume so truly excellent—a somewhat stricter revision had been exercised. It is our satisfaction with the work as a whole which occasions the regret that some few minor faults, which could have been so easily obviated, had not attracted the notice of the respected author. We observe on p. 4 several notes of interrogation improperly introduced, the effect of which is to put the mind upon a course of curious calculation, instead of filling it with a sentiment which is intended to excite emotion. And we should have been glad if the book, which is beautifully printed, had not in many of its pages been disfigured by the introduction of several unnecessary capitals. Still, the blemishes are few, and the excellence of the work is great: we give it our cordial recommendation, and shall be happy to receive the other volume, which the author intimates he is preparing for the press.

Animal Physiology, pp. 579. By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., Author of 'Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' and 'Principles of Human Physiology.' (Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science.) London: Orr and Co. 1843.

ONE of the disadvantages of that eager, though beneficial, attempt to popularize literature and science, and to provide books 'for the million,' which characterizes the publishing world in the present day, is the tendency, for the sake of cheapness and facility of production, to entrust important subjects to writers but ill prepared to treat them; who either content themselves with a superficial outline without going thoroughly into details, or if they attempt anything more, blunder into grievous inaccuracies, and exchange a superficiality, which is merely useless, for a quality, which is positively pernicious. This cannot be said of the admirable publications of this judiciously planned and admirably executed series, and least of all, of the work now under consideration. If the kingdom had been searched through, probably a man better qualified to furnish a treatise on such a subject, and in such a form could not have been found than Dr. Carpenter. His previous works show him to have been thoroughly master of his subject, and well prepared, to digest his knowledge into a manual like the present. They have attained the highest commendations of journals, which, as being professional, necessarily carry greater weight with them on such topics than our own. Of Dr. Carpenter's work on the 'Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' no less an authority than the 'British and Foreign Medical Review,' said so long ago as 1839, (vol. vii. art. 9,) 'The work before us has equalled our most sanguine expectations. This would be recognized as high praise, were we to relate all that our knowledge of the mental qualities of the author, and of the attainments which have fitted him for his undertaking, had led us to look for.' And at the close of the article, the writer remarks:—'Had we seen the book in manuscript, our *imprimatur* would have been inscribed, not in its usually permissive, but in its absolutely imperative form.'

The present work will do no discredit to Dr. Carpenter's well-earned reputation. It is divided into fifteen chapters, and the comprehensive character, as well as judicious plan of the work, will appear from their titles. They are:—1. On the vital operations of Animals, and the instruments by which they are performed. 2. General view of the Animal Kingdom. 3. Nature and Sources of Animal Food. 4. Digestion and Absorption. 5. On the Blood, and its circulation. 6. On Respiration. 7. On Secretion. 8. General Review of the Nutritive Operations—Formation of Tissues. 9. On the Evolution of Light, Heat, and Electricity by Animals. 10. Functions of the Nervous System. 11. On Sensation and the Organs of Sense. 12. On Animal Motion. 13. On the Voice. 14. On Instinct and Intelligence. 15. On Reproduction.

The style of Dr. Carpenter is remarkably perspicuous, and not seldom characterized by that facility of apt and simple illustration which give such a charm to the pages of Paley. The whole work is profusely and admirably illustrated by wood engravings.

While it deserves a place in every library, it is particularly worthy of

the study of those who are preparing for the B.A. examination of the London University, and we can bear our testimony to its practical value as a text-book to such students. If we have been correctly informed, the author partly designed his work for their convenience.

The treatise on 'Mechanics and Astronomy,' in the same series, and by the same author, is also an admirable work, though scarcely equal to that on Animal Physiology—which, indeed, considering that the last has been so long, and so intently the author's favourite study, could not be fairly expected. We scarcely know, however, where, for the same moderate price, such a mass of information on these subjects—so clearly expressed, so aptly illustrated, and so profusely accompanied with diagrams and engravings, could be met with, except in this volume. To both works we cordially wish an extensive circulation.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Travels in India, including Sind and Punjab. By Captain Leopold Von Orlich. Translated from the German by H. Evans Lloyd, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

Look to the End; or, the Bennets Abroad. By Mrs. Ellis. 2 vols. 12mo.

The entire Correspondence between the Four Congregational Churches in Glasgow and the Congregational Churches at Hamilton, Bellshill, Bridgeton, Cambuslang, and Ardrossan; on the Doctrines of Election and the Influence of the Holy Spirit in Conversion. With an Appendix.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Part III.

North British Review. No. IV.

Knight's Books of Reference: Political Dictionary. Part III.

Letters from Wanganui, New Zealand.

Memoirs of Alexander Bethune, embracing Selections from his Correspondence and Literary Remains. Compiled and edited by William M'Combie.

The Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia. Part I.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part I.

The Continental Echo and Protestant Witness. Parts I. and II.

The Romanism of Italy: preceded by a Correspondence with the Catholic Institute of England. By Sir Culling Eardly Smith, Bart.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by W. Smith, LL.D.

The Church and the People. A series of Tracts and Stories. No. II.: Henry Homeward.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, D.D. Part XVII.

The History of Hydur Naik, written by Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani. Translated from an Original Persian Manuscript in the library of Her Most Gracious Majesty, by Col. W. Miles, of the Hon. East India Company's Service.

The History of the reign of Tipu Sultan. Translated from an Original Persian Manuscript by Colonel W. Miles.

The Dabistan; or, School of Manners. Translated from the Original Persian, with Notes and Illustrations. 2 vols.

Practical Philosophy of the Muhamadan People; exhibited in its professed Connection with the European, so as to render either an Introduction to the other.

Laili and Majnûm. A Poem. From the Original Persian of Nazâmi. By James Atkinson, Esq.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1845.

- Art. I. 1. *Sartor Resartus*. London. 1838.
2. *The French Revolution*. By Thomas Carlyle. In 3 vols. 12mo. 2nd Edition London. 1839.
3. *Chartism*. By T. Carlyle. London 1840.
4. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. By T. Carlyle. In 5 vols. 12mo. London. 1840.
5. *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History* By T. Carlyle. 1841.
6. *Past and Present*. By T. Carlyle. 1843.

MR. CARLYLE is well known to the literary public of Germany as the author of a *Life of Schiller*, and as the English translator of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.

SARTOR RESARTUS is a series of papers which appeared in *Frazer's Magazine*; and the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* are republished from *Frazer*, the *London and Westminster*, the *Foreign*, and the *Edinburgh Reviews*. In these, as indeed in all the volumes, there is a raciness of thought and language which cannot fail to stimulate attention; and the author is now very generally spoken of here, and still more, we believe, in America, as one of the leading writers of the day.

We shall endeavour to present such a view of the characteristics of Mr. Carlyle's mind, of his opinions, of his apparent aims, and of the style of his compositions, as may serve to shew his true position as an English author, and to aid our readers in forming an idea of the effects which his writings may be expected to produce.

'Sartor Resartus' is one of the *oddest* books we have ever seen. It is introduced by a whimsical collection of real or fictitious opinions on the work, which professes to be a 'Treatise on the Philosophy of Clothes, by Professor Teufelsdröck of *Weissnichtwo*,' recommended in a letter from Herr Hofrath Heuschrecke: the said Teufelsdröck being—we almost suspect—a caricature of some old, pedantic German professor whom the author may have in his mind's eye. The style of the treatise is criticised in a vein of sly and mischievous humour; and the matter of the supposititious work is interspersed with observations of all kinds by the editor, at one time commending the wisdom and beauty of the professor's meditations, and at another holding him up to the reader's scorn. We suppose there is no book about clothes, in any age or language, overlooked; nor any conceivable way of playing with the words relating to human garments that has been forgotten.

Beneath this laborious and intentional absurdity he unfolds one slight aspect of a philosophy growing up in Germany from the days of Kant to those of Schelling—'*ego philosophy*'—of which little is known in England except among those who have either studied the theories of the German schools, or paid some attention to the numerous translations, abridgments, or expositions of them that have appeared in our language. The radical idea is, that the 'ich,' '*ego*,' '*I*,' the mind—the self—of every man, in all those operations where pure reason is not at work, receives its notions, modes of thinking, and habits of expression from causes which are exterior to it, as clothing is to the body: that the philosophy of man, piercing through these mere coverings, deals with the essential, naked being; whilst, in general, philosophy regards the universe as the living, visible garment of God: poetry being the insight of the man of genius into the intellectual realities which are concealed beneath the show of things. The ideal is seen *through* the real.

The method here chosen for exhibiting this philosophy is an imaginary autobiography of Herr Teufelsdröck, detailing the circumstances of his being left in his infancy by a mysterious stranger with a childless couple at Entepfuhl, the history of his childhood, his school education, his university career, his love adventures, his wanderings, his sorrows, and his transitions through the various phases of the German theories; winding up with some roguish discoveries of the hoax which has been played on the editor. The effect of society on religion is treated as a chapter on church clothes; and the progress of the human race towards its perfection is singularly descanted on through several chapters, bearing the whimsical, yet not insignificant, titles of Symbols,—Helotage,—the Phoenix,—Old Clothes,—Organic Filaments,—Dandiacal Body,—Tailors.

'THE FRENCH REVOLUTION' is published as a history: 'anything but a history,' most readers perhaps have said, not only at the beginning, but throughout, and at the end; yet, according to the author's conceptions of what history should be, it is a *specimen* of history.

It differs from most histories so called, in avoiding the simple, straightforward manner of narrating. Indeed it is altogether a different kind of work. It is the revolution, in its material facts, as strongly imaged by the writer, after reading and meditating on the books in which the facts are recorded. Generally, it is descriptive; as though in the moment of action, the writer was uttering his thoughts and feelings to a spectator. Occasionally it is dramatic: the characters move before one as on a stage; we see their forms and complexions, and become familiar with their tones. Some passages sparkle with the brilliancy of poetry, others are darkened by the clouds of metaphysics; and not a few are as plain and prosy as the vulgarest daily talk: the whole seems to be written on the supposition that the reader is already acquainted with every spot and personage and fact, while allusions in all directions, and images of every class and hue, are scattered with lavish profusion; quotations from Goethe and Novalis, and the Bible—as if equally known, and of equal authority—lie mingled together in a strange and confounding medley: in the midst of all which, the reader is made to turn his thoughts upon himself by most searching apostrophes and earnest exhortations. We should be disposed to call it an epic without verse.

The first volume opens with a description of Louis XV. taken from the *Abrégé Chronologique l'Histoire de France*, by Henault, who accounts for that king's surname of The Beloved, from the tender interest shewn by all classes in Paris when he lay dangerously ill at Mentz; and this scene is contrasted with the last sickness of that monarch at Versailles—a loathsome tragedy painted with terrible force.

The second book, entitled 'The Paper Age,' contains some just reflections on the misery necessarily involved in most of the events which history relates. These are followed by a satire on the philosophers that came into power on the accession of Louis XVI.; by a horrible description of the masses of the French nation; and by a series of sketches, in the author's peculiar manner, of the financial, social, and literary condition of France, which at length ripened into the revolution. The actors in the revolution pass before us in these pages like the pictures of a magic lantern.

In the seventh book Mr. Carlyle expounds his views of the nature of the revolution he is describing. According to these views, it was the open, violent rebellion and victory of disimpr-

soned anarchy, against corrupt, worn-out authority, decreed by Providence to destroy shams and falsehoods; 'not to be accounted for, but deeply thought upon in silence; lying, not in those outward changes which figure in histories, but 'in the heart and head of every violent speaking, of every violent thinking Frenchman.' He then dwells on the necessity of some constitution for the revolutionised nation, and on the impossibility of such a constitution being made without belief, without time, and without force. On the Constituent Assembly he breathes a scorching blast of sarcasm, while he paints to the life its leading members, and their dull discordant doings. He then describes 'the general overturn' in language which we quote as offering a specimen of his usual manner.

'Of the king's court, for the present, there is almost nothing whatever to be said. Silent, deserted are these halls; royalty languishes forsaken of its war-god and all its hopes, till once the *Œil de Bœuf* rally again. The sceptre is departed from King Louis; is gone over to the *Salle des Menus*, to the Paris townhall, or one knows not whither. In the July days, while all ears were yet deafened by the crash of the Bastile, and ministers and princes were scattered to the four winds, it seemed as if the very valets had grown heavy of hearing. Besenval, also in flight towards infinite space, but hovering a little at Versailles, was addressing his majesty personally for an order about post-horses; when, lo, 'the valet in waiting places himself familiarly between his majesty and me, stretching out his rascal neck to learn what it was; his majesty, in sudden choler, whirled round, made a clutch at the tongs: I gently prevented him; he grasped my hand in thankfulness, and I noticed tears in his eyes.'

'Poor king, for French kings also are men! Louis XIV. himself once clutched the tongs, and even smote with them; but then it was at Louvois, and Dame Maintenon ran up. The queen sits weeping in her inner apartments, surrounded by weak women: she is at the height of unpopularity; universally regarded as the evil genius of France. Her friends and familiar counsellors have all fled; and fled, surely, on the foolishhest errand. The Château Polignac still frowns aloft, on its 'bold and enormous' cubical rock, amid the blooming champaigns, amid the blue girdling mountains of Auvergne: but no duke and duchess Polignac look forth from it; they have fled, they have 'met Necker at Bâle;' they shall not return. That France should see her nobles resist the irresistible, inevitable, with the face of angry men, was unhappy, not unexpected; but with the face and sense of pettish children? This was her peculiarity. They understood nothing. Does not at this hour, a new Polignac, first-born of these two, sit reflective in the Castle of Ham, in an astonishment he will never recover from; the most confused of existing mortals? King Louis has his new ministry: mere popularitic old-president Pompignan; Necker, coming back in triumph; and other such. But what will it avail him? As was said, the sceptre,

all but the wooden gilt sceptre, has departed elsewhither. Volition, determination is not in this man: only innocence, indolence; dependence on all persons but himself, on all circumstances but the circumstances he were lord of. So troublous internally is our Versailles and its work. Beautiful, if seen from afar, resplendent like a sun; seen near at hand, a mere sun's atmosphere, hiding darkness, confused ferment of ruin!

'But over France there goes on the indisputablest 'destruction of formulas;' transaction of realities that follow therefrom. So many millions of persons, all gyved and nigh strangled with formulas, whose life nevertheless, at least the digestion and hunger of it, was real enough! Heaven has at length sent an abundant harvest; but what profits it the poor man when earth with her formulas interposes? Industry, in these times of insurrection, must needs lie dormant; capital, as usual, not circulating, but stagnating timorously in nooks. The poor man is short of work, is therefore short of money; nay, even had he money, bread is not to be bought for it. Were it plotting of aristocrats, plotting of D'Orleans; were it brigands, preternatural terror, and the clang of Phœbus Apollo's silver bow,—enough, the markets are scarce of grain, plentiful only in tumult. Farmers seem lazy to thrash, being either 'bribed or needing no bribe, with prices ever rising, with perhaps rent itself no longer so pressing. Neither, what is singular, do municipal enactments, 'that along with so many measures of wheat you shall sell so many of rye,' and other the like, much mend the matter. Dragoons, with drawn swords, stand ranked among the corn sacks. Meal mobs abound, growing into mobs of a still darker quality.'—vol. i. pp. 311—313.

Into the history of the Directory, Mr. Carlyle does not enter; but touches it as it were, and ends his work with the following prophecy, extracted from his own strange paper called 'The Diamond Necklace:—

'On the whole, therefore, has it not been fulfilled what was prophesied, *ex-post facto* indeed, by the arch quack Cagliostro, or another? He, as he looked in rapt vision and amazement into these things, thus spake:—Ha! *What is this?* Angels, Uriel, Anachiel, and the other five; Pentagon of Rejuvenescence; Power that destroyed Original Sin; Earth, Heaven, and thou outer limbo, which men name Hell! Does the EMPIRE OF IMPOSTURE waver? Burst there, in starry sheen updarting, light-rays from out its dark foundations; as it rocks and heaves, not in travail-throes, but in death-throes? Yea, light-rays, piercing, clear, that salute the heavens,—lo, they *kindle* it; their starry clearness becomes as red hellfire!

IMPOSTURE is burnt up: one red-sea of fire, wild-billowing enravaps the world; with its fire-tongue licks at the very stars. Thrones are hurled into it, and dubois mitres, and prebendal stalls, that dross fatness, and—ha! what see I? all the gigs of creation; all, all! Woe is me! Never since Pharaoh's chariots, in the red-sea of water, was

there wreck of wheel-vehicles like this in the sea of fire. Desolate, as ashes, as gases, shall they wander in the wind. Higher, higher, yet flames the fire-sea: crackling with new dislocated timber; hissing with leather and prunella. The metal images are molten; the marble images become mortar-lime; the stone mountains sulkily explode. RESPECTABILITY, with all her collected gigs inflamed for funeral pyre, wailing, leaves the earth: not to return save under new Avatar. Imposture, how it burns, through generations: how it is burnt up, for a time. The world is black ashes which, ah, when will they grow green? The images all run into amorphous Corinthian brass; all dwellings of men destroyed; the very mountains peeled and riven, the valleys black and dead; an empty world! Woe to them that shall be born then! A king, a queen (ah me!) were hurled in; did rustle once; flew aloft, crackling like paper-scroll. Iscariot Egalité was hurled in; thou grim De Launay, with thy grim Bastile; whole kindreds and people; five millions of mutually destroying men. For it is the end of the dominion of IMPOSTURE (which is darkness and opaque firedamp); and the burning up, with unquenchable fire, of all the gigs that are in the earth.* This prophecy, we say, has it not been fulfilled, is it not fulfilling?

'And so here, O reader, has the time come for us two to part. Toilsome was our journeying together; not without offence; but it is done. To me thou wert as a beloved shade, the disembodied, or not yet embodied spirit of a brother. To thee I was but as a voice. Yet was our relation a kind of sacred one; doubt not that! Whatsoever once sacred things become hollow jargons, yet while the voice of man speaks with man, hast thou not there the living fountain out of which all sacrednesses sprang, and will yet spring? Man, by the nature of him, is definable as an incarnated word. Ill stands it with me if I have spoken falsely: thine also it was to hear truly. Farewell.'

In Mr. Carlyle's other articles, the French revolution is spoken of, especially in the Miscellaneous Reviews, entitled, '*Mirabeau*,' and '*The Parliamentary History of the French Revolution*.'*

'CHARTISM' is a thin octavo volume of 113 pages, in which Mr. Carlyle embodies such thoughts as have occurred to him on the condition and prospects of the working classes of the English nation. The germs of these thoughts are in sundry passages scattered through the '*French Revolution*.' He urges, with sad and sober earnestness, the importance of this question. He discusses the New Poor Law with wisdom and fairness. The Irish peasantry are described with the severity of truth, and the future effects of their immigration into this country are strongly, and, we fear, accurately set forth. Most of the delu-

* We hope, ere long, to lay before our readers a view of that great event digested from a large body of works in our own and other languages.

sions and fallacies which abound on these subjects are demolished. The right of every man to justice is maintained; the duty of every man to assert it is enforced; the deep, indestructible desire of every man to have it is vindicated; the determination of some men to have it is illustrated; and the power of believing, *wise* and good men, finally to secure it, is affirmed and proved.

Endeavouring to discriminate the circumstances in which it is true that the best thing government can do for working men is to let them alone, Mr. Carlyle says, that in Europe generally, but especially in England, the time for that is past. He does not believe that the tendencies of modern society are towards democracy, or that democracy can do any good in these nations; but he discerns through all the turbulence of the times a struggle for 'government by the *wisest*.' He prognosticates the disappearance from the earth of 'aristocracies that do *not* govern, and of priesthoods that do *not* teach.' On these things he invites the British reader 'to meditate earnestly.'

Seldom have we read any thing so beautifully eloquent, combining the interest of history with the sagacity of political philosophy, as the chapter headed New Eras, in which, under the transparent veil of *another* German professor, Mr. Carlyle follows the development of British energy, and freedom, from the landing of the Saxons to the present age. It is as part of this slow, but irresistible, development that he regards reform, radicalism, chartism, church-rate agitations, justice to Ireland, and so forth, —all natural phenomena working in one direction.

The work of the present day which this earnest writer presses on every man in England is two-fold—universal education and general emigration. His thoughts on public instruction are certainly not unworthy of attention from churchmen, dissenters, and, if we may say so, statesmen; but there is an overlooking of the present elements of English society, and an anticipation of some mysterious advent, which to us is—*moonshine*. His views of emigration connect themselves with the theories and the facts of population, with the cultivation of the wastes and forests of the world, and with the peculiar motives and facilities which England has for sending out her crowded sons to subdue the earth, and cover it with fruits and habitations.

THE LECTURES ON HERO-WORSHIP are designed to illustrate the native reverence of mankind for superior power, as that reverence is seen in the Scandinavian mythology, Islamism, poetry, literature, and political revolutions. The same opinions abound in these lectures which have been set forth in Mr. Carlyle's previous writings; and we are struck, almost in every page, with the freshness of his thoughts, and the gleaming splendour of his language. Paganism is regarded by him as a

bewildering, inextricable jungle of delusions, confusions, falsehoods and absurdities, and this 'mis-worship' is not allowed to be the quackery of priests or the allegory of poets, but it is said to be the wonder with which the wild children of nature gazed on the power that spread its mysteries around them. This is not the whole truth, and, given as the whole, it is false. In the Norse religion he sees the impersonation of the visible workings of nature; in the mythic chaunts of the Iceland Edda, and the sagas, he traces the successions of ancestral beliefs; in the Runes of Odin, and in the divine honours paid to him, as the father of letters and poetry, by the rude men of the north, he admires the ancient reverence of sincerity, valour, and destiny; and in the Skald, which records the exploits of Thor, he hails the deep thought, the manly sincerity, the broad humour, and the fantastic imagination, from which have come many of the tales of our modern nursery, some of the Scottish ballads, and one of the greatest poems in our language—the Hamlet of Shakespeare.

Whoever has visited the Library and Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, must have been impressed by the power with which the minds of these forgotten northmen are ruling our spirits even in the present day: and such readers can enter heartily with us into Mr. Carlyle's feelings.*

There is much fascination, and, as it appears to us, some truthfulness, in Mr. Carlyle's delineation of the character of Mahomet; of the country, and natural features of the Arabs, the Italians of the East, and of the religion and the propagation of the Koran; and we are ready to admire the frankness with which he means to say of the prophet 'all the good he justly can.' We give up, with all modern scholars, the *story of the pigeon*. We are sure that there must be a basis of truth for every error that lasts long. We are willing to believe, as far as we can, that Mahomet was in some sort sincere; that taciturn as he was, in his good laugh—his beaming black eyes—his swelling vein in the brow—there was the heartiness of a genuine man; and that his religion was, in many respects, an improvement on the formalities which it destroyed. At the same time we must say that we have read this lecture again and again, and always with increased regret and—Mr. Carlyle would forgive our plainness—disapprobation.

When Mahomet is styled 'a true prophet' the words ought to mean, and their connection shews they do mean that, in his degree, he was *as* true a prophet as Moses or Isaiah. We

* See a Review of the *Works of the Prophet Mahomet*, series of the *Edinburgh Review*, Feb. 18

Works of the Prophet Mahomet, Feb. 18

Antiquities in the present

cannot think that this is Mr. Carlyle's deliberate belief: he is too enlightened and too sincere a man for that. Indeed when he is speaking, afterwards, of Shakespeare as a *greater* prophet than Mahomet, he candidly acknowledges that 'it is a questionable step for me here, and now to say, as I have done, that Mahomet was a true speaker at all, and not rather an ambitious charlatan, perversity and simulacrum, no speaker, but a babbler.' Why, we would ask Mr. Carlyle, with all possible respect, why leave uncorrected the *more* than questionable passages about Mahomet's true prophet-dom, and his freedom from cant? We are staggered by the bold declaration that 'Mahomet was not a sensual man.' Has Mr. Carlyle not examined Abulfeda, or has he not read in Sale's translation, the fourth and thirty-fourth *surat*, of the Koran? or has he forgotten the difficulties out of which he calls his great master, Goethe, to help him? We believe that Golius, Hottinger, Erpenius, and all the Arabic scholars would dissent from Goethe's notion of *Islam*, which Mr. Carlyle borrows.

Mr. Carlyle says, 'it seems to be the true opinion that Mahomet never could write.' Then, *who* wrote the Koran? Gabriel? Does not Al Bochari tell us that he *did* write certain words at the gate of Mecca? And does not Abulfeda say that in his last sickness he asked for ink and paper that he might write a book?

We are sorry that Mr. Carlyle should be unconscious of the confusion that disfigures his defence, for it *looks like* a vindication of Mahomet's propagation of his religion by the sword. Instead of comparing him to Charlemagne, we should have thought of the divine prophet of the Christian faith, who called his followers, not to fight, but, to deny themselves, and to love their enemies. More than once Mr. Carlyle calls Mahomedanism a 'kind of Christianity.' So slavery may be a kind of liberty, and arsenic a kind of food. A false, sensual, proud; cruel religion 'a *kind* of christianity!'—which christianity Mr. Carlyle *knows* to be true, and pure, and meek, and full of mercy!

Mr. Carlyle's idea of poets and poetry is that which constitutes the charm of the richest literature of Germany. The true poet is a great man, conversing with realities, piercing the sacred mystery, 'the open secret,' of the universe, and dealing earnestly with what he sees. In the degree in which this element is developed in a man, he is counted for a poet. 'Poetry is musical thought expressed in verse.' The types of this class of great men selected for illustration are *Dante* and *Shakespeare*. While he describes Dante as embodying musically the religion of the middle ages, and Shakespeare as embodying for us the outer life of our Europe as developed

then—its chivalries, courtesies, humours, ambitions—the Italian deep and fierce; the Englishman wide, placid, and far-seeing; he holds Shakespeare to be the greater poet, indeed the greatest of intellects, and the highest glory of the English nation.

We have but little space to follow Mr. Carlyle through his sketches of the heroes of the reformation, which teem with graphic descriptions, just sentiments, admirable reflections, and noble principles. But we are bound by our reverence for the highest truth to protest against the ill founded and mischievous opinion which he has taken pains to dress in the most attractive colours,—that ‘idolatry is to be condemned only when it is *insincere*.’ We have not so read those Hebrew prophets to whose genius Mr. Carlyle does graceful homage, and in whose *miraculous* inspiration we will presume to hope that he believes.

The idolatry which they denounce, in the name of the living God, is the bowing down of worshippers to any symbol of any god, nay even of HIMSELF; and greater men than any of those whom Mr. Carlyle beatifies with the apotheosis, went out into the world to turn men from the dumb idols which *he* would have us to leave unmolested.

We cannot but admire Mr. Carlyle’s enlightened though somewhat too patronizing vindication of protestantism, and his honest sympathy with the earnestness and the strength of such men as Luther and Knox. It is natural enough for a writer in his position to look at these men and their labours rather in their intellectual and moral characteristics, than in connection with the religious beliefs which braced the firmness of their endurance, and the spiritual feelings which fired the ardour of their zeal. But he does the *men* justice. He discovers a sharp insight into their function as the lights of their age. He sees, with the eye of a philosopher, the connection of their labours with those of men that went before, and of men who have come after them. His mention of the puritans will be as gratifying to their successors as it is honourable to them, and to him. We hail this as one of the auspicious omens of that better day which is at hand, when these traduced heroes of truth, freedom, and earnest piety will be known and loved as they deserve.

Mr. Carlyle introduces ‘the hero, a man of letters,’ as a new and singular phenomenon, slowly recognised by the world, but teaching that world how to think and what to do.

Without questioning, on the contrary, devoutly believing—the higher and more awful inspiration of prophets and apostles, we would not fail to ascribe all superiority of understanding to the ‘inspiration of the Almighty;’* nor would we *rashly* charge

* Job xxxii. 8, *וְנִשְׁנָח נְשָׁמָה*—breath—breathing of the Almighty.

GEN. ii. 7. JOHN xx. 22.

with pantheism the writers who—though it be in phraseology which we condemn as not only vague but mischievous—are calling on a sensual, mechanical, and formal age to see in every man and in every thing the presence of the unseen God.

Such is Mr. Carlyle's view of the highest rank of literary men. In his estimation the writer is the modern teacher of the people, preaching to all men in all times and places; books are the purest embodiment of that thought which has built cities and cathedrals; libraries are the true universities of these days; and the press in fact, not in figure, is, as Burke expressed it, 'a fourth estate.' With the seriousness of a practical man Mr. Carlyle discusses the standing of the men of letters in our present social condition, and the importance to the whole society of some new arrangement which will secure for them an acknowledged status. He makes the Chinese teach us something in this matter; and from the examples of Prussia and of France he augurs hopes even for England. He might have added Denmark and Russia. The heaviest evil through which he sees the thinking men of the eighteenth century struggling, is not the poverty of writers, nor their obscurity, nor their want of patronage or public organization; but the scepticism and utilitarianism and atheistic insincerity of their times.

Mr. Carlyle's type of the class of men of whom he is now speaking would of course be GOETHE. He considers him a true hero, 'by far the greatest, though one of the quietest of the great things, that have come to pass in these times.' But, finding that the general state of English knowledge about Goethe makes it impossible for him to convey his own impression to others, he leaves him to future times, and passes to earlier though inferior names as better suited to his present purposes; those names are Johnson, Rousseau and Burns. Most Englishmen will smile at Mr. Carlyle's adoration of a man whom the most literary nation in the world has hailed as the greatest genius of the age, and whom most men of other nations who have seen him, or made themselves acquainted with his voluminous and varied works, have been accustomed to regard with a reverence and admiration which, however excessive they may seem, and sometimes extravagantly expressed, are certainly not without some reasonable foundation. For Mr. Carlyle's partiality, it would not, we think, be difficult to account, from the temperament of his intellect, from his literary habits, and from early personal intercourse with the patriarch of Weimar, who is said to have been greatly interested in the young Englishman. It may not perhaps be amiss to inform or to remind our readers that neither all Germans, nor all Englishmen conversant with their literature are such 'Goethianer.' Among the Germans and comparatively among ourselves, there

are large numbers of well-read and thoughtful men who look on this enthusiasm as an evil, chiefly from its tendency to increase that love of the ideal which keeps the Germans from the practical. Of no other literary man has so much been written and spoken. His great distinction was the healthy calmness of his nature, producing a singular completeness and equipoise in his great and highly cultivated mental powers. The later and larger portion of his long life was spent in outward circumstances the most auspicious for his tastes and objects; and it seems to have been devoted almost entirely to the culture of one mind; and that one mind—his own;—the man thus self-disciplined, and self-cultured, appears in all his later writings, where he brings out the highest philosophy of criticism, and the most perfect exemplification of the literary art.

We return from this digression to Mr. Carlyle's literary trio,—men differing most remarkably from each other in all respects save one.

To begin with Johnson. Though there are but slender materials for judging of the formation and progress of his mind, there is no man of whom so much is known in the maturity of his life and reputation. It is not the least remarkable thing about Johnson that one of the silliest of men—and not the least sycophantic of hero-worshippers—became, in the narration of his life, the most welcome of biographers, and that the gossiping of Boswell raises our admiration of Johnson higher than the reading of Johnson's own works. Mr. Carlyle's portrait of Johnson in *this lecture* wants distinctness of outline and fulness of colouring. He touches slightly on his diseased body, his poverty, his high rugged spirit, his reverence for old opinions, his sincerity, his inculcation of practical wisdom, his hatred of cant, his wondrous buckram style, and the 'architectural nobleness of his dictionary,' but he does not *here* attend to the discrepancies of his character, the ethereal and the earthly; the sagacity hoodwinked by credulity; the bigoted denunciation of bigotry; the scrupulosity and formality of his religion; the one-sidedness of his political orthodoxy; his large views and miserably little prejudices; and his natural conversation, contrasted with his turgid writing. His great recommendation, we doubt not, is the brave, true and generous nature which leaves him, after all his foibles and inconsistencies, a truly great man—worthy of the affectionate reverence of Englishmen.

It would not be easy at the first glance to see the classifying principle which associates Johnson with Rousseau. In the presence of the massive Englishman who thought Rousseau '*a fellow that deserved to be hanged*,' the vain and shallow Genevese republican reminds us of a grasshopper teasing a giant with his chirp. Mr. Carlyle himself says most truly, 'he is

not a strong man, a morbid, excitable, spasmodic man,' at best rather intense than strong: 'not a right man.' In fact Rousseau wanted the *foundations* of a great mind. But he is placed here side by side with 'brave old Samuel' because he is *in earnest*. Now of this earnestness of Rousseau we cannot easily persuade ourselves; at any rate it was a very different kind of earnestness from that of Johnson. Johnson's is the earnestness of a manly moralist; Rousseau's the earnestness of a fickle, paradoxical, and grossly immoral charlatan. His story is soon told. After a wayward childhood, a sensual youth, and a disgusting course of meanness, impudence, and childish superstition, he picked up at Paris some habits of business and a smattering of the new philosophy. His first effort as an author was an ingenious attack on the refinements of literature and the embellishments of art. His next production was aimed at the institutions of civilization, and this prepared the way for the 'Social Contract,' a really wonderful specimen of irresistible logic on false premises. He then produces one novel for the purpose of contrasting the country with the town; and another to overturn the existing modes of education. Driven by his anti-social and anti-christian writings from Switzerland, he is brought to England by Hume, with whom he quarrels, and then returns to France to receive the caresses of the Parisians. There he dies—a maniac, and it has been thought—a suicide. We are not insensible to the general brilliancy of Rousseau's writings, or to the strange *shew* of sincerity in his confessions. But the extraordinary popularity which they obtained was owing, as no man knows better than Mr. Carlyle, to the excited state of Europe in general, and especially of France, at the time when they appeared. We profess no difference of opinion with Mr. Carlyle about the effect which, in the circumstances of his age, the writings of this spasmodic man produced; but we should greatly lament it, if the sanction of so eminent an authority were to tempt the young readers of our nation to touch the poison-cup which this delicious dreamer left behind him.

Burns is likened to a 'rock with wells of living softness,' and he is styled 'an original *man*,' born in a poor Ayrshire hut, the son of a toiling and harassed peasant—himself a hero of the silent order, who, though obscure lived not in vain. The poet was a laughter-loving youth, his mind naturally vigorous and original, 'the most gifted soul of the last century.' Mr. Carlyle compares him to Mirabeau, in his physical robustness and intellectual insight, in his raging passions and tender affections, in his wit, in his merriment, energy, directness and sincerity. His songs and his life are both admired for 'wrestling with the naked truth of things.' Worshipped by the great, he is not inflated. Yet 'he fares like the fire-flies of Sumatra, which

people stick upon spits and illuminate the ways with at night :—‘Great honour to the fire-flies :—But—’!

The sketch of CROMWELL* is, in our judgment, the master-stroke of this curious volume. We pass it by in silent admiration, merely quoting one weighty sentence, ‘it was not to men’s judgment that he appealed, nor have men judged him very well.’ NAPOLEON does not seem to Mr. Carlyle to be so great a man as Cromwell. He does not think him sincere in the same way. He had no religion but the atheism of the *Encyclopédie*. Nurtured in democracy, but instinct with the love of order, he rose naturally to the head of affairs, and then he was dazzled, blinded, and ruined.

We cannot be expected to give a particular analysis of the Essays which fill the five volumes of Mr. Carlyle’s reprints of his contributions to Reviews. They are all distinguished, as might be supposed, by remarkable ability. If we might hint a fault, it would be that of prolixity. But in his reviews of Jean Paul Richter, of Goethe, and other works requiring a knowledge of German literature, the results of much study are given in a style of soft and silvery melody, which makes one wonder and regret that he should have been tempted to desert it. Mr. Carlyle understood himself, in the lecture on Johnson and Burns, to be addressing persons who had read his reviews of Croker’s edition of Boswell in Frazer’s Magazine, and of Lockhart’s Life of Burns in the Edinburgh Review, both of which are here reprinted: they discover a very high degree of that free glance into the heart of men, which is the peculiar power of biographical criticism. We have compared his review of Johnson with another which is well-known and justly celebrated, and we have felt the gentle discrimination and philosophizing quietude of Carlyle to be even more delightful—though in a different way—than the trenchant criticisms and brilliant antitheses of Macauley.

The paper entitled CHARACTERISTICS, embodies within a comparatively small space the greater part of those opinions which Mr. Carlyle’s writings are intended to illustrate and to spread. We are sorry that we have not room for some charming little poems in the third volume, and for a paper on Luther’s Psalm.

PAST AND PRESENT seems to be the grand ascent of which ‘Chartism’ was a kind of pilot parachute. It is an attempt to illustrate, after a most quaint fashion, certain general views of National Economy, having a special reference to the *Past* history and *Present* condition and prospects of the British empire,—for example: that England is poor and discontented in the midst of the richest abundance of material wealth;—that

* We understand that Mr. Carlyle is about to publish a Life of Cromwell.

the cause of this anomaly is found in our departure from the great laws of universal nature;—that justice is permanent, and will come out visibly in her retributions;—that insurrections are *signs* of national disease, which men in high places should study, but which men in low places should understand, gain little and waste much;—that on the whole the demands of the working classes are substantially just;—that a return to nature and justice is not yet hopeless;—that the Corn Laws are indefensible;—that all quackery is an abomination;—that every man's misery is his own fault;—and that every nation's misery is its own fault;—that we shall all, men and nations, be scourged till we learn that this is undeniable;—that the aristocracy of talent is very desirable, but hard to find, and harder still to be appreciated;—and, that reform, like charity, should begin at home.

The basis of this book is JOCELIN'S CHRONICLES, a Latin manuscript, published by the Camden Society. On this Saxon relique various remarks are founded; and its slender materials are worked up into a series of lively portraitures of monks and monastic, royal, and feudal doings in the twelfth century. These are followed by sundry chapters on the present, all tending to expose the hollowness of modern substitutes for sense, virtue and sound policy. The following may be taken as a fair specimen.

'And now do but contrast this Oliver with my right honourable friend Sir Jabesh Windbag, Mr. Facing-both-ways Viscount Mealy-mouth, Earl of Windlestraw, or what other Cagliostro, Cagliostrino, Cagliostraccio the course of fortune and parliamentary majorities has constitutionally guided to that dignity any time during these last sorrowful hundred and fifty years. Windbag, weak in the faith of a God, which he believes only at church on Sundays, if even then; strong only in the faith that paragraphs and plausibilities bring votes; that force of public opinion, as he calls it, is the primal necessity of things, and highest God we have:—Windbag, if we will consider him, has a problem set before him which may be ranged in the impossible class. He is a Columbus, minded to sail to the indistinct country of NOWHERE, to the indistinct country of WHITHERWARD, by the *friendship* of thosesame waste tumbling Water-Alps and howling waltz of All the winds; not by conquest of them and in spite of them, but by friendship, when once *they* have made up their mind. He is the most original Columbus I ever saw. Nay, his problem is not an impossible one; he will infallibly arrive at *that same* country of Nowhere; *his* indistinct Whitherward will *be* a THITHERWARD. In the ocean abysses and Locker of Davy Jones, there, certainly enough, do he and his ship's company, and all their cargo and navigatings, at last find lodgment. Oliver knew that his America lay there, Westward-ho;—and it was not entirely by friendship of the Water-Alps, and yeasty insane Froth Oceans, that he

meant to get thither. He sailed according; had compass-card, and rules of navigation—older and greater than these Froth-Oceans, old as the Eternal God! Or again, do but think. Windbag in these his probable five years of office has to prosper and get paragraphs: the paragraphs of these five years must be his salvation, or he is a lost man; redemption no where in the Worlds or in the Times discoverable for him. Oliver too would like his paragraphs; successes, popularities in these five years are not undesirable to him; but mark, I say, this Enormous circumstance: *after* these five years are gone and done, comes an eternity for Oliver. Oliver has to appear before the Most High Judge: the utmost flow of Paragraphs, the utmost ebb of them, is now in strictest arithmetic, verily no matter at all; its exact value *zero*; an account altogether erased! Enormous;—which a man, in these days, hardly fancies with an effort! Oliver's paragraphs are all done, his battles, division-lists, successes, all summed; and now in that awful unerring Court of Review, the real question first rises, whether he has succeeded at all? whether he has not been defeated miserably for evermore? Let him come with world-wide, Io pæans, these avail him not. Let him come covered over with the world's execrations, gashed with ignominious death-wounds, the gallows-rope about his neck: what avails that? The word is, Come thou brave and faithful; the word is, Depart quack and accursed! O Windbag, my right honourable friend, in very truth I pity thee. I say, these paragraphs, and low or loud votings of thy poor fellow-blockheads of mankind will never guide thee in any enterprise at all. Govern a country on such guidance? Thou canst not make a pair of shoes, sell a pennyworth of tape, on such. No, thy shoes are vamped up falsely to meet the market; behold the leather only *seemed* to be tanned; thy shoes melt under me to rubbishy pulp, and are not veritable mud-defying shoes, but plausible, vendible similitudes of shoes—thou unfortunate and — I! O my right honourable friend, when the paragraphs flowed in who was like Sir Jabesh? On the swelling tide he mounted; higher, higher, triumphant, heaven high. But the paragraphs again ebbed out, as unwise paragraphs needs must: Sir Jabesh lies stranded, sunk and for ever sinking in ignominious ooze; the mud-nymphs, and ever-deepening bottomless oblivion, his portion to eternal time. Posterity! Thou appealest to posterity, thou? My right honourable friend, what will posterity do for thee? The voting of posterity, were it continued through centuries in thy favour, will be quite inaudible, extra-forensic, without any effect whatever. Posterity can do simply nothing for a man; not even seem to do much, if the man be not brainsick. Besides, to tell the truth, the bets are a thousand to one, posterity will not hear of thee, my right honourable friend! Posterity, I have found, has generally his own Windbags sufficiently trumpeted in all market-places, and no leisure to attend to ours. Posterity, which has made of Norse-Odin a similitude, and of Norman William a brute monster, what will or can it make of English Jabesh? O Heavens, 'Posterity'?

'These poor persecuted Scotch Covenanters,' said I to my in-

quiring Frenchman, in such stunted French as stood at command, '*ils s'en appelaient à*'—'*A la Postérité,*' interrupted he, helping me out.—'*Ah, Monsieur, non, mille fois non!*' They appealed to the Eternal God, not to posterity at all!' '*C'était différent.*'—pp. 299—302.

We may now fulfil our promise of presenting what we wish to be a fair view of Mr. Carlyle as an English writer. We are the more disposed to do this, because in such critical notices of him as have come in our way, and in the general tone of alluding to him in some literary and religious circles, we do not think that he is justly appreciated. This is very much his own fault. His style is queer; and its queerness is increased by an apparent straining after eccentricities of expression, which is unworthy alike of his genius, of his attainments in polite literature, and of the delicious proofs he has given of ability to do better. We have not the vanity to think that he who wrote the Essay on Novalis, would condescend to read what we have here written, or if he did, that we could do any good by shewing him that our admiration is discouraged by such blemishes as are scattered through these volumes. But, in accounting for the distaste we find towards his writings, we stumble at once on this fact—that these blemishes stare every reader in the face. We are not advocates for a rigid uniformity of the dress in which men clothe their thoughts: for we have been nauseated a thousand times with the tricking out of common notions and trite images in language borrowed, and in periods imitated, from those masters of composition who always wrote as *they* thought and felt; neither can we sympathise with the Anti-German prejudice, which talks with ignorant flippancy of mysticism and pantheism, and neology, and other bugbears which fright our good English isle from its propriety: for we are of opinion that the philosophers and poets of Germany are worth understanding, and that they will in due time be understood in England;—still we hold that our own idioms are of too much value to be cast away; that there is in them a power for *us* which every writer of our language ought to reverence; and that neither philosophy nor taste allows us to abandon them for grotesque and barbarous novelties. We have outlived the euphuisms of the age of James, and the Gallicisms of a later day. We barely tolerate the unwieldy latinity of Johnson. There is a ripeness in the best parts of our most admired authors which will be felt and relished wherever our language is spoken. All men who have power to instruct and interest the English mind would do well to lay to heart the words of Sir Philip Francis to Burke: 'Once for all I wish you would let me teach you to write English: to me, who

am to read every thing you write, it would be a great comfort, and to you no sort of disparagement. Why will you not allow yourself to be persuaded that polish is essential to preservation?' Mr. Carlyle's sentences are sometimes vague—diffuse—labouring to say something which is *not* said. He is now and then most provokingly heavy and prosy. Very often there is a sneer of contemptuousness: as when he treats us to such elegancies as 'brother blockhead'—'goose'—'ass'—'poor devil'—a class of substantives not much improved by transplantation from the slang of the rabble, and not very particularly adapted to improve either the manners or the dialect of the young gentlemen who can afford to read the not extravagantly cheap merchandize of Mr. Carlyle. The vexatious part of it is that these odious vulgarities intrude on us in company with so much that is chaste, exquisitely polished, and delightful for its originality.—A more serious objection lies against the ambiguity that shrouds some of our author's opinions. We do not say that this is studied. Yet we trace throughout a great part of his compositions a sort of lurking fondness for putting his reader on the wrong scent: there are some clumsy devices of this kind to be placed to the account of those inconsistencies which most men have to answer for, and which make an inconvenient demand on our confidence in this gentleman's exercise of that one virtue which, with much earnestness, he preaches to his brother men—*sincerity*.

We have examined these volumes at separate periods of leisure, with a deep sense of our responsibility as writers who profess to regard human life as intended for nobler work than literature, and who are more concerned for the purity of our national religious belief than for any other interest. We are far from thinking that Mr. Carlyle is what is meant by being a pantheist. We could quote many admirably expressed passages to prove that he is not. Few writers indeed so often *suggest* the recollection of an eternal Creator, a moral ruler of the world. Yet in his quotations, genuine or simulated, from favourite books, and in his unfolding of his idea of the world, there are things which startle healthy minds, and which drive sickly minds off to regions of mist, where neither truth nor happiness, nor virtue, has been ever known to flourish.

We cannot say that we are at all edified by his frequent mode of using Scripture language. We are pained, rather, and sometimes shocked. It may be prejudice: nay, we know it to be prejudice; but are there not prejudices which it is safe to have, and not safe to tamper with? It is no part of our pleasure in reading Mr. Carlyle's writings, that we are sometimes made to feel as though he did not *understand Christianity*, seeing that he takes upon him to say civil things in its favour, and a

most respectable part of a series of enlightenments, all tending to the grand millennium of poetic manhood, forming, along with Paganism, Islamism, and Goethism, the true religion of our world. The levelling of the Hebrew prophets with poets; the confounding of the natural with the super-natural; the more than doubt (as we read) of miracles in the proper meaning of that word, and of inspiration in the distinctive sense attached to it by christians, are not unlikely to excite the suspicions which may be sighed over as contracted, or ridiculed as 'Methodism;' but men who are neither fools, bigots, nor methodists, —nor unfamiliar with the wells at which Mr. Carlyle has been drawing, are prepared to justify these suspicions by clear reasonings and manly sentiments. If Mr. Carlyle does not believe that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, we are sorry to confess that he is not the first man of genius who has given no sign of having examined the proofs that He did; but if he does believe that fundamental miracle of christianity, we cannot congratulate him on his treatment of our faith: and we are free to say that this particular feature in his publications will do more harm than all the rest can possibly do good. We use no stinted phrases in our praise of much that he has written. We greatly admire his natural originality of thought, his fertile *suggestiveness*, his fine analogies, his pictorial vividness, his conversation-like familiarity, his quiet fun, his hatred of dead formalisms, his love of poetry and learning, his sympathy with man, his exposure of cant and hypocrisy, his fair appreciation of what is good, or great, or beautiful, wherever he can find it; and we are confident of the wisdom and the humanity of his aims; but we cannot look at one or two tendencies of his productions, without perceiving that he has not touched the core of the disease which he exhibits with so much power, and that therefore he is not the physician in whose prescriptions the remedy is to be found. If he would follow out some of the views of *actual* human nature which he has opened, comparing them with the ideal of the gospel; if he would follow out some of the views of christianity which he has glanced at; if he would look more thoughtfully and more *believingly* at the 'high question,' how christianity originated; if he would lay aside essays on miracles for patient study of *the miracles themselves*; if he would devoutly grasp the grand distinctive peculiarities of the new covenant—which lie deeper than the sage of Wilhelm Meister penetrated, and yet are open to the unsophisticated mind of every *genuine* believer; if he would 'clear his mind of cant' on *one side* as well as on the other, we should then hope to hail him as a writer worthy of higher reverence than any of his past works have yet deserved on his behalf.

His dreams admit of generous interpretation; we cheerfully

adopt it; but until he has written in a vein more congenial with the spirit of revealed truth, we will accord to him, as heartily as he could wish, the title of 'wise man,' or 'poet;' but not that of martyr to the true religion, which is to heal our suffering and distracted world.—The effects of Mr. Carlyle's writings, like those of any other man, will be modified by all the other influences which act on the minds of readers: his followers and imitators will be no exception, we fear, to the general rule in such cases:—they will miss his excellencies, and they will exaggerate his faults. It has been our lot to mark this influence in the first, the second, the third, and even yet lower degrees.

We hold it to be no small advantage to have the attacks of such a writer made with so much frequency and force on the *persiflage*—the pretension—the apeing—the hollowness—the hypocrisy—which for a long time has been eating like a canker-worm, the strength and pith of English society. To follow him in this noble and manly path is honourable; and we will indulge the hope that his writings will increase the number of such followers.

It is no small advantage which we expect to be derived from the study of these writings, by inducing his readers to *think*,—to examine the meaning and the power of English words,—to look into the foundations of institutions,—to meditate on the import of facts around them,—to generalize their views,—to learn wisdom from all ages, and from all nations,—to feel ~~and~~ to act for man at large, and for ages yet to come. There is, of course, some danger, as Mr. Carlyle's favourite German writers have painfully illustrated by their example, of generalizing so far as to confound the practicable with the unattainable, and to merge the supernatural in the natural. For preventing this, we must place some reliance on that attachment to the results of actual experience, and that thorough grounding in fundamental principles and distinctions, which we conceive to be the marked superiority of the English over the German education. But on this we cannot rely without some security that the guides of our English youth will themselves master the peculiarities of those Germanisms which writers like Mr. Carlyle are pouring into our literature, honestly examining them, sifting them, and bringing them to those tests which cannot but be familiar to the disciples of Bacon, Newton, and Butler. We may add, that we hold it to be no light matter that Mr. Carlyle should have done so much, and, on the whole, have done it so well, to bring the English reader into some acquaintance with the teeming and varied literature of our German brothers. We have been greatly struck when conversing with learned Germans in their own country, with their notions of the insular and one-sided literature of Englishmen. It seemed to them that we

are so proud of our political institutions, of our commercial activity,—of our naval energy—of our religious undertakings and of our prodigious wealth, that we look with ignorant contempt on the labours of more quiet, thoughtful, plodding, and highly intellectual men. It is very true that the Germans may be as much swayed by national prejudice in entertaining these views, as we are, in acting so as to call forth their criticisms. However this may be, it is well for us to cultivate their strong and full language, to have some insight into their deep, though changeful philosophy, to take the lights they throw on the sources of the beautiful, and of the good, to feel the music of their thoughts, to catch the inspiration of their genius, and to enrich ourselves from the treasures of their amazing scholarship. For drawing aside part of the veil which difference of language, and of usages, has placed between us and these gifted thinkers, we believe that Mr. Carlyle has done us no small service. It will not be the least part of the service if the ultimate effect should be, as we hope it may, to increase the reciprocal communication between the Germans and ourselves. The most enlightened of that nation are quite as much disposed as the most enlightened of our own to admit that each nation would be improved by a larger and more liberal acquaintance with the other. The writer of this article had some pleasant intercourse, not very long ago, with an accomplished professor, in one of the universities of Denmark, the author of a profound work in the German language, on the *North German History*. That well-informed and amiable gentleman told the writer that, as a literary pensioner employed by the present King of Denmark, he had visited all the countries of western Europe, including, amongst others, Germany and England. It was his conviction that the English schools of learning had over those of Germany this great advantage,—that the English teachers were more generally, and more thoroughly, men who built their instructions on solid and settled principles; though the Germans are, on the whole, he thinks, more constant in their industry, and more independent in their modes of thinking. Agreeing, in the main, with our excellent Danish friend, we are far from being sorry that so able a writer as Mr. Carlyle should have raised his voice in awakening British intellect to the beauty, fertility, and power of German thought. But we are reminded of what we cannot but regard as an infelicitous effect of this German tendency on Mr. Carlyle's own mind; and we are jealous lest the evil, rather than the good, should predominate in the minds of those who may be influenced by his productions. This evil, we apprehend, will show itself in three distinct respects,—in the general mode of thinking,—in the style of language,—and in the manner of treating questions bearing

on religion. We will trespass on our readers by a short illustration or two of each of these particulars.—As to the *general mode of thinking*:—Every nation has a manner of thinking peculiarly its own. The orientals, speaking generally, though they have their specific varieties, are distinguished by the rich symbolism of their gorgeous and lavish imagery; the Greeks by their harmony, subtlety, and beauty; the Romans by their simplicity and strength; the Italians by their artistic sensuousness and dulcet softness; the Spaniards by their grave and sounding majesty; the French by their precision in science, their antithesis in eloquence, their vivacity in all things; the Dutch by their calmness, neatness, and pains-taking; the English by their shrewdness, solidity, and caution; the Germans by their depth of speculation, their ever-changing love of system, their self-reliance, and their constant aspiring after an unattainable universality which leads to mysticism. What we have just now in view is, the evil of being smitten with admiration of *some one* of the innumerable German schools, mistaking its meaning, imitating its foibles, and substituting all this for depth, originality, and comprehensiveness. There is, perhaps, not one man in Germany who pretends to understand more than a very small portion of the literature of his own country: for a foreigner, we are not afraid to say, this is simply not possible. Now, much of the German mode of thinking is so unapproachably abstruse, often so grotesque, and always so alien to the habits of the most soundly disciplined and most richly cultivated Englishmen, that we are persuaded, while much is gained, much also is lost by either a superficial, or an excessive, attention to the writings of that book-making people. It appears to us that a conceited show of German literature, and a slavish, yet sometimes unconscious, adoption of faults at which sensible Germans have been laughing for nearly twenty years, is not an improvement in the intellectual habitudes of Englishmen. But in many respects *this* is the effect which we have seen produced by an over-weening fondness for Mr. Carlyle's admirable writings, both in the United States and in Great Britain. Muddiness is not depth. Mist is not sublimity. Contortion is not inspiration. Convulsion is not energy.—Then, as to style of language; the natural is of course the best. There is a style which is natural to our language, because it becomes the thoughts and feelings of our people. He who has read Shakspeare, Milton, Taylor, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Cowper, Paley, Mackintosh, Southey, and Robert Hall, need not be afraid of exhausting the powers of our English, as these writers have exemplified them. For every thought that is noble, for every sentiment that is tender, for every passion that is terrible, for every enquiry that deserves patience,

and for every imagination that demands fire, the English writer may find full utterance, without going beyond the bounds of our own manly and truly national literature. Mr. Carlyle has charmed us often by the telling force and the flowing sweetness of the pure English words which he so well knows how to use. But the blemishes of his style, to which we have before referred, are more likely to catch the fancy of many a glowing reader. He seems to us to think slowly, but to write in haste. It may not be so; yet we can scarcely believe that a large portion of what he has printed has been filed and polished by that 'art of blotting' to which nearly all the works which *live* have owed so much. Nothing would be easier than to imitate this crude and barbarous torturing of our language.—As there is a style natural to our language, there is also a manner of expression suited to the mental character of the individual who speaks or writes it. There are few, perhaps, whose similarity of intellectual constitution would make it natural for them to utter themselves as Mr. Carlyle does, even when he is most unaffected. Still fewer must they be to whom it is natural to express themselves in those cumbrous and jerking passages, by which his writings are disfigured. If there be such—we give them up to their strange nature, only wondering that such extravagance and folly should be natural to any man.—Mr. Carlyle's treatment of questions bearing on religion is anything but uniformly offensive: here, as we think, lies much of the mischief. However firm, conscientious, and practically consistent Mr. Carlyle's own religious views may be, —and we are far from assuming a right to judge, or encouraging a disposition to condemn him, in this respect—one thing is as clear to our apprehension as most things of the kind, namely, that the religious tendency of his writings is not in the same direction with what *we believe to be* the drift of prophets, evangelists, and apostles. This is too sacred a theme for either flattery or reproach. But if the worst influences of German infidelity,—the *cast off* infidelity of England,—do not taint the minds of Mr. Carlyle's readers, our experience has been singularly unfortunate, and our observation, which has been neither idle nor unfriendly, has deceived us in a way for which we are at a loss to account.

Art. II. *Travels in Southern Abyssinia, through the country of Adal, to the kingdom of Shoa.* By Charles Johnston, M.R.C.S. 2 Vols. 8vo. London: J. Madden and Co.

THESE volumes are the production of an intelligent and observant man, extensively acquainted with society, and well qualified to record his impressions for the instruction and entertainment of others. Their perusal has afforded us much pleasure, and though we have recently been over the same ground with other travellers, our interest in their contents has never flagged. Mr. Johnston held the appointment of surgeon on board the iron-armed steamer, *Phlegethon*, which he relinquished at Calcutta in 1841, for the purpose of prosecuting a long-cherished scheme of returning to England across the African continent. He arrived in Aden on the 24th of December following, with letters from the Indian government to Captain Haines, the political agent at Aden, and also to Captain Harris, the British ambassador, at Shoa. His health at this time was greatly impaired, but he persisted, contrary to the advice of friends, in his favourite scheme, and gladly accepted from Captain Haines the charge of some despatches and stores, which that officer was about to forward to the English mission at Shoa. At Tajourah, whither he proceeded in a small brig of war, the usual delays were experienced from the cupidity and bad faith of the sultaun and his officials. The gains derived from the transport of baggage through their country were sought to be enhanced by every means which half-civilized cunning could devise, whilst the limited authority of the ruler, and the distracted state of the surrounding country greatly increased the difficulties of the enterprise, and afforded a pretext for extortion. No very favourable opinion of the manners and habits of Tajourah will be formed from Mr. Johnston's description of the sultaun :—

‘ He was a man at least sixty years of age ; round his closely shaven head was wrapped a dirty white muslin turban, beneath which was a very light Arab skull cap of open wicker-work, made of the mid rib of the palm leaf. Naked to his waist, over the right shoulder, and across his chest, was slung a broad belt of amulets, consisting of numerous packages the size of a small cartouche-box, alternately of red cloth and of leather, each of which contained some written charm against every evil that he feared, or for every desirable good. A common checked cotton fotah, or cloth, reaching to the knees, was fastened around his middle by a leathern belt, in which was secured a very handsome sword of silver, and completed his dress. In his hand he held a light spear, that served to support his long spare figure as he walked, or sometimes to chastise a rebellious urchin, or vituperative female of his household, by dropping the heavily iron tipped end not very gently on their heads and

shoulders. But little attention was paid to him by his tribe beyond the simple acknowledgment of him as their chief, and the title was only valuable as a legal excuse for demanding from merchants and strangers some paltry present, which alone constitutes, as far as I could observe, the revenue of the state of Tajourah. Beyond the limits of the town, the authority of the sultaun was disclaimed; and, in fact, it was very evident that to hold quiet possession of the town, a species of black mail was extorted from him and the inhabitants by the Bedouins of the surrounding country.'—vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

Meeting with greater difficulty than was expected in obtaining transports for the stores, Mr. Johnston was compelled most reluctantly to return to Aden, whence, however, he was again quickly dispatched by a different route, and with less ostentation, to Tajourah. The sight of a brig of war on the former visit had awakened, it would seem, the suspicion of the Tajourans; at least it was resolved—and the experiment proved successful—to try the effect of a less formidable appearance. Our traveller was now accompanied by Mr. Cruttenden, the assistant political agent, and on his arrival at Tajourah, was entertained with kindness by the acquaintances of the latter. Some rules of courtesy may be learned even from the half-civilized tribes of Africa, for we are told that the 'established etiquette of hospitable politeness leaves to the stranger the first day of arrival, for rest after his journey, and for making him welcome on the part of his entertainers.'

At first, the negotiations for a convoy through the adjacent country appeared likely to prove as fruitless as on the former occasion. Wearied at length with the delays interposed, Mr. Cruttenden resolved to return to Aden with the stores, which being notified to the Tajourah authorities, produced an immediate and total change in their deportment. Fearing the loss of anticipated gains, they now promised to make speedy arrangements for the departure of the stores. This was effected in the afternoon of the 27th of March:—'I shook hands,' says Mr. Johnston, 'with Mr. Cruttenden, and after sincerely thanking him for the kindness and trouble he had taken in providing everything necessary for my journey, mounted my mule, and went on my way, rejoicing at having at last turned my back upon Tajourah, a town I was most heartily tired of.'

The kafilah, or convoy, was under the joint charge of our traveller and Ohmed Mahomed, or, as he was commonly called, Ebin Izaak. Cassim, one of the chief men of the town, and Ibrahim Shaitan, 'the devil,' a very appropriate name, as Mr. Johnston informs us, agreed to accompany him for three days. He had two servants, Zaido and Allee, the former, a tall, good-natured and cowardly fellow; the latter both obliging and courageous. Arriving at their first halting place, our traveller

slept in an open part of the savannah, with his saddle for a pillow, Cassim and Ibrahim taking up their position on one side, whilst the two servants lay, the one at his feet and the other at his head, to guard against assassination. The party rose early in the morning, and in the course of their journey, saw abundance of guinea-fowl and of the small antelope, mentioned by Salt. The scenery had its full influence on Mr. Johnston, producing, as he tells us, in the genuine spirit of his present vocation, 'an effect of enjoyment in my mind, that perhaps owed some portion of its charms to the feeling of having at last entered upon the long wished-for life of novel and wild adventure, which, from a boy, I had so ardently desired.' The character of his companions was by no means adapted to insure a sense of personal security. 'By their own showing,' he informs us, 'not one of them that wore a small tuft of hair upon the boss of his shield but had killed and murdered ten or twelve individuals, which, if only understood as two or three, the men surrounding me must have caused the death of at least a score of their fellow beings; and the delight and evident zest with which they spoke of or listened to the several struggles in which they had been engaged, told the fierce and cruel character of these demons in human shape.'

The observation of our traveller was not limited to the character or habits of his own species. With these he was mainly concerned, and his volumes are therefore principally occupied with such details as illustrate the condition and prospects of the human race in Africa. The geologist and the naturalist will however find much to inform and interest them throughout his pages. The appearances of the earth, and the habits of various animals are carefully noted, and the records made are in a simple and lucid style, well fitted to their respective subjects. The following brief account of the sagacity of the sea-gull may be taken as a specimen.

'In the evening, I strolled from the low jungle that here skirts the sea, and in which our camp was made, to the beach, where I amused myself by observing some sea-gulls that exhibited no little sagacity in the manner in which they obtained their food. All along the Bay of Tajourah the small hermit crab abounds, and formed, I should suppose, from what I saw, the principal prey of these birds. It would be a difficult thing to get at this kind of crustacea, with all the means that sea-gulls can command; but instinct has taught them to have recourse to a method of unshelling the crabs that certainly I should not have thought of. Seizing the one they intend to operate upon, they fly up to the height of ten or twelve feet, and letting it drop, it naturally falls on the heaviest, or topside of the shell. Before the little animal can recover itself, the gull has caught it again, and flying up with it the same height as before, he lets it drop a second

time, and so he continues till the repeated falls have fractured the shell, and he gets at the animal without further trouble. It takes ten or twelve of these short flights to accomplish the object, but it never fails; and as the birds are certainly patterns of perseverance in their pursuit, they get, no doubt, a good living in this very singular manner. Besides this instance of their sagacity, I have seen gulls over and over again defeat the attempts of the hawk to pounce upon them, by making a very successful but very unusual flight for them, which was to vie with the hawk himself in the elevation he was obliged to take for the success of his swoop. In such cases they seek not to shun the butcher of their kind, but following him in each gyration he makes, afford him no opportunity of attack, and soon tire him out.'—vol. i. pp. 94, 95.

Notices also occur of the Mirage, of which European travellers find it difficult to form a definite conception. It constitutes one of the peculiarities of African scenery, and frequently inflicts the bitterest disappointment on the exhausted and thirsty spectator. Its effect is accurately described in the following extract.

'Coming from the opposite side, diagonally across to our station, could be now seen the stranger Kafilah, camel after camel, emerging from the mirage in a long extended line. The effect of this natural phenomenon, the mirage, was greater than I expected. The very perfect and natural resemblance it bears to water, the reflection even of the adjoining ridges as perfectly distinct as from the surface of a lake, contributing very much to the illusion. To ascribe to any traveller the originality of the beautiful expression, 'ships of the desert,' as applied to that useful animal the camel, is an injustice to the simple elegance of natural ideas. Not one, but half a dozen of the Bedouins, came to me in succession, and directed my attention to the broad and enlarged figure of the camel with its burden, as it appeared through the medium of the mirage, and all expressed themselves exactly in the same terms, that it was the ship of their country, and any one who has seen the camel in such a situation would have immediately suggested to his mind, a distant vessel sailing end on before a breeze, with all its studding sails set, so exact a resemblance is observed between it and the distorted image of the laden camel.'—ib. pp. 217, 218.

We have already noticed the suspicious character of Mr. Johnston's attendants, and he had not travelled far before the most convincing evidence was afforded of his personal insecurity. His fire-arms were their terror, but even these did not exempt him from attempts at assassination, which were frustrated only by his self-possession and intrepidity. Arriving on one occasion, after a wearisome day's journey, at 'Alcey Shaitan' (the Devil's Water), he soon composed himself to rest under the shade of a stunted mimosa-tree, but was urged by his companions to avail himself of the shelter of a neighbouring cave. What followed must be related in his own words.

'I had no objection to proceed, so gathering myself up with no little difficulty, for I was very tired, we all went to another den of some wild beast, where scattered bones and other traces indicated its recent occupation. Ohmed Mahomed creeping in, for it was much less than the one at Dafarre, remarked that there was but just room for me. As I expected he was going to remain, I pulled off my boots and belt, and laid them with my pistols down at some little distance from me, and should have gone immediately to sleep, had not Ohmed Mahomed, made preparations to depart, and told me, as he got out, that I must not sleep till Zaido came with my rice. This was quite an accidental observation, and so natural, that I only asked him to send Zaido quickly, and took up a position by placing myself at full length across the entrance of the cave, which was not above eight feet wide, so that Moosa and Garahmee, who had been squatting in their usual manner in front, could not conveniently come in.

'Some moments after Ohmed Mahomed left, Garahmee, under pretence of stretching himself, laid down his spear, and turning round walked some little way until he could get a good view of the camp, towards which he looked with an inquisitive gaze, that told me at once I had been betrayed into this place for the purpose of assassination, and felt assured that a struggle for my life was now at hand. My heart beat thick, but I determined not to show the least feeling of mistrust until their game had begun; and placing myself a little more under cover of the roof of the cave, awaited the first signal of attack to seize my pistols, and defend myself as I best might. It may be astonishing to suppose how two men could so far overcome the fear of being instantly killed by my fire-arms; but Garahmee, who was a most cunning man, never dreamt that his son, as he used to call me, suspected in the least his design, so carelessly had I been accustomed to trust myself with him, and had been so deceived by his particularly mild and quiet deportment. His first step, after watching the occupation of the camp, was to endeavour to take Ohmed Mahomed's place in the cave, but this I instantly objected to in a tone so suddenly harsh that he involuntarily started, and sat down again just at my feet, but outside the entrance. All this time Moosa had been sitting about five paces in front. His shield, held before him, concealed his whole body, a black face and bushy head of hair alone appearing above its upper edge; his spear was held perpendicularly, with its butt end placed upon the earth, in the usual manner, when an attack is meditated.

'Garahmee was evidently disconcerted by my refusal to admit him into the cave, and perhaps if I had assumed a greater apparent suspicion, he would have deferred his attempt until a more favourable opportunity: but seeing me seemingly undisturbed, he took his seat at my head, and asked peremptorily for some dollars; 'and Moosa wants some too,' added he, turning and looking with an expression readily understood by the latter worthy, who instantly rose and taking the place just vacated by Garahmee, seconded the motion by holding out his hand for 'nummo' (dollars). In my belt was the

pouch made by Cruttenden for my watch, which I had carried in the vain expectation of making it serviceable in deciding the longitude of my halting places, but perceiving the character of the people, had never brought it out for fear of exciting the cupidity of those around me. Its round form, however, as it lay in the pouch attached to my waist-belt, made an impression as if dollars were there concealed, as I afterwards learnt from Ohmed Mahomed, who assigned this as one reason for the attempt which had been made. Drawing the belt and pouch towards me, in the loops of which were still my pistols, I took one of them into my hand, and throwing myself as far back into the cave as I could, told them that I had no dollars for them till I got to Abasha (Abyssinia), at the same time telling Moosa to go for Ohmed Medina and Ebin Izaak, as I could not talk to them in their language. They were taken rather aback at the strong position I had assumed, and in the decided manner in which I had met the first step to an outrage; for amongst these people a demand for something always precedes the attack, to enable them to throw their victim, even if he suspect their object, off his guard, in the vain hope that he might be enabled to purchase peace by giving them what they ask for. Neither party, under present circumstances, now knew what farther to do. I, of course, had done sufficient for defence, and they found that they had too suddenly for their purpose, laid themselves open to my suspicion; but Garahmee, with ready thought, on my telling Moosa a second time to go, volunteered to be the bearer of the message himself, and retiring relieved me of his presence, and himself of the unpleasant feeling which must have arisen in his mind on having been so completely foiled, and seeing, besides, that I was perfectly aware of his intentions.—ib. pp. 115—119.

The party was subject to frequent interruptions from the hostile demonstrations of the tribes through whose territory they passed. These are in a state of almost perpetual war, by which the cunning and ferocity of their nature are fostered, and a fearful hindrance to their civilization interposed. Despising the arts of peace and neglectful of the most simple modes of husbandry, they subsist on mutual rapine and violence, 'hateful and hating one another.' Whatever other regions may furnish in support of the theories of our poets and would-be philosophers, it is manifest from the concurrent testimony of many travellers, that Africa contains no Arcadian scenes, in which the purity and benevolence of our nature are exhibited to greater advantage, than under the so-called perverting influences of Christianity. It is a melancholy fact that every extension of our knowledge brings with it additional evidence on this point. No matter in what direction our travellers proceed, they cannot advance a step without being challenged by the proofs of human depravity, without meeting with indications of treachery and faithlessness, as subversive of social order as

they are incompatible with the devout recognition of an intelligent first cause. The soil of heathenism is saturated with the blood of its devotees, and would in many cases be left an uninhabited waste, were it not for the conservative elements which are deeply seated in the human breast. A graphic description is given of the mode of warfare adopted by the Dankalli tribes, which though sufficiently disgusting we shall transcribe for the information of our readers. It may be well to enquire whether the tactics of European war are less reprehensible, or, in the judgment of superior beings, more accordant with the obligations and spirit of our religion.

'About four o'clock, a sudden commotion among the Kafilah men, all rushing to spears and shields, and loud shouts of 'Ahkeem! Ahkeem!' awoke me from my siesta. Jumping up from my mat, I seized my fire-arms, and ran towards the place where Ohmed Medina and Ebin Izaak were beckoning me to come. In front, was a crowd of some twelve or fourteen men fighting in the greatest desperation, and so near to us, that the spears that were thrown almost struck the shields of those with whom I was sitting. About thirty yards beyond the combatants, who, in close fight, were yelling, struggling, and falling, another line, consisting chiefly of my Hy Soumaulee escort, sat with their shields before them, in the same quiet spectator-like fashion as ourselves. I must observe, however, that Adam Burrah and Moosa, as soon as they saw me in the line with the Tajourah people, came from the opposite side, and sat close in front of me. Ohmed Medina told me not to fire, or take any part in the business except to take care of myself, as the quarrel was a private one, and that no one would attack us, if we did not commence hostilities. To make more secure against an accident, Ebin Izaak kept his hand on my right arm all the time, to prevent me taking up either of my guns that lay upon the ground on each side of me.

'During the fight I noticed, that occasionally one of the Kafilah men would spring up from his sitting posture, and with a loud shout run towards the combatants. He was invariably answered by one of the Hy Soumaulee opposite, who rushed to meet him; so that in a short time, more than double the number of the original fighters were engaged.

'The contest which was now taking place in my sight was an actual representation, on a small scale, of the mode of fighting practised by the Dankalli tribes. When two hostile bodies of these people meet, it is not usual for the whole to engage, but sitting down in two opposite lines at the distance of sixty or eighty yards from each other, they await the result, produced by the yelling, jumping, and speechifying of their leaders, who for this purpose stand up immediately in front of their men.

'At the intended attack upon our Kafilah at Wadallissan, by the Bursane Bedouins, Garahmee, in addition to his duty of keeping the people squatting upon their heels, evidently recited some martial song, or speech, which at intervals, was responded to with loud yells, and shaking of the spears in the direction of the enemy.

' A few becoming sufficiently excited by these means, they rush from either side into the intervening space. The combat then commences, by each of these singling out his opponent and squatting opposite to him, in their usual attitude, at the distance of a few yards. Balancing their spears in a threatening manner, they spar at each other for several minutes, until one conceives he has a favourable opportunity of launching his spear, when, springing to his feet, he darts it with great force and precision. Seldom, however, any injury is thus produced, for his wary antagonist, with his shield dashes it aside, and then endeavours to break it by jumping and stamping upon it, as it lies upon the ground. He, in his turn, threatens with his weapon, his spearless opponent, who, bounding from side to side, in a stooping posture, endeavours to cover with his shield his whole body, save the head, and thus gives no steady object for the aim of the coming missile. At length, the spear being thrown probably with the same harmless effect, both snatch their knives from their girdle, and rush with great impetuosity upon each other, throwing their shields to the ground to admit of their grappling with their left hands, whilst with the right they strike swift and heavy blows at the neck and into the left side. A few moments decide the murderous conflict, and the loud shout of the victor, as he pushes from his front the heavy corpse of the slain, proclaims his success in the gladiatorial combat.

' During the fight, continual shouts of encouragement, or of derision, are raised by the noncombatants, who are waiting only the stimulus of revenge, on seeing a friend or leader killed, or to be prompted by the desire to assist some wounded companion, when they then rush into the conflict, from their previous couchant position, in the rear. No sooner, however, does any one spring forward for this purpose, than he is met by some brave of the opposite side, who runs to encounter him. Sometimes two or three, or even more, hasten for the same purpose; but corresponding opponents leap forward to engage hand to hand in a succession of duels, with those who shew this anxiety to mingle in the fray. In this manner the excitement spreads, pair after pair enter the ensanguined lists, and new comers continue to lengthen out the contest, until one side exhausts its warriors, and the weak and cowardly of that party alone are sitting in the rear. The victors now joined by their reserve friends rush forward to attack these, and kill whoever resists, while the rest, throwing aside their spears and shields, fly for their lives. Thus terminates a sanguinary affair, for of the number of warriors actually engaged, one half, on the side of the defeated party, must be slain; sometimes, with very little loss on the part of the victors.' —*Ib.* pp. 275—279.

The habits of the people are in strict accordance with the low state of civilization denoted in this passage. What will our fashionable loungers think of the following description of an African toilette, consequent on the slaughter of a sheep which Mr. Johnston had presented to his companions?

' I was very much amused, when the sheep was slaughtered, by

the contest which took place for the intestines and fat. It was of the usual Adal kind, covered with short hair, entirely white, except the small black head. The tail was large and heavy, consisting principally of a huge deposit of suet overhanging from the rump. Two or three applicants were almost fighting about the possession of this, which I at length settled by dividing between Garahmee and Moosa, who retired with it, borrowing my copper cooking-pot and a large wooden bowl from Zaido, for some purpose or other I could not make out, but which determined me to watch their proceedings to satisfy my curiosity. Having melted the fat over a low fire they soon prepared with camels' dung and dry sticks, they poured the oily liquid into the bowl; Moosa then took his seat upon the ground, sitting between Garahmee's legs, who commenced, with a long skewer-like comb of one prong, to comb out and arrange the rather tangled mass of long stiff curly hair, which was the pride and chiefest care of Moosa. Having tastefully adjusted the ends of the hair, behind and over the ears, in one regular line, and brought it to a level surface all over the head, Garahmee then took a large mouthful of the melted fat from the bowl, and suddenly applying his lips to the surface of the hair, continued to send it in spirits, so as fairly to spread it over every part, and to do it effectually and properly, taking several fresh pulls at the bowl, until he thought a just half was expended, when he got up and exchanged places with Moosa, who did for him the same friendly office. Garahmee, however, was quite bald in front, so all his share of the grease was not only blown over the hair on the back part of his head, but also well rubbed in with the hands. After this operation had been duly performed, the character of their hair was completely changed, and at a distance seemed, Moosa's more especially, as if each had on a skull-cap of frosted silver.—ib. pp. 142, 143.

In their feasts there is a similar want of all which springs out of the refinement of Europe. On one occasion a camel 'that had been ailing many days' was slaughtered, and the revelry which followed is thus briefly described.

'One party of the revellers who sat near my hut, I observed rolling up strips of the flesh, and stowing them away in their *affaleetabs* for a feast at the next halting place, as the Dankalli certainly prefer the flesh of animals cooked, excepting the liver and other viscera, which are almost always eaten raw. The same party had also come in for the backbone in their share, and after the fleshy parts had been stript off and preserved for a better opportunity of cooking, the assembled circle very fairly, and with much brotherly love, sent the raw juicy bone round, each one taking a fair chop at it with his heavy dagger, and then making a good strong pull at the almost detached piece with his teeth. In this manner they soon cleared and divided the bone, and each one then possessed himself of a single vertebra to look over, and finish his repast, which did not conclude until every bit of the cartilage had been torn off and eaten.'—ib. p. 214.

Arriving in Shoa our author was bitterly disappointed at the

state in which he found the British mission under Major Harris. He expected to be received with cordiality by the king, and to proceed at once to the residence in Ankobar. Instead of this, however, he was detained a prisoner, and was threatened with personal indignity, and when subsequently he reached the British officer, a dispute ensued for which it is somewhat difficult to account. We confess that so far as our information extends, our sympathy is with Mr. Johnston, at the same time it becomes us in candour to acknowledge that that information is scarcely such as entitles us to pronounce a judgment. That the embassy has not accomplished any object commensurate with the expence which it involved, may be acknowledged without criminating the capacity or prudence of Major, now Sir William Harris, but there are circumstances alleged by our author which, if true, will satisfactorily account for its failure. An attempt appears to have been made to take advantage of the ignorance of the king, and it is no marvel therefore that he should have been led to regard the English with mistrust and dislike. Mr. Johnston alludes to this with sufficient distinctness in the following passage.

‘ An answer had been sent to me by Capt. Harris the day before by the messenger now in prison, confined by the Wallasmah for having brought a letter for me, after the king had issued orders that all correspondence between the English already in the country and those arriving should be prevented. Mr. Scott was not at all surprised when I informed him of the circumstance, though I certainly considered such a proceeding to be very much at variance with the conditions and stipulations I was given to understand were contained in the commercial treaty. I could not help remarking this, and Mr. Scott then candidly admitted the king did not know the character or purport of the paper he had signed; and had only been made aware of the new responsibilities he had incurred, by a sharply-worded expostulatory letter, written by Mr. Krapf, in accordance to the dictation of Captain Harris, on an occasion subsequently to the signing of the treaty, when despatches and letters coming up from the coast were intercepted and detained for some time by the orders of the king. Singularly enough, this information was corroborated by Ohmed Medina, who told me that my letter from Dinnomalee had not been carried to Captain Harris, but to the king, who wanted to find out whether the English were his friends or not, and was trying my disposition and that of the commander (Captain Harris) by this harsh treatment of me; a kind of experiment, in fact, to see what would be borne by us, and how far he had limited his authority by attaching his signature to the treaty. Any idea of granting public benefit, at the expense of his prerogative was never entertained for a moment, the intentions of the king being limited to shewing personal favour alone, which he is ever ready to concede even now to English travellers, much as he complains of the conduct of the

Mission to Shoa as regards their political misdoings; more especially of the great insult offered to him by the unfortunate letter before alluded to, and which was worded so unguardedly, that the king, on receiving it, might well, considering his great regard for Mr. Krapf previously, turn to him and say, in a tone that implied more of sorrow than of anger, 'Did you write that, my father?'—vol. ii. pp. 21—23.

Mr. Johnston represents the religious faith of the Shoans, as involved in considerable obscurity, and shrinks from any attempt to elucidate it. 'I dare not,' he says, 'attempt any elucidation of the faith professed by the negroes and monks of Shoa; they certainly have no universal creed, nor any articles to define what is orthodox belief and what is not. The chief principle of religion with the heads of the church in that country seems to be to think upon the subject exactly as the negroes do; for if they do not, they are very soon considered in the light of heretics.'

The Church Missionary Society, it is well known, have for some time laboured in Abyssinia, and at one period with good prospect of success. This prospect however has been overclouded, and according to our traveller, mainly by the interposition of political agencies. 'Who can help regretting,' he remarks, 'the great mistake of the missionary in calling political aid to his assistance, but he erred solely by his zeal to extend his opportunities of conferring good upon his fellow creatures. He grieves now for influence founded upon respect that is gone for ever; and from my heart I sympathize with him, for the utter prostration of hope that Abyssinia should become the centre of enlightenment for the rest of the unhappy continent of Africa.' It is not indeed to be wondered at that the agents of a society framed and supported by a state church, should readily avail themselves of such assistance. It was accordant with their creed, was in harmony with the constitution of the hierarchy whose name they bore, and might, by minds trained after their fashion, be expected to promote their religious calling. But as in all similar cases, so in this, the most calamitous results followed a departure from the laws of Christ. The interposition of political influence awakened the suspicion of the civil power. The teacher of Christianity lost his distinctive and ennobling character; his hold on the confidence of the people was sacrificed; he became an object of mistrust; and is now a wanderer from the land which once promised a cheering return to his pious labours.

Of Mr. Johnston's religious tenets we know nothing more than the volumes before us supply. From a passage in the first volume, (p. 269), we conclude that they pertain to the unitarian school, in the ultimate prevalence of which as 'the

sect to whom is reserved the glory of reuniting in one faith, the present divided family of man,' he appears to exercise the fullest confidence. In this anticipation we do not of course indulge, as we cannot agree with him in the too favourable view which he takes of Islamism. Differing on this point, which is only incidentally alluded to, we part from him with respect as a sensible and candid writer, in whose company it is pleasant to travel, and from whose pages both amusement and instruction may be derived.

Art. III. *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten. Mit einem Vorworte, enthaltend: Acht Tage im Seminar von St. Euseb. in Rom.* Von Dr. Augustin Theiner. Mainz, 1835.

Histoire des Institutions d'Education Ecclesiastique. Par Augustin Theiner, traduit de l'Allemand par Jean Cohen, Bibliothécaire à St. Geneviève. Paris, 1841.

We have separated this work from others which were named with it in a previous article, that we might by a distinct, and purely biographical, notice of it, obtain a place for some remarkable details, for which there would not have been room, in a mixed article, bearing upon practical objects, and secure a greater variety of interesting matter, relating to the seminaries of Romanism, than would otherwise have been practicable. It is the production of a man whose course has excited no small attention on the continent, especially in Italy and Germany. The younger of two brothers, who under the influence of Thaddæus Dereser, capitular of the cathedral at Breslaw and professor of theology in the university, some time since took a prominent part in the Silesian movement for the restoration of a German national church, in opposition to the ruling ultramontane principles, he became known to the learned world by the publication of his able work on the constrained celibacy of the Roman clergy, '*Die erzwungene Ehelosigkeit der Katholischen Geistlichkeit*,' printed in two volumes at Altenburg, in 1828. This work to which, though written almost wholly by himself, the name of his brother, John Anthony, was also prefixed, was not only distinguished for the diligence and care with which the very numerous original sources of information had been investigated, but was, besides, remarkable as the work of a man under twenty-four, who had in early life contended with great privations, being the son of a poor shoemaker, who was able to afford him no assistance in his studies. Through the reputation this work acquired for him, he obtained, in the

following year, the degree of doctor of laws from Halle; on which occasion he published his 'Commentatio de Romanorum pontificum epistolarum decretalium antiquis collectionibus.' Almost immediately after this, assisted by a stipend from the Prussian 'Ministry of Instruction,' he set out on a tour through Germany, England and France; a tour so remarkable in its consequences, as described by himself in the preface to his work now under review, that we must communicate a short account of it to our readers. This preface is dated November, 1833, four years after he had commenced his tour; and is in the form of a letter to a friend, who had written to him in October, 1832, on the state of his religious opinions. Our abstract of it will necessarily extend to several pages, but those who think it out of place in an article on the continental seminaries are at perfect liberty to skip it.

It would appear that he commenced his travels with a mind very ill at ease, dissatisfied with the principles which had placed him in a hostile position to Rome, but equally suspicious of all influence which savoured of the papacy. He speaks, indeed, of the pure intentions which had actuated him; but the whole narrative shows that religion, as a bond of truth riveted upon the conscience, had no part in him. His letter commences with a description of the state of his feelings at Vienna, just as he had begun to experience the vanity of a religious reform, based chiefly upon a material and pseudo-philosophical theology, and had fallen under the influence of a sentimentalism, not the less sickly because arrayed in the garb of religion.

'I preserve a lively recollection of the painful and distressing hours which I passed in Vienna, destitute of faith, yet with an ardent desire to attain it. Notwithstanding the extreme cold and thick snow, for it was the depth of the severe winter of 1829, I never once failed to attend the regular service at St. Stephen's church. I mingled with the pious throng, and *leaning against a pillar*, I listened at a distance to those celestial symphonies, in the sweet hope that their melodious tone would re-establish the troubled harmony of my soul; and often shed tears of regret over my loss of faith, the christian's most precious treasure. More than once I envied the venerable and devout old man by whose side I stood, as in the vicinity of a refreshing oasis, in order to see if in his tranquil and happy look I could discover the joy and pleasure which the spirit breathes which puts its confidence in God. But I remained too much shut up within myself for such impressions to suffice to reconcile me with myself. I avoided all intercourse with the ministers of our religion by the advice of my own family. Every black gown was an object of suspicion to me. At this time I should have repulsed Fenelon himself as an imposter, if he had come to me to offer his advice. My friends and a portion of my family, dissatisfied with the unexpected impression which the religious life of Austria had

made on my mind, prevailed upon me to abridge my stay in Vienna, and proceed to England (a country, they said, of true religious liberty), postponing for the present my journey into Italy. I was determined, by a remarkable circumstance, to follow their counsel. Two of my best friends in Vienna, men respectable as well for their profound learning as for their position in society and nobleness of character, neglected nothing to dissuade me from going to Rome. They assured me with the utmost seriousness that two Jesuits had introduced themselves into the imperial library, whither I went to work every day, and that having placed themselves opposite to me at the table where I sat, they had secretly taken my portrait to send to Rome. Such a statement, so attested, left me no room to hesitate as to whither I should go, for I did not imagine at that time that the devil would push his infernal stratagems so far.

It will not surprise our readers that the sentimental simpleton, whose hope thus hovered between the tones of the organ, and the physiognomy of a pious, it may be, but more probably, imbecile old man, was totally unable to appreciate the protestantism of England, or the spirit of English piety. His representation of protestantism is indeed revolting. Protestantism itself would be so, were the representation true. Though quite unworthy on its own account of a place in the abstract we are giving of Dr. Theiner's religious vacillations, we shall insert part of it as a specimen of ecclesiastical portraiture. It is the protestant life of England depicted by a Silesian Romanist; and, strange to say, a Romanist who had spent some of his best years in investigating the enormities resulting from constrained celibacy in that church. The author has been speaking of religious separation, and forgetful of our Lord's words, 'I came not to send peace, but a sword;' he imagines that by quoting some of Luther's complaints concerning the sectarianism which followed so closely in the train of the reformation, he has disposed of the whole protestant cause. He then adds:

'If after this we cast a scrutinizing glance at the social degeneration of the protestant church in England, we are seized with astonishment at the strange aspect it presents. How common it is to see the dear little children of the pastor of souls clambering up the pulpit to the side of their papa (!) and throw down slips of paper to their play-fellows (!!) while their father reads tranquilly and undisturbed, his written sermon; his monotonous delivery being diversified by nothing but a few bizarre and ungraceful gestures, or soporific sighs! Meanwhile, his worthy spouse, seated on the pulpit stairs (!!!) is waiting impatiently for the end of his long and wearisome discourse. This ended, the preacher, with his wife and children, passes to a room which they call the vestry, where they begin, like a tribe of shop-keepers, discussing with the parishioners the fees to be exacted for ecclesiastical service (!) The wife attempts to soften the hearts of the faithful, by representing to them the destitute state of her household (!)

which is but too well attested by the miserable plight of her children's clothing (!!!) Can scenes like this be witnessed without groaning over the condition of a church which drags out a miserable existence in the mire of worldliness, and is so completely embedded in it?

We think not. But are such scenes real or fictitious? If real and frequent, they show that our protestantism is in a very deplorable condition. If, on the contrary, they are mere fictions, we must leave our readers to decide whether they are the caricatures of a spiritual humourist, or the retailed slanders current in the circle with which our author was intimate while in England. We fear we cannot class Theiner with Pascal, or ascribe to his sketches the vivacity and truth which adorn the 'Provinciales.' Like Pugin, he has all the low coarseness of the Dutch school without its truth to nature, its profligacy without its power, and must therefore take his place with 'Bishop' Lavington or the author of the *Spiritual Quixote*. Happily he has employed his pencil on his own religious history, and given protestantism an overwhelming revenge.

From England our author passed over to Belgium, but discovering there, 'in all its nakedness, the republican and sanguinary genius of Calvinism,' he proceeded to France in the hope that the church of Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Fléchier, and Massillon, would offer a medicine for the healing of his religious faith. As he says, 'the time selected for this visit did not seem to be the most favourable for his object. He arrived just before the revolution of July, 1830, broke out.' But it was just this solemn epoch of trial and crisis which at length revealed to him, 'with the aid of heaven, the mystery of the true position of the catholic church in the history of the world.' He must, he says, avow 'that it was in France, and above all at Paris, that he began to learn true politics and true religion.' We suppose we must regard it as an avowal when he says, 'it was not from religion itself that I derived my religion, but I realised it and formed it within me by the study of the political events which passed under my eyes.' It is impossible, however, to follow the author through all the details of his progress. Here and there a good thought occurs, a good principle is maintained, but, oh! how miserably misapplied. The living faith of the Gallican church is proved by the throngs of dying persons who, during the raging of the cholera, pressed into the receiving houses opened under the direction of the clergy; by (what we must admit to be a favourable symptom, as far as it goes,) the paternal intercourse which subsists between the superior and inferior clergy, and (credat Judæus) by the holy veneration entertained for the pope!

'I have more than once had the opportunity of assuring myself of it by the most touching proofs. I have seen with profound veneration the tender care with which the bishops preserve the letters of encouragement which they had received from Pius VI. and Pius VII. in the course of the first revolution. They related to me, with a joy and satisfaction which was diffused over each of their countenances, that they had not parted with these letters for an instant during their emigration; that they had taken them with them every where; that they had served for their consolation and support in the time of their trials, when, far from their dear country, deprived of all means of subsistence, and without other shelter than the vault of heaven, they announced the word of the Lord on the banks of the Mississippi, and were obliged sometimes to abandon their apostolic functions to obtain a little bread by giving lessons in language. In the midst of these privations they would have renounced life itself rather than have lost these briefs of the pope, which they have brought back with them to their own country, where they keep them still as a holy palladium. They are even now unable ever to look at them without shedding tears, so much of these beautiful and lofty recollections does the mere sight of these writings recal! What inexpressible consolation I derived from their affectionate and heavenly discourses! I was often profoundly moved, and one day I could not refrain from replying to a bishop, who was complaining of the irreligion which then menaced France afresh. 'It is not possible that Providence can abandon a country which numbers among her bishops so many worthy and holy men, every one of whom deserves to be called the successor of Fenelon.'

We presume that these fair speeches were made towards the close of Dr. Theiner's residence in France, for he afterwards tells us that the terrible scenes of the cholera, which struck such a general terror into the consciences of the gay Parisians, and brought back so many unbelievers within the pale of the church, were insufficient to shake him. 'I had even determined,' says he, 'in case I fell a victim to the epidemic, to present myself at the gates of eternity without being reconciled to the church, and, consequently, without being reconciled to God.' Attacked at length with the evident symptoms of the malady, with death in near view, his mind still preserved its tranquillity; but he was restored by medicine.

Among the persons with whom Theiner became intimate in France was the celebrated Abbé de Lamennais, so celebrated once for his efforts to exalt the papacy, but since for his political writings. How great a change has this singular man experienced in the favour of the Roman church! A few years ago, it is said, the only pictures which adorned the closet of the pope, were one of the Virgin, and another of him: since then his '*paroles d'un croyant*' have procured him the distinction of two Bulls of condemnation. Neither the personal kindness of

De Lamennais, however, by whose invitation Theiner spent eight months in the college of Juilly, near Meaux, nor the edifying example of his great piety, were sufficient to induce our author to open his heart to him. 'False theories,' said he, 'and, in this instance truly, had been my ruin, and it was not by theories equally false that I was to be recovered to the truth.'

At length, driven hither and thither in the sea of doubt, he resolved to peruse without prejudice the master-pieces of the catholic literature of France, that he might, if possible, recover his long lost tranquillity, and renew his former attachment to the holy Roman church. He immediately expended all his means in the purchase of the complete works of Bossuet, Fenelon, Bourdaloue and Massillon: and shut himself up to read them. Bourdaloue and Fenelon, especially the latter, were scarcely ever out of his hand. Even when he took his evening walks on the Mount Calvary he carried some volumes with him, that he might lose no time. With the 'Lettres Spirituelles' of Fénelon, which made a particular impression on his mind, he began and ended every day. A protestant in his circumstances would have gone to the Bible, but this avowed enemy of the right of private judgment must neglect those inspired records to which the divine Spirit of God himself imparted a miraculous unity of doctrine, to be guided by the private writings and mould his views according to the private opinions of merely human teachers.

Dr. Theiner's theological studies soon had the desired effect of reconciling him to the principal doctrines of the Roman church, though he was still harassed by doubts if the Roman clergy were themselves convinced of the truth of their religion. He could with difficulty persuade himself that even Fénelon and Bossuet were believers. Another difficulty also embarrassed him, which we must state in his own terms. 'They,' Dr. Theiner is speaking of Fénelon and Bossuet, 'had unfolded the most difficult dogmas of the church with such admirable and marvellous clearness, as to make them evident to the least observant eye; but *for the same reason they had left nothing for faith to do. Things appeared to me too clear to be denied, but also too clear to be believed.* How frightful is this state of the soul!" True: but also how absurd and ignorant. Yet, incredible as it may appear, it is the all but universal sentiment upon the subject in the Roman church, that faith and reason are inconsistent with each other, and that the more luminous the conviction, the more deadly the snare. The case is well known of the Romanist who when pressed by a protestant with the absurdity and physical impossibility of transubstantiation as fixed by the council of Trent, replied: 'it is for that very reason that I do believe it, because it is impossible.'

These difficulties, however, disappeared, and from this time our author's 'progress in the knowledge of the true doctrines of the church' was rapid. The real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and consequently, the exposition of the sacrament of the altar, which till then had so alarmed his conscience, came out in incontestable evidence.' The perusal of 1 Cor. xi. 23 was enough, more convincing than all the volumes which have been written on the subject. In that passage, the '*signifies*' of the reformed, and the '*becomes*' of the Lutherans 'are refuted with absolute clearness.' Our author's disquisitions and extracts on this point, extending to several pages, are followed by another outbreak of religious emotion, the ardour of which would not challenge sympathy in vain, were it not the result of a treasonable surrender of the claims of reason, and a violation of its gravest responsibilities.

At this stage of his conversion our author opened a communication with the friend to whom the narration which we are now reviewing was subsequently addressed; his chief object was, he says, to open a spiritual correspondence with this distinguished German Romanist; his ostensible object, to request that he would superintend the printing of his work on the 'pretended decree of Ivo,' which he had written at Paris during the two mournful months that the cholera was raging there. His other movement towards a reconciliation with his mother church he shall himself explain.

'I went oftener to church, and had the happiness of acquiring the consolatory conviction of the usefulness of prayers offered for third persons, a custom which I had so often spoken of in terms of contempt, and had till then regarded as profitable only to the priests. I often entered the churches of Paris, with the firm intention of giving a few *sous* to the poor, that they might *pray for a certain person, whom I did not name*, but who was myself. *I always took pains to select for this object those who appeared to me the most deserving persons. Sometimes I obtained information respecting them; but it was not without difficulty that I made my selection. Occasionally I walked about the church more than half an hour, before I could address these persons privately. I should sooner have committed a robbery than have given any thing to any one, in presence of a third party, that he might pray for me. I never exercised this charity without most seriously recommending them to pray aright. And when I received the answer so eminently French: 'Do not trouble yourself on that head, sir, [Ne vous embarrassez pas de cela, Monsieur,] I was filled with inexpressible delight, and felt as it were new born ** More than once I was compelled to

* Et comme régénéré. In this and some other parts of the narrative we are obliged to translate from the French edition, not having the original at hand. On this account some phrases may not be so near the German as they would otherwise have been: but the circumstance has made us the more careful to avoid exaggeration or verbal alteration. The

leave the church by the first door I could reach, to get the liberty to indulge the full excess of my joy.'

Alas for poor human nature ! What astonishing self-delusion and simplicity are here ! The preference of theft, to doing openly what was done secretly, is perhaps an ethical parallel to the preference of drunkenness to dissent. But there is a vast deal of unsuspected humour in the scene with the beggar. The confiding seriousness of the German, and the easy sense of honour of the Parisian, are worthy of the pencil of Leach or Cruikshank.

It is unnecessary to follow Dr. Theiner through the details of his residence at Orleans. Suffice it to say, that he had frequent interviews with the bishop, Mgr. de Beauregard, in which the most expressive flatteries were intermingled with more serious discourse. Hints of both are recorded by our author, with this difference, that the flatteries are given verbatim, but the discussions are just named *en passant*. Our author's impressions, however, seem to have been very violent. It was during his residence in this city, we suppose, (for it is not mentioned in his narrative,) that Dr. Theiner wrote his '*St. Aignan, ou le Siege d'Orleans par Attila*,' which was published at Paris in 1832. It was also his wish to enter the seminary at Orleans to prepare for the sacred office, but whether the prelate considered his conversion too doubtful, or his scientific acquirements too advanced, or whatever the cause might be, he refused his sanction, and advised Dr. Theiner to go to Rome. Theiner admits that he was by this time convinced of the duty of auricular confession, but that he forbore to practice it, fearing the too great severity of the French confessional, which might turn this recommendation into an 'absolute order.' He assures us that at this time he would rather have gone to Siberia, and that he was piously persuaded, that if he set foot within the city, he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo, with no other shelter than the open sky, and bread and water for his food.

At length, however, but still without having, as he terms it, 'rectified his spiritual position,' he resolves to go to Rome. 'During this time,' says he, 'I had the liveliest desire to feel myself purified before I set my foot within the city of the prince of the apostles.' If the way in which he manifested this lively desire was not surpassingly strange, we know not what is strange.

'Arrived at Marseilles, where I remained during four weeks, before

account may therefore be relied on as substantially faithful. We might, for instance, have translated the above 'and as it were regenerated,' but consider the less doctrinal the safer version.

I could decide on continuing my route, I experienced the *irresistible necessity* of reconciliation. A few days before my departure, intelligence was brought in, (happily contradicted afterwards) that the steam-boat had been lost, with all on board, in the Rhone; and this circumstance contributed not a little to fix my irresolution. Meanwhile, [sic] I know not whether it was from unbelief, or through the *presentiment of the great happiness my soul was to enjoy at Rome*, I took the bold and antichristian resolution of confiding myself to the waves, without having reconciled myself with heaven. [The first time we ever read of an irresistible conviction being surmounted by circumstances, of all others, most calculated to confirm it] I encouraged myself with the thought, that the same hand, which, by such marvellous ways, had conducted me within the narrow confines of a ship, would certainly open to me the way to the bark of St. Peter, the entrance of which is so easy and so majestic. The only preparation which I made was, to go on the eve of my departure to our Lady of the Guard [Notre Dame de la Garde], a place of pilgrimage at a short distance from the city, on a high and steep mountain, whence there is a view of the wide sea. There I addressed my prayer to the august Star of the mariners, that she would deign to extend even to me the protection she had so often granted to ships in danger. I also charged my tailor at Marseilles, (a person whose acquaintance I had made at the college of Juilly) to send word to my family, in case I should perish on the voyage; for I dared not announce my voyage myself, as the intelligence would have caused more emotion than that of my death.'

We shall offer no remarks upon what Dr. Theiner calls the 'antichristian resolution' of tempting providence by braving the terrors of the ocean under what every Romanist must consider the ban of the church and of God. It is enough to say, that there is nothing in this part of the narrative which causes us particular astonishment, as compared with the rest. Reason was from the first thrown overboard, and a sickly sentimentalism or capricious confidence has usurped the name of faith.

Arrived at Rome, our author called at one house after another; yet, though cordially received, made no second visit to any; but, after a few days, returned to the late companions of his voyage, intending with them to run over the ruins, and other local curiosities of Rome; '*spend a few days in delicious dreams*, and then to leave the city, perhaps for ever,' after having got '*some scenes for a philosophico-politico-religious romance, to be entitled, 'The Devil on his Travels,' the composition of which,*' says he, '*was at this period one of my favourite thoughts.* This was intended to describe the new direction of my mind, and reimburse me for the expenses of my stay in Rome.' Precious object for a man who had his peace to make with God! Happy sequel to the study of Fenelon and Bourdaloue, the joys he had

derived from the intercession of the poor, and his prayers to the Virgin at Marseilles!

This, however, was prevented by some seemingly trivial circumstances, among which was his hearing of Father Kohlmann, a German Jesuit, resident in Rome. Induced to visit this person, the interview was, as usual with Theiner, all confidence and rapture; and he at length determined to go through the exercises of St. Ignatius de Loyola, which are held every year before passion week, in the seminary of St. Eusebius. They continue eight days, exclusive of the days on which they commence and close. Before entering, however, Theiner had recourse 'to all imaginable pretexts for refusing the office,' and admits that, 'inclined by curiosity rather than any other sentiment, he wished to study at home, those Jesuits' of whom he had heard so much. 'I hoped at least,' says he, 'if I returned safe and sound, that my visit would *supply the matter of an interesting article for some periodical.*' [We dare say it has for several.] 'At the same time I charged a friend, to whom I *pretended that I was about to take a journey into the country*, to inquire carefully after me, of a person, whom I mentioned to him, in case I should not have re-appeared after twelve days.'

The exercises commence. Theiner is delighted with the chapel, 'Which was small, but decorated with taste. Its gothic colour augmented the effect of the edifying words of the pious preacher, and excited and cherished a spirit of devotion in the hearts of all present. At the further end was a modest pulpit; before it was elevated the image of the crucified Jesus, on a pedestal artistically dressed with green drapery. It was a sight which attracted and comforted my soul, when, at times, it wandered from the mouth of the preacher to repose on the mount of the divine victim, and derive thence the courage which might be necessary to follow his example.'

* * * *

'From the fourth day of the exercises I found myself in a situation, which it would be impossible for me to describe. I was completely crazed. My old passions once more resumed the combat, and the flame burst out afresh; but I sustained this last assault with intrepidity, and victory crowned my perseverance.'

On the tenth day he was seized with a violent head-ache, which, suspecting that it arose from cold, (for it was the end of March) he attempted to remove by wrapping his mantle round his head; it yielded, however, to no remedy of this kind, but ceased the moment that he saw his confessor, the father Kohlmann. Dr. Theiner thinks that this may provoke a smile. It is certainly not the only smile which his narrative has provoked.

At the close of the exercises his reconciliation was accom-

plished. Amidst the tears of confession, he states his entire conviction of all the dogmas of catholicism, and on the following day is absolved, having been previously bound over to relieve himself in the usual way of the excommunication which he had incurred. This was on the Wednesday of the holy week, April 3, 1833. A short time after, the pope admitted him to a private audience, on which occasion he tells, that he fell at the holy father's feet, and made his repentant confessions in thirty lines or more of Fenelon.

We should not have thought it in any way worth while to enter so minutely into Dr. Theiner's case, but for the celebrity of the man, and his former close connexion with the ecclesiastical movements in Silesia, which remain unappeased.* The varied learning of the author, and his historical diligence and celebrity, have given an éclat to his conversion, which has caused the narrative we have analysed to be circulated in several of the languages of modern Europe. How feeble a thing it is, how worthless the conversion it describes, has been already seen. But it is surely worth while to dissect, however weak and worthless in itself, an account at once so vaunted and so characteristic of its class. Beginning with infidelity, and a political system which would make the church of Christ the

* While this article is in hand, we have just seen in the 'Times' (Jan. 2, 1845) the following notice, taken from the German papers, of the present state of things in Silesia :—

'DISSENT FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH IN GERMANY.

'The Roman-catholic priest, John Ronge, in Upper Silesia, excommunicated for having written his celebrated letter to the Bishop of Treves, in which he denounces the late exhibition of the holy garment, has addressed a pamphlet to the lower orders of the Roman clergy, calling upon them to unite their exertions with his in the pulpit and in the confessional chair, against the Ultramontanists and the Bishop of Rome, in order to found, by council and synod, a National German Catholic Church, independent of Roman darkness. He wants to abolish auricular confession, the celebration of mass in Latin, the making of proselytes by money, the stultification of the lower clergy by the commands of the higher hierarchy, and at the same time he asks for liberty to think and to investigate for every clergyman, and permission to marry for all priests. The police have seized the pamphlet.

The priest Czerski, who stands at the head of a small German catholic community in Schneidemuhl, in Prussia, distributes the holy supper in both forms, without auricular confession, and reads the mass according to the recognized Roman rule, but in German, and omitting what refers to the saints, and their intercession.

'In Bromberg, the excitement in favour of the new German Catholic Church is very great; and from Königsberg, an address has been sent to Czerski, signed by forty-three of the most influential men in East and West Prussia, including several professors of the university, the chaplain of the garrison, teachers and directors of schools, and several members of the upper law courts.'—*German Papers*.

creature and tool of human expediency, he has exchanged it for a mysticism which dissociates faith from reason, for a religion in which sentimentalism takes the place of conscience, and abjectness of veneration ; and for a morality which can trifle with the holiest objects, and stoop to the meanest subterfuges.

The work before us is more worthy of its author than its title. We admit that it is not wholly without merit ; for, though partial in his investigations, the writer has shewn great diligence in examining the bulls and letters of the popes, and the minutes of councils, for matter relating to his subject ; and the representation is not unfrequently, especially in the second part, and the commencement of the third, methodical, clear, and attractive. But the omissions are numerous, and unfortunately, not merely accidental. The spirit of the partisan is as much revealed by what he has suppressed as by what he has recorded. And when he draws near to the end of his work, he dispenses with all moderation and restraint ; and descends, from even the outward dignity of the historian, to the truculent vituperation of the renegade.

The first part professes to describe the seminaries of the catholic church from the earliest period to the era of Charlemagne. Having disposed, in half a page, of the catechetical school of Alexandria, so admirably described in Dr. Guerike's extensive and really learned work,* the author glances in the most superficial manner at those of Emessa and Nisibis, Augustine's seminary at Hippo, those of Fulgentius at Ruspa in Sardinia and Faustus and Rufinianus in Sicily, and the various conventual establishments (for such, in fact, they were, the seminarists having all things in common, and usually giving what wealth they possessed to the seminary or the poor), which provided for the spiritual training of the clergy. The few hints relating to England will be found, with much additional matter, in Bede and Usher. As a consistent Romanist, he takes no account of the existence of Christianity in England previous to Augustine's coming, and says, that 'he and his companions transplanted into this country, still sunk in the profoundest intellectual and social barbarism, the high and flourishing culture of Latium ; and gave the church of England the seal of perfection which distinguished that of Rome, of which it must be regarded as the daughter.' We notice, however, a fact given on the authority of Gregory of Tours, which, if true, is both curious and interesting. Speaking of the high degree of learning to which the clergy of France had arrived in the sixth century, he says :— 'When the king Gontran made his solemn entry into Orleans in the year 540, a number of young people who were pursuing their

* De Scholâ Catecheticâ Alexandrinâ. Halæ Sax. 1828.

studies under the bishop, harangued him in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, and placed in his hands some poems composed in his honour in those languages.' The historical notices in this part are continually interrupted by passages in praise of monachism, and disquisitions on the tendency of the monastic spirit to promote the education of the clergy.

In the second part of his history Dr. Theiner describes the ecclesiastical seminaries which existed between the age of Charlemagne and the Council of Trent. This part is written with more order and distinctness than the former, contains some passages of interest, and—excepting towards the close—has much less of disquisition and digression. We shall quote some passages from it, partly on account of the novel information they convey, and partly that our readers may feel assured that we would not purposely withhold from them any matter which might induce them to a more favourable judgment on the work than that we have expressed. Our first extract is intended to convey an idea of the form and character of ecclesiastical education in the ninth century:—

'The conventual schools had thus, as it appears, the character of seminaries for secular ecclesiastics. It was thought that by frequenting them, the gravity requisite in those who would serve at the altar would be best acquired. Thus Hincmar, the illustrious archbishop of Rheims, informs us that he had been reared, from the tenderest infancy, in the convent of St. Denis; that he had there received the ecclesiastical habits (*habitus canonicum*); that he had there been ordained priest; and that he had left the convent to attend the court of Louis the Debonair.

'By erecting the academy of Osnaburg, Charlemagne founded, in the year 804, a high school for the clergy. Special provision was made for teaching the Greek and Latin languages, which the clergy were required to learn. . . .

'The fathers of the third council of Tours, in the year 813, decided that those who wished to receive the sacrament of Orders, should prepare for it by a longer or shorter residence in the episcopal palace, in order to learn there how to fulfil the duties of their profession; and that opportunity might be had of examining their manners and habits, to ascertain if they were worthy to be admitted into the priesthood. We hereby ascertain the exact form of the higher seminaries. Moreover, the decree of this council is merely an extract from the twenty-third canon of the fourth council of Toledo. On the other hand, we learn that the celebrated Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, in a capitular addressed to the priests of his diocese, ordered that the incumbents of parishes, when they attended the assemblies of the clergy, which, in conformity with the ancient practice of the church, were held regularly every spring and autumn, should take with them two or three of the young clerics who assisted them in the ceremonial of divine worship, in order that a judgment

might be formed of the progress which they had made in the knowledge necessary to their profession. These young people studied, doubtless, in lesser seminaries of some kind, which were established, either in villages or small towns, and placed under the superintendence of pastors of reputation and experience. From the manner in which Theodulphus speaks of these pupils, it is evident that they lived in common in the house of the parish clergyman. From these seminaries they were transferred to the upper one, which was usually established in the episcopal palace. Both the one and the other were, therefore, subject to the superior inspection of the bishop. The fathers of the council of Châlons-sur-Saône, in 813, ordered the bishops to follow the laws prescribed by Charlemagne respecting the institutions for clerical education, and to watch over their execution, in order that worthy ministers of the Lord might come forth from them, of whom it might be said, that they were the salt of the earth, and who should be so versed in the sciences, that they might contend, if need were, not only against heretics, but against antichrist himself.'

Omitting a few pages of discussion, in which Dr. Theiner shows that these institutions were intended for the education of the secular clergy, and in the course of which he has occasion to refer to 'St. Ludger, bishop of Münster, who had commenced his studies in the seminary founded by Gregory of Utrecht, in the preceding century, and had finished them at York in England, under the direction of Alcuin,* we come to the following account of a new institution :—

'To the different kinds of ecclesiastical schools founded by Charlemagne, there was added, under Louis the Debonair, a fifth species, which appears to have had nearly the same form as the academies [universities] which were erected in after times. It was to them, at any rate, that the latter owed their origin. The fathers of the council [of Paris, held A.D. 806] prayed the emperor to found high schools in three cities at least of the [western] empire. They promised themselves great benefit from these establishments, which would redound to the glory of the church of God, and offer the surest guarantee for the maintenance of learning and of ecclesiastical education. These three schools would rival in lustre the *Schola Palatina* which was established in the emperor's palace. In that school there was assembled the *élite* of the nation, to use the expression of St. Radbod, bishop of Utrecht, who had studied in the palatine school of Louis

* As this bishop had part of his theological training in Yorkshire, it may be interesting to see his character as drawn in Massillon's '*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*:' 'Erat S. Liudgerus in scripturis sanctis eruditissimus, tamque ardentem alios erudire gestiens, ut præter publicas prædicationes quoque mane discipulis suis per se traderet lectiones, ipse nihil extra faciens, quam quod in scripturis facindis invenit.'—See his Life as above, lib. ii. §. 6. He further proved his ardour in the cause of education, by founding a seminary at Münster, and in order to endow it, sold all the palaces and lands which Charlemagne had given him.

the Debonair, with Stephen and Mancius, bishops of Tongres and Châlons-sur-Marne. This was less in order to arrive at high ecclesiastical dignities, than from a pure love of the sciences, which were taught there better than elsewhere. From the information we have been able to collect concerning these principal schools, it appears to have been those of Tours, Lyons, and Fulda which the fathers of the council of Paris designed for advanced ecclesiastical studies; it is those, at least, which have acquired the greatest renown for the extent of their instruction, as well as for the learning of their professors and the number of great men who have been trained in them.'

The preceding extracts give an interesting view of the importance which the emperors and prelates of that period attached to the education of the clergy. Louis had indeed, three years previous to the meeting of the council, required the bishops of the empire not only to watch over the existing seminaries with the greatest care, but also to erect new ones in districts where there were none existing: and the bishops, in reply, expressed themselves with the utmost frankness on the subject, and acknowledged it to be one of their most sacred duties to watch with the most scrupulous concern over the education of the clergy. Dr. Theiner traces to the laws of Charlemagne and Louis on this subject the canon published by Pope Eugenius II., at the council of Rome in 826 (the acts of which were signed by sixty-seven Italian bishops), and the establishment of the seminaries of Italy. In consequence, however, of the intestine wars which had prevailed in France, it would appear that in 855, and even in 845, the schools of that country, and indeed the empire generally, were in a state of decline. This drew the attention of the councils of Meaux (A.D. 845), Valence (A.D. 855), and Tulle (A.D. 859), the canons of which concur with all we know of the habits of the times, and indeed of much later times in our own country, to prove that whatever establishments existed for the purpose of education (excepting, of course, those immediately connected with the courts of sovereigns), had almost exclusively in view the training of the clergy, whatever that training might be. And though we cannot take, as Dr. Theiner does, the exception for the rule, or believe that the education generally given and received amounted to much, we cheerfully admit that whatever there was of real learning in those times, and there were splendid exceptions to the prevailing ignorance, was the fruit of those establishments. We close our extracts on the subject of the schools erected by Charlemagne and Louis the Debonair, with our author's remark that—

'These public schools [viz., those proposed by the council of Paris as mentioned in the last extract] or to speak more correctly, academies, were distinguished from the great and little

seminaries, (i.e. the episcopal, and parochial or district seminaries) in two principal respects: in the first place, because in addition to theology the sciences were taught in them, at least so far as the knowledge of them might contribute to the more perfect understanding of the holy scriptures; and secondly, because any person, of whatever diocese or country he might be, was admitted to study in them.'

Dr. Theiner next notices the condition of these schools in the time of Charles the Bald; (and under this head the ardour of the Irish scholars, then highly distinguished for learning, to obtain employment in them) and afterwards proceeds to the state of theological education in Italy during the same century. 'It appears,' he says, 'that from very early times there existed a seminary at Rome for young people of the English nation. Its foundation is ordinarily carried back to the time of Ina. King Alfred the Great, the restorer of letters in England, found it in existence when he went to Rome in 889, but the building had just been destroyed by fire. Alfred rebuilt it under the name of *Collegium Saxonicum*. This seminary is now the ENGLISH COLLEGE.'

The next account would provoke discussion had we space or leisure for it. It relates to Denmark, and the efforts of the 'pious King Harald' to diffuse christianity there. Thence the author passes to the theological schools of Germany and England in the *sixth* century. We must allow ourselves an extract on this subject, which we do the more willingly, because it is treated with more regard to the laws of historical narrative than almost any other in the work, and because our previous extracts have been chiefly descriptive.

'The theological schools of Germany and England maintained during the sixth century the lustre of their renown. St. Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, had prosecuted his studies in the seminary at Magdeburg; while Pepin, bishop of Wurzburg, carried his improvements so far as to obtain professors from Rome. That of the convent of Schœnau was particularly famous as a nursery for the German clergy. St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon, was educated there. The famous episcopal seminary at Münster produced St. Ethelwald, who was bishop of this city, and Oswald, archbishop of York. The archiepiscopal seminary at Canterbury still enjoyed the reputation which Theodore the Grecian had obtained for it. The Archbishop, St. Odo, president of this institution, was so versed in the Greek and Latin languages, that in his leisure moments he composed hymns in them. He wrote prose with much ease in both languages. To form a just idea of the knowledge of the English clergy, it is sufficient to know that many able men of this country distinguished themselves as professors in celebrated schools, as, for instance, that of Fleury-sur-Loire. St. Cadroc, an Irishman by birth, and one of the most learned men of his age, travelling for the sake of further

improvement, was invited as he passed through Fleury, to deliver some lectures. This conventual school was justly proud of having educated the most distinguished members of the secular clergy of France and Germany. It owed, at this time, part of its celebrity to its abbot, the illustrious Abbo. According to the testimony of St. Cadroc's biographer, this saint was *profoundly versed in all imaginable learning*! Adalbert, bishop of Metz, invited him to his residence, and confided to him the direction of the convent of St. Felix, and of the seminary; but Cadroc soon quitted Metz, and returned to his own country. No one contributed more to the restoration of learning, or rendered greater services to the church of England, than the illustrious Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dunstan is, without contradiction, one of the finest and most noble politico-religious characters of the ancient history of England, and it is precisely on that account that he has been so ill understood, and so cruelly misrepresented. He ought to be regarded, as in some respects the saviour of the church of England. Glastonbury, his favourite residence, whither he was accustomed to retire in solitary retreat from the world, became the nursery of the most learned, the most pious, and the holiest men of England and Ireland.'

Leaving, for the honour of old England, all these commendations unchallenged, the next subject we come to is the schools of France in the eleventh century, when the theological academics of Lyons, Langres, and Chartres, were in a very flourishing condition. 'The pupils of these academics, which were still established in the bishop's palaces, lived in common, quite after the manner of the primitive seminaries. Some of the most distinguished *élèves* of this period were St. Majol, abbot at Cluni, who studied at Lyons; and St. Halimard, archbishop of Lyons; and Adelman, bishop of Brescia, who studied at Langres and Chartres. The famous Berengarius also studied at Chartres. The seminary at Rheims was renowned for its president Gerbert, archbishop of that city, and afterwards pope, under the name of Sylvester II; and the episcopal seminary at Tulle was immortalized by St. Adalbert and St. Bruno, the latter of whom was cousin to the emperor Conrad III., and pope, under the name of Leo IX.

The principal seminaries of Germany, and their respective worthies, are then just touched upon, but there is nothing in the enumeration which requires notice, except the seminary at Hildesheim and the Palatine school. Respecting the former, we read:—

'St. Bernard, an offshoot of the illustrious family of the counts of Sonnenberg, which produced a succession of electors of Saxony, was educated there, and became afterwards bishop of Hildesheim. Bernard united to all the virtues which his high position required, the greatest ability in the mechanical arts. He was a good architect, and a skilful locksmith, and he employed his talents in adorning his

cathedral. He copied and illuminated ancient manuscripts, in an admirable manner, and did not disdain, personally, to instruct the pupils of his seminary. Owing to his great scientific renown, he was named preceptor to the young emperor, Otho III. Gothard, Bernard's successor, justly placed in the number of the saints, on account of the great services which he rendered the church, threw as much zeal as his predecessor had done into the instruction of the clergy. He also taught the pupils of the seminary theological learning and the mechanical arts.

We have not room for an extract respecting the Palatine school: a short abstract must suffice. Bruno, invited by his elder brother, Otho, at the time when the latter was invested with the imperial dignity, to restore this school, organized immediately a complete course of the seven liberal arts. He agreed with the professors that they should explain all the 'chef-d'œuvres' of the historians, orators, poets, and philosophers of Greece and Rome, in order that the students might be perfectly well informed on all branches of learning; being well convinced that extensive knowledge, even in a religious point of view, is the finest ornament of the church.' Whithersoever Bruno went, whether on an episcopal visitation, or attending the imperial court, he carried his library with him, partly for study, and partly for business—'ferens secum et causam studii sui, et instrumentum: causam in divinis, instrumentum in gentilibus libris.' Among the other seminaries of Germany, those of Münster, and especially Paderborn, became distinguished for their range of studies. Not content with the *trivium*, which comprised grammar, rhetoric, and logic, the professors of the latter seminary extended their plan over the *quadrivium*, which included, besides those, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. 'They also read courses on Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Statius. The students took pleasure in employing their leisure hours in cultivating the liberal arts—poetry, music, and eloquence, and engaged zealously in copying ancient manuscripts, which they adorned with beautiful miniatures. This school was open to those young people only who were intended for the ecclesiastical profession. Discipline was maintained in it with inexorable severity. When a youth was once admitted into the seminary, his relatives were no longer permitted to visit, or even to speak to him, 'since,' said the bishop, 'their caresses might easily make him vain, or high-minded, and so incapable of devoting himself to the pursuit of learning.'

The remainder of this part is devoted to a consideration of the causes which hastened the decline of these theological seminaries. After the commencement of the twelfth century, almost all traces of them disappeared, so that in the sixteenth, when Ignatius Loyola formed the bold resolution of restoring

to the church its ancient influence and lustre, not a remnant of them was to be found. So generally had they been forgotten, that when the council of Trent gave the weight of its authority to their re-establishment, they were everywhere regarded as a new institute.

We cannot enter into Dr. Theiner's disquisitions on the causes of this decline. He ascribes it, partly to the decay of the pure feudal spirit which existed at the time of their institution, and partly to the establishment of the university system. The depravation of the pure feudal spirit, he thinks, was immediately followed by the dissolution of the 'canonical life' of the clergy. He does not state whether he means in monasteries, as well as in those laxer institutions, where persons lived in commons under a rule, but it would necessarily affect both, though not in equal degrees. The cause to which he ascribes the greatest influence, however, is the foundation of the universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at the head of which for a time, stood those of Bologna and Paris. The terms in which we have censured the work as a whole, must not prevent our expressing the interest with which we have read this portion of it; it is, in our judgment, both sound in theory, and well written. Indeed, had the first and third parts possessed either the interest of the narrative from which we have so largely extracted, or the truth and force of the argument with which this second part closes, we should have spoken very differently of it, and have done so cheerfully. We must permit ourselves, before we pass on, one brief extract more, in which the author pours out his complaints on the decline of the seminaries which have been described:—

'Not to leave the narrow circle we have prescribed to ourselves, and to speak only of the seminaries, we must ask of this sublime academical epoch, [i. e. that of the universities] What had become of the holy zeal of the bishops for the instruction of the clergy? Where were the prelates, who composed with so much ease and unction, pious hymns in Greek and Latin, to the praise of God, and the honour of the saints of his church? Where were the young clerical students, able to preach and write in the languages of Latium and Athens as fluently as in their mother tongues? Where were those holy professors of literature and science, who looked up to heaven alone for the recompense of their labours and their efforts? Where those profound studies in astronomy and mathematics? What, in fine, had become of that holy manner of life, which equally distinguished the superior and inferior clergy, and which, in both classes, had produced men, whom their erudition, their virtues, and their piety, will render ever memorable as objects of admiration to the world, and who will ever be saluted with the title of benefactors of the human race? We may say, with reason, this pious and holy

epoch was that of the poetic infancy of christian art and science in Europe: it passed away modestly, and without noise, under the eye of the world, in holy aspirations towards God, and wished to leave no traces of itself but its own merits, of which it had too much humility itself to speak.'

Admitting that the importance of the era in question was long overlooked, and that the age was even misrepresented, because it was little known, there is one material point on which we are at issue with Dr. Theiner. The monastic severity and seclusion which, as our extracts have shown, ruled in most of these institutions, prevented the good they might contain from being diffused over society; the world at large, therefore, had but little interest in preserving them; and we have no reason to doubt that it was with the seminaries as with the monasteries, that the want of a healthy action upon them from society at large caused them to become, in far too many instances, nurseries of indolence and secret vice—vessels of wrath fitted for destruction.

The third and last part, (which, with the supplementary documents, comprises three-fourths of the whole work, and is in the proportion of twelve to one to either of the other parts,) is headed 'History and Condition of the Institutions for Clerical Education, from the Council of Trent to the present Times.' Reckoning from 1563, when this council closed its sittings, till 1833, when Dr. Theiner's work was published, we have a period of 270 years; a period shorter in duration than either of the preceding periods, but richer both in facts and authorities than both of them put together.

The author has not contented himself in this part with the history of theological seminaries, but, towards the close especially, has admitted many irrelevant, or at least unnecessary, details; having devoted nearly 150 pages to a narrative of the causes which led to the suppression of the Jesuits, and the spread of infidel principles in France and Germany, by the encyclopædists, the illuminati, and the various orders of free-thinkers, who followed in their train. We shall briefly describe that portion of it which is occupied with the professed subject of the work.

'Great phenomena,' says Dr. Theiner, 'are always followed by great reactions.' On this principle, he, in common with all genuine Romanists, regards Ignatius Loyola as an instrument of Providence raised up to counteract the tremendous mischiefs of the schism of the sixteenth century. 'After the alliance of the reformers,' says he, 'came the Society of Jesus. They matched themselves against each other immediately in the eyes of the world, and continued to be foes: for from their first

entrance into history and life they have appeared as two opposite principles: the one as the principle of revolution and destruction, the other as the principle of reconciliation and the conservation of a renewed christian society.

The third part of the work, therefore, opens with an account of the efforts of Loyola on behalf of clerical education; and as the seminaries which were set up under the direction of the Council of Trent were for the most part placed under the direction of the Jesuits, and those which were not so, were usually erected on the model of Loyola's own seminary at Rome, we shall devote particular attention to the system of the Jesuits as here illustrated.

‘ Ignatius had obtained a deep insight into human nature and the state of society at the time in which he lived, when he declared that the amelioration of the establishments for the education of youth, and especially of the clergy, was the fundamental condition for the restoration of order in the church and in the world: for ignorance is the mother of all evil. . . . The education of youth therefore became the chief object of the labours of St. Ignatius. . . . The re-establishment of the ancient ecclesiastical seminaries, which we have seen flourishing from the time of St. Augustine's immortal efforts in the first ages of the church, down to the twelfth century, when they gave way to the foundation of academies, which, unhappily, caused them first to decline from their ancient importance, and afterwards wholly disappear—this re-establishment appeared to him to be the only sure means of attaining the great end at which he aimed. He began, therefore, with forming a vast scheme of seminaries and colleges, which he wished to carry out first in Germany, because he judged that that was the country where it was most important to prevent the setting in of doctrines contrary to the church. While he was occupied in secret with the great plan which he had formed for Germany, in founding a theological school at Rome for young Germans of talent, his disciples were already working incessantly in that country, under the protection of enlightened and pious princes of the church, to procure a moral and scientific education for the clergy, and thus to sustain the ancient faith of the church in the midst of its thousand dangers.

‘ The seminary of St. Ignatius became the model of all the theological schools founded under the immediate protection of the Holy See, and even served, as we shall see, as a guide to the fathers of the Council of Trent in their celebrated decree respecting seminaries. Were it only for this reason, we should be sufficiently justified in relating the principal circumstances which attended the establishment of this seminary.’

These *circumstances*, then detailed at length, we must treat briefly, though they possess considerable interest, reserving what room we can spare for the character of the system. Suffice it to say, that, after a meeting of the papal consistory, con-

vened chiefly through the efforts of the cardinals Moronus and Cervinus, the latter of whom had laid before the pope Ignatius's plan for a theological school at Rome for young people of the German nation, a bull for the erection of such a school was published by Julius III. on the 31st of August, 1552; copies were *immediately* printed and dispatched *in large numbers* to each of the princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries of Germany; and Ignatius, *without loss of time*, wrote to Cologne, Prague, and Vienna, where his disciples were already in full activity, engaging them to choose *young people of talent*, and send them to Rome to his seminary. Before the end of the year a sufficient number had been obtained to open the college. The first matriculation took place on the 21st of November, which, in memory of the event, was fixed for the anniversary festival of the college. The numbers considerably increased, and soon the fame of the establishment had spread from one end of Germany to the other. From the moment that his plan appeared likely to be carried into execution, however, Ignatius's first care had been to arrange the laws for the government of the college, which he divided into two rubrics, containing the rules to be observed respecting the entrance and dismissal of students, as well as during their residence in it. Besides this, he founded a chapel and formed a library; and as our author tells us, in addition to the three ancient languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the study of which was usual at this epoch, there were also taught, by the special permission of the Holy See, *which Ignatius urgently sought for, and obtained with great difficulty*, [moral] philosophy, physics, exegesis, and all the higher sciences.

The warlike spirit of Paul IV. sapping the resources of the church, the colleges were in his reign reduced to great straits.

'The celebrated cardinal of Augsburg himself, who had hitherto been a most ardent advocate of the institution, drew back, and expressed himself in strong terms respecting the perpetual contributions of money which Ignatius required for its support. Ignatius replied, with calm dignity, that if any persons repented of the benevolence which they had extended to the institution, they had only to abandon it at once; that he would make every effort to sustain it, and would perish rather than leave his beloved Germans . . . that he should rely upon the help of God, and then the difficulties he might meet with would only encourage him the more in his work.' In a private conversation, Ignatius, animated with an enthusiasm almost prophetic, expressed his conviction that the time would come, when a pope would not only deliver the college from its embarrassments, but would become its father, its most generous benefactor, and would feel constrained to secure for it a perpetual existence. This pope, as we shall soon see, was Gregory XIII.

Passing the account our author gives of the skilful management by which the cardinal, assisted by Canisius, the restorer of learning in catholic Germany, engaged the interest of Gregory XIII. on behalf of the college; and also of that pope's visit to it, and his becoming its second founder, we come to the reorganization of the college code, which has since continued conformable to the following draught.

'These are in few words the fundamental laws of the institution. The pupils admitted into the college must be natives of Upper Germany, that is to say, of Alsace, the Rhine district, Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Westphalia, Saxony, Silesia, Prussia, Austria, the Tyrol, or Hungary. They must be of honourable [legitimate] birth, sound health, and have attained the age of about twenty years. Youths of noble families might, however, be received at the age of sixteen years. After residing six months in the college, during which time it was supposed they would have had time to reflect on the great and the sacred duties of the institution, so as not in after times to repent of the step they took, they were required to take the oath of consecration to the ecclesiastical life; and that they would, on their return to Germany, give themselves up exclusively to this life, and not profess or teach at the same time other faculties, such as medicine or law. The piety necessary to the ecclesiastical state, as well as the exercise of the spiritual virtues it requires, were particularly recommended to them. The manner of living was common to all. No one could leave the house, without the permission of the rector, and without a sufficient reason. The severest discipline was exercised over all the pupils as to morality, religion and learning. The time of study was limited to ten years, the first three of which were consecrated to philosophy and the higher branches of learning, the following four to scholastic [doctrinal], and the last three to moral, [ethical and practical] theology. After having finished their studies, the pupils must remain thirty days in the college, after which clothes and money were given them for their return to Germany. Those who gave proofs of superior talent might remain some time longer at Rome, if the rector of the college considered that it would be useful to them. If any of them wished to enter any [monastic] order, he was free to do so, but only in Germany. Students' places might not continue vacant more than a year. The most distinguished scholars might, after undergoing the necessary examinations, obtain academical degrees, such as the baccalaureate, the licence [degree of licentiate] and the doctorate. The appointment of the rector and professors, as well as the whole spiritual and temporal direction of the establishment, was confided to the fathers of the society of Jesus in perpetuity.

'Thus,' adds Dr. Theiner, 'arose by degrees the establishment which, from its origin, excited the admiration of the Italians and of all catholic nations, and became a source of glory to the fathers of the Society of Jesus. A third portion of the sequel of the

work is filled with the account of the various efforts made by different popes and bishops to establish similar institutions in different parts of catholic christendom ; a very large proportion of which were placed under the supervision of the Jesuits. This account comprises many curious and some interesting details. Notices of the several colleges which have been founded at Rome, Lisbon, Paris, Lille, Douay and elsewhere, for the training of English, Scotch and Irish priests, and the circumstances attending their establishment are scattered here and there. Among other topics which arrested our attention in the perusal, were Cardinal Pole's project (A.D. 1556) for the establishment of ecclesiastical seminaries in England on the plan of the German college at Rome ; the correspondence between Pius V. and Sandoval, Bishop of Cordova, on the subject of seminaries to be formed according to the decree of the Council of Trent ; the letters of the same pope to the bishop of Gubbio and the chapter of Evora ; the establishment in 1602 of the college at Rome under the direction of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, with the erection in 1636 of twelve, and in 1639 of thirteen Barberini scholarships in the same college for Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Copts and others ; the institution of the *Cléricature* of Bourdoise at Paris in 1618 ; and the association formed by Olier in 1641, of 'able and virtuous priests,' who should devote themselves exclusively to the direction of seminaries. We could have imagined, while perusing the account of the *cléricature* of Bourdoise, that we had fallen on a narrative of one of the first efforts made by our own ejected forefathers to provide for the future education of the ministry for the non-conformists of England.

The remainder of the work is of a very inferior character. It is chiefly occupied with an account of the encyclopædists of France, and the philosophers and *illuminati* of Sans Souci, Wolfenbüttel, and other parts of Germany. But it is written with the utmost partiality and virulence, descends to the lowest abuse, and masks the most important facts. Supposing, therefore, that it was as relevant as (in the extent to which it stretches) it is irrelevant to the subject of the work, the representation of it here would answer no other purpose than to exhibit the author's moral incompetency for the task he has undertaken. It is scarcely possible to conceive a greater contrast than that presented by the investigation of rationalism in this volume, and in (heu ! quantum mutatus ab illo !) Pusey's 'Historical Inquiry' into the same subject. The author is no longer an historian, but a furious pamphleteer : a fierce and rabid Romanist, devoted, like the Jesuits, to the exclusive interests of the papacy, and, like them, but too well versed in the literary delinquencies which Pascal's immortal pen exposed. We have no appetite, and trust our

ers have none, for the declamatory accusations of a writer, calls Voltaire 'the Luther of the eighteenth century,' and yes upon Jansenism the horrors of the French revolution. The Appendix of Documents contains:—I. The bull of Pope s III. (A. D. 1552), directing the erection of the German ge at Rome. II. The constitution of the college, drawn y St. Ignatius. III. The bull of Pope Gregory XIII., . 1584), re-organizing the constitution of the German and garian colleges. IV. The Imperial Privilege, (A. D. 1628), for rman college at Rome. V. A catalogue of the illustrious who have been trained in the German and Hungarian ges. VI. An extract from the decree of Cardinal Pole, as d Legate, (A. D. 1556), touching a reformation of the Eng-church; in which he orders that a theological seminary shall ttached to every cathedral church. VII. The decree of Council of Trent, (A. D. 1563), concerning seminaries. l. A pastoral letter of Pope Clement VIII. (A. D. 1592) to rctors, prefects, and students of the seminaries immediately r the patronage of the Roman See, or which had been ded by the care and liberality of pious bishops and princes, he furtherance of the christian religion. IX. A brief from is XIV. (A. D. 1698), addressed to the archbishops and ops of France, ordering the establishment of seminaries. A memoir presented to the King of France by the bishops, on subject of the ordinances of June 16, 1828, respecting second-ecclesiastical schools. XI. A letter, dated *February*, 1834, the archbishops and bishops of Belgium to the clergy of their eses, respecting the establishment of a catholic university in gium. XII. A bull of Pope Gregory XVI. (dated Decem-13, 1833), sanctioning the establishment of that university, XIII. A bull of the same pope, (dated July, 1834), con-ning the 'Paroles d'un Croyant' of the Abbé de Lamme-. Several of these documents contain interesting, and some em instructive matter. The pastoral letter of the Arch-op of Paris, upon the subject of ecclesiastical studies, ten in April, 1841, on occasion of the re-establishment of 'Conferences,' and of the faculty of theology, and a copy of ch is appended to the French translation of Dr. Theiner's k, is also curious and valuable.

a the perusal of the really historical portion of Dr. Theiner's k, three things recurred perpetually. 1. The widely spread ig-nance and demoralization of the Roman clergy. 2. The repeated arations of popes, bishops, and councils, that well conducted inaries of the highest class were the only remedy for these rders; and, 3. The extraordinary activity of the Jesuits and ablest of the Roman dignitaries, to fill all Europe with such inaries. FAS EST, ET AB HOSTE DOCERI.

Art. IV. *Lethè and other Poems.* By Sophia Woodrooffe. Posthumously edited by G. S. Faber, B.D. Master of Sherburn Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury, 12mo. London. Seeley & Co. 1844.

THIS is a volume of genuine poetry, the production of a young lady of singularly elegant and 'almost prematurely cultivated' mind, who, after a short and unexpected illness, died at the age of twenty-two. The principal poem, 'Lethe,' was written at the age of nineteen. It displays most assuredly a vigorous imagination, a depth of thought, a command of language and flow of versification, altogether extraordinary in so young a poetess. The strong bias of her taste for classical subjects had evinced itself at the early age of sixteen, in a spirited translation of a chorus from Hecuba, while her earliest known production is a dramatic poem on the subject of Irene, written at the age of thirteen, which is justly pronounced by the Editor 'a literary curiosity.' Among the miscellaneous pieces, we have translations from the Greek, the Italian, the French, and the German. Yet, with all this high and varied cultivation and proficiency, are united, in rare conjunction, an entire freedom from pedantry, a charming simplicity and ease, and exquisite purity of taste. The translations are elegant and spirited, yet they are not the best things in the volume. In the original poems, there is an ease and freedom which are quite surprising. We have been more especially struck with the stanzas addressed to Count Confalonieri on his recovering his liberty: they breathe an enthusiasm and a generous sympathy with the Italian patriots, for which the reverend Editor has deemed it necessary almost to apologize. 'It was natural,' remarks Mr. Faber, 'that a young and ardent mind enamoured of classic lore, and steeped in antique recollections, should anticipate the national resurrection of Italy.' We are not quite sure that a sympathy with living patriotism is naturally or constantly the accompaniment of a proficiency in classic lore; but what distinguishes these stanzas, and gives them, in our judgment, their highest value, is, that they breathe not a mere classic enthusiasm in reference to 'Imperial Italy,' but a sympathy with the liberated captive, the exiled patriot; there is *heart* as well as lyrical spirit in this address from the youthful poetess—she was only twenty years of age—to the noble and heroic sufferer in his country's cause.

TO COUNT CONFALONIERI.

'Yes, thou art free at length! Thou, that hast borne,
Through long dark years, the dungeon and the chain,
The tyrant's fury, the oppressor's scorn,
Firm and unshrinking; thou art free again!

Thine eye, long dimmed within thy living tomb,
 Upon the festal sky once more may gaze :
 Thy steps may wander 'mid the joyous bloom
 Wherewith bright Summer all the earth arrays,
 The green and glorious earth; how doubly fair
 To those so long shut out from sunshine and fresh air !

' Yes, thou art free ! But where is she whose love
 Smiled on thine early years of happiness,
 And, proudly rising every storm above,
 Cheered thee in darkest danger and distress ?
 Whose lone devotion, in the after years
 When thou wert torn from her, so nobly bore
 Against the oppressor's might, with prayers and tears
 Striving, 'mid woes and perils, to restore
 The loved and lost : O where is she ? Gone down
 To the cold grave with tried affection's martyr crown.

' Yes, thou art free, O faithful, true, and brave !
 But is not thy lone spirit ever turning
 Back to thy country, o'er the ocean wave ?
 Dost thou not feel the exile's weary yearning
 For the dear home he never may behold ?
 Do not her radiant hills, her purple vines,
 Her gorgeous fanes, her ivied temples old,
 Her gleaming rivers, and her antique shrines,
 In midnight visions float before thine eyes,
 With all their train of sad, yet lovely memories ?

' Houseless and desolate, but not forsaken,
 Surely an inward peace hath blest thy lot,
 And, though the beauty from thy life be taken,
 Thou tread'st thy lonely path, repining not ;
 Waiting, with calm and trustful heart, the hour
 When He who freed thee from thy prison cell,
 And armed thy soul with strong enduring power,
 Shall call thee hence in that bright land to dwell,
 Where grief, and chains, and exile shall but seem
 Like the dire phantoms of a half-forgotten dream.

' There no regret can cloud the golden day,
 No dark remembrance mar the adoring song :
 There love can know no change and no decay :
 There none can do, and none can suffer wrong :
 There doth the wanderer cease at last to roam :
 And there, unto the weary, rest is given :
 There, with the faithful few, shall be thy home,
 Thou that with quenchless purpose thus hast striven
 To free thy country from her coiling chain,
 So bravely and so well, but yet, alas ! in vain.

‘ In vain ? Oh, not in vain ! It cannot be
 That noble hearts should vainly thus endure ;
 That like a gem cast on the stormy sea,
 The bold, the true, the gentle, and the pure,
 Should make, of liberty and love and life,
 (All that they cherished, that they valued, most,)
 A *fruitless* offering in the unequal strife,
 A priceless treasure vainly, vainly lost !
 It cannot be ! The seed they sowed in tears,
 In brightness shall spring up to life in after years.

‘ Yes ! from the dust in glory shalt thou start,
 Dashing the spoiler’s fetters proudly down,
 Imperial Italy, fair Queen of art !
 Again thy brow shall wear the laurel crown :
 The voice of joy and freedom shall arise
 From thy victorious sons, by all their streams,
 Again, unto thy soft and cloudless skies :
 And thy rich sunlight, with its glowing beams,
 Shall no more see thy children exiles, slaves,
 But chainless as their own blue Adriatic waves.

‘ Then, Confalonieri, then, thy name
 Shall be a watchword in the glorious fight,
 A thrilling trumpet-tone, a beacon flame
 Kindling a thousand fires on every height.
 The child shall lisp it from the mother’s knee ;
 Each patriot spirit burn at that high word ;
 All hearts within the homesteads of the free,
 Shall proudly thrill whene’er its sound is heard.
 Best of thy country’s heroes ! Thy renown
 E’en to the latest age shall pass in brightness down.’

We can conceive of scarcely any thing more intensely gratifying to a noble and susceptible mind, than receiving such a tribute of admiration and sympathy as this, from an ingenuous and gifted young lady. Our next specimen must be, a truly classical and richly picturesque little poem, written at the age of one and twenty ; alas ! one of the latest productions.

DELOS.

I.

‘ Lovely wert thou in thy rest
 On the blue Egèan’s breast ;
 Gleaming like a ruby stone
 Set in evening’s purple zone.
 Lovely wert thou, when the morn,
 On her rosy pinions borne,
 Shedding brightness over earth,
 Woke thee into life and mirth.

Lovely wert thou when the sun
 His meridian height had won,
 And a flood of living gold
 O'er thy gorgeous temple rolled :
 Lovely, when that glorious light
 Faded into softer night ;
 And thy waters, to the moon,
 Sang their lowly murmuring tune,

II.

' Looking down upon the main,
 Stately rose thy marble fane,
 With its regal colonnades
 Gleaming through the laurel shades.
 Many a sculptured form divine
 Decked that rich and radiant shrine :
 Many a treasure, costly, rare,
 Brought from lands afar, was there.
 Ever swept the breath of song
 On thy perfume-winds along,
 With a thousand melodies
 Ringing through the sunny skies,
 Cittern, dulcimer, and lute,
 Clarion, lyre, and gentle flute :
 Swelling, sinking, distant, nigh,
 Floated that strange harmony :
 Mid the rocks, and through the glade,
 To the darkest, deepest shade ;
 Through the gay and gloomy bowers,
 With the odour of all flowers.

III.

Dark-eyed nymphs with rose-crowned hair,
 As a painter's vision fair,
 Through thy groves and gardens roved,
 Or in graceful dances moved,
 As, around some gentle queen,
 In her loneliness serene,
 Robes of festal pomp we see ;
 Joy and beauty mantled thee.
 Never was thy soft air stirred
 By one sad or sorrowing word.
 Voice of weeping never rose
 To disturb thy bright repose.
 Never might the gate of life,
 Gate to woe, and care, and strife,
 Ope to mortal, 'mid thy bloom.
 And the portal of the tomb,
 With its cold and awful gloom,

And its mysteries unrevealed,
 Never there might be unsealed.
 Death and change and dull decay.
 Might not dim thy glorious day.

IV.

' All thy beauty and thy mirth,
 Were they not too much for earth?
 No: for in the elder time,
 Many a thought and truth sublime
 Lay within some mystic tale
 Or beneath a symbol's veil.
 Then tradition's shadows fell
 Thickly over hill and dell;
 They have fled now away •
 From the light of risen day.

V.

' Then, fair isle, to earnest eyes,
 Thou wert type of Paradise.
 In those days of joy and pride,
 There were yet some hearts that sighed,
 Like the Athenian poet-sage,
 Yearning for a better age,
 Looking for a dearer home,
 Whence their steps no more should roam.
 Thou didst tell them of the clime
 Given to man in early time;
 When the happy earth, new born,
 Glowed with tints of orient morn,
 Ere sin or woe, or pain or guile,
 Dimmed the freshness of her smile,
 Thou wert emblem of the goal
 Destined to the weary soul,
 When the race of life was run,
 Where its victor-crown is won.

VI.

' Island of the Grecian sea,
 It was well that thou shouldst be
 Thus a dedicated place,
 Where mortality's dim trace
 Ne'er the glorious type should mar
 Of the spirit's land afar.
 It was well that thou wert made
 Emblem of what ne'er can fade.
 So thou mightest cheer the weak;
 Hope, unto the sorrowing, speak;
 Be a pledge of better things
 To the soul, whose weary wings,

Worn with seeking, thought, and care,
Feverish joy, and lone despair,
Almost sank to earth oppressed,
Yearning for a place of rest.'

The perfect beauty of these stanzas, considering the age of the writer, we cannot but regard as quite extraordinary. We shall now give one of the miscellaneous poems of unknown date, —a very unpretending production, but simple and touching.

THE ROSE AND THE PRISONER.

' It was now about the end of July : and the two or three roses, on the stunted plants of the platform, breathed forth such a rich perfume that I could not but stop to inhale it. I longed to pluck one of them. The rose was the favourite of my mother ; but I resisted the temptation. They were sacred. My fellow-prisoners might enjoy them as fully as myself. They brought back, however, the memory of my boyhood, of that of my dear parent.

' A. ANDRYANI.'

- ' Oh ! desolate and drooping rose,
How mournfully thy buds uncloze !
How sad is e'en thy regal bloom,
Amid this dreary dungeon-gloom !
- ' Yet, pale and faded as thou art,
Thou bringest, to my weary heart,
Sweet memories of former years,
Unstained by care, undimmed by tears.
- ' Thou call'st my childish days to mind ;
Those joyous days, long, long, ago ;
When many a rosy wreath I twined
Amid my mother's locks to glow :
- ' When mirth and song and laughter dwelt
Amid our happy household band ;
When pain or sorrow none had felt,
None captive pined in foreign land.
- ' Then, glad and free, in summer hours,
We roved at will, mid trees and flowers :
Far ; where my land's own roses bloom,
With radiant hue and rich perfume.
- ' Alas ! how changed, how faded, all
The sunny dreams thy buds recall !
An exile chained, whom have I now
To breathe of home ? Thou, only thou !
- ' Come, charm me in my lonely cell !
Yet, no ! I'll leave thee on thy stem.
Others may love thee, rose, as well.
Then stay ; and breathe of home to them.'—

But we must now give some account of the principal poem. The argument is briefly this. An Athenian of the olden time, when Greece was warring against Persia, after an eventful career and lonely wanderings through various countries, prompted by the restlessness of a wounded spirit, is at length conducted to

‘ A land of snow-clad mountains, sunny hills,
Green vales, and fruitful plains, and flowing rills,’—

where he meets with one who directs him to ‘the source sublime of all true light;’ and his soul is thus taught to ‘quench her thirst with living waters.’ To this friend, on bidding him farewell, he recites his story. From the structure and drift of the poem, the Editor infers that Miss Woodrooffe had, in the course of her various reading, met with the almost romantic account which Justin Martyr gives of his own conversion to Christianity; but to have made the Athenian warrior a convert to the Christian doctrine, would have been an anachronism; and we are, therefore, to suppose that his teacher was a devout Jew. The title of the poem is derived from one of the incidents. In a paroxysm of mental agony, the Athenian had besought the gods to bless him with forgetfulness. His prayer is granted; a goblet of Lethe water is presented to him, which he eagerly drinks; but its effect is described as producing only a change of wretchedness.

‘ ————— Memory had no grief
Or joy for me. Oh, e’en a cause to sigh
Unto my spirit would have brought relief!
But I was sad. Nathless, I did not know
Wherefore my glee and mirth had turned to woe.

‘ It was a self-consuming of the heart;
A very searing of the soul and brain.
I walked among men as one apart,
Unconscious of their pleasure or their pain,
Who, by no gentle tie to others twined,
Counts but the throbblings of his own dark mind.’

At length he reaches in his wanderings his old paternal dwelling, and knows it not; but he falls asleep; and in a dream, the images of all his by-gone life pass in procession before him. The spirit that had offered him the boon of forgetfulness, ‘so wildly sought,’ re-appears, and addresses him:—

‘ Thou that didst seek, in anguish, to forget,
Could Lethe’s waters happiness afford?
Or wilt thou that remembrance be restored?

‘ ‘ Give me back memory, give.’ . . .

‘————— When I awoke,
 I knew my father’s pleasant home again.
 The spell was loosed from me; the charm was broke,
 No more to bind me with its fearful chain :
 And, in the moonbeam’s silvery light, I stood
 Softened into a calm, though pensive mood.’

Upon this slender but golden thread, the poetical skill of the young authoress has strung a hundred and twenty-six beautiful stanzas, worthy of Campbell or of Mrs. Hemans, yet free from any appearance of imitation or mannerism, and flowing on as unconstrained as if they had welled forth from the hidden fount of verse without an intellectual effort.

The moral of the tale is obvious, and requires no comment. For the absence of distinctively *Christian* sentiment, the time in which the action is laid will account; but we must not conceal, that a similar negation of specifically religious allusion pervades the volume. The feelings with which we closed it would have been saddened by melancholy misgivings as to the most important feature of the author’s character, had not her uncle given an assurance in the preface, that, ‘as her steady principles were those of a real and well-instructed Christian, so, it was her blessed privilege, in the sound faith of the Church of England, the faith of the martyred Cranmer and the judicious Hooker, to die the death of a real Christian.’ Yet, consolatory as this assurance must be to surviving friends, it leaves us to infer, that, ‘high in spirits, and presumptuously secure in health,’ loving and beloved, a stranger to any deep sorrow, her mind teeming with youthful hopes and ardent imaginings, the authoress had not given that place in her thoughts to the realities of faith and the most serious business of life—‘a Christian preparation for eternity,’ which they claim alike from young and old, the gay and the mourner, and which, had she anticipated the early and unexpected summons, they would have commanded. Not that there is any thing in these remains to indicate irreligious levity or an estrangement from the Christian faith, but one is led almost to wonder how a young person religiously instructed, could by possibility avoid disclosing an acquaintance with the grounds of the Christian’s hope and the source and medium of christian devotion; how, in so excursive and wide a range through the regions of classical and modern literature, the glorious land of miracles and prophecy and inspired song, should apparently have presented no attraction, the sublime poetry of the Hebrew scriptures have been neglected, and no pilgrim visit have been paid to ‘Siloa’s brook that flowed fast by the oracle of God.’ There might be, we are aware, an avoidance of such topics as too sacred, too awful,

too high a theme for a youthful hand, prompted by a modest diffidence and reserve; and it would be uncandid to infer, that subjects have no hold upon the thoughts and affections, because they are not made the topics of verse. Still, where the Christian faith is not part and parcel of the law of thought, and does not blend as an element with every pure feeling and high aspiration, there must either be a serious defect in the mental training, or a postponement of religion to the pursuits of literature and the luxuries of fancy. How sweetly, how nobly Sophia Woodrooffe might have touched the sacred harp, we can now judge only from the purity of taste, the unaffected feeling, and the lyrical spirit which are displayed alike in the original and the translated poems. But, if regret is vain, the volume conveys even by its silence a lesson to the young and thoughtless reader, like the touching epitaph in one of Poussin's classical landscapes: '*Et in Arcadia fui.*'

Art. V. *History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America.* By Charles Botta: translated from the Italian, by George Alexander Otis, Esq. Edinburgh, London, and Glasgow: Fullarton. 1844.

THERE are pages in modern, as well as in ancient history, which cannot be too frequently studied. Their associations extend backward into the past, and forward into the future. The annals of the world, being neither more nor less than the memory of time, are a magazine and museum of all sorts of things, good, bad, and indifferent. But to the eye, which looks lower than the surface, there will appear one golden electric chain of mighty facts, running through the whole. Liberty, with the Magna Charta of the Most High in her hand, by touching skilfully some of the links, will bring to bear a stream of celestial fire upon the dullest individual, or the most torpid multitudes. She will show, how that from the battle of Marathon to the surrender at Yorktown, the conflict between her followers and her foes, has never varied in its general characteristics. The rights of person, property, and conscience, the triple birthright of a people, have been the prize placed before each successive set of combatants. Tyranny would fain trample these in the dust; but freedom would enthrone them in the heart. Peace, then, be with the ashes of those who have contended for the best interests of mankind. We never tire of hearing about our own civil wars, between Charles I. and the Parliament; nor should our ears be slow to listen to the narra-

tives of transatlantic independence. Its achievement has been pronounced, by Sir James Mackintosh, to be the grand event of the eighteenth century. Dr. Botta was a celebrated physician in Piedmont, possessed of all the qualifications and opportunities for becoming what he has proved himself,—a first-rate historian. He may be described as the Thucydides of his subject, with quite as much propriety as Guicciardini; whether we glance at his genius, his diligence, his fidelity, his arrangement of details, his grouping of circumstances, or his impartiality in awarding praise and censure. His very mind seems to have been omnipresent in America, from the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth to the withdrawal of Washington from his labours. His translator is a member of that family so well known, and so highly respected, in the best intellectual circles of New England and Philadelphia. The work is full of idioms and phrases quite peculiar to his own countrymen: but then, it must be remembered, that for them it was principally written. Our readers, we feel certain, will thank us, for a brief sketch of its contents; the more important as they are just now, when Ireland is struggling for her emancipation.

The volume is divided into fifteen books, which are neither more nor less than very long and ample chapters. The first touches upon the manners, customs, and inclinations of the earliest inhabitants of the colonies. When oppression had urged some of the bravest spirits of the seventeenth century into exile, their vessels conveyed across the ocean a freight more precious than gold. Souls, and energies, and intellects,—the seed-corn, so to speak, of a harvest yet to be gathered in, constituted the inestimable cargo. Many of their warmest associations were with the land they had left, to encounter hunger, peril, and nakedness,—all for the sake of civil and religious freedom. This last indeed was the palladium of their affections; yet they still loved dearly the country which gave them birth. Their language spoke of its triumphs and greatness; whilst in their charters and constitutions, both the philosopher and philanthropist might easily trace the vestiges of British institutions. Other nations also sent forth contributions to the future grandeur of America; although these seemed quickly absorbed into the mass of the English emigrants, who stamped their indelible impress upon that portion of the transatlantic continent, extending from the thirty-second to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. Within these limits were marshes drained, forests felled, rivers restrained, wild beasts extirpated, and savages repelled, amidst much developement of cruelty and injustice, we admit, yet with an indomitable perseverance, allied to fervent piety, such as probably the world may never hope to see again.

These emigrants were to be the ancestors of millions of men, whose office it would be to teach Europe lessons far different from any which she had before learned. Most of them, having quitted their native shores whilst the contest was at the highest between the crown and the people, were eager partizans for popular privileges, as already mentioned. They believed it a right inalienable in all free-born subjects, that property should never be encroached upon without consent from parliament; that the House of Commons only, as representing the people, could make money-grants to the sovereign; that taxes are free-gifts from the governed to their governors; and that all power was a public trust, to be administered by responsible persons for the benefit of the community at large. In other words, they were liberals to the back-bone, saving the hideous and abominable exception of negro slavery. This plague-spot they unhappily neglected to wipe out from their escutcheon. It was borrowed, indeed, originally from ourselves; but let that pass. Within the space of a hundred years from the age of Sir Harry Vane, thirteen colonies had expanded into importance, slightly noticed by British ministers, until the seven years war had brought France and England into collision. The victories of the latter having added Canada to her empire, George III. and his courtiers began to think of enriching their coffers, at the expense of other pockets than those which could make themselves heard in parliament, through the medium of hired members sitting for corrupt boroughs. In 1765 appeared the Stamp Act, which directly or indirectly was to raise the revenue of three hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum. There could be no longer any shadow of mistake about the matter.

After ten years of almost inconceivable vacillation and folly on the part of Great Britain, the war began in 1775. The second, third, and fourth books of Doctor Botta bring us down to the siege of Boston, and the unanimous determination of the Americans to take up arms. Neither the eloquence of Burke, nor the predictions of Chatham, nor the sagacity of Franklin, could suffice to illuminate the understandings of Lord North and his colleagues. It must be admitted, that at first the bulk of the nation was with them, through want of knowledge on the subject, and the overwhelming influence of the aristocracy and clergy. Even Wesley, with many of his followers, could plead for regal prerogative as against what they termed rebellious colonists. Franklin had every now and then been sent for, to confer with ministers, as to the probability or improbability of permanent colonial resistance. The account given by that illustrious individual of such interviews often was,—

'I have deceived the Court of St. James's by simply telling the truth!' And it was really so; since the more he drew attention to facts, the less credit he obtained. English politicians appeared bent upon mistaking their hopes and wishes for solid arguments. But at length the brazen trumpet was blown, and all verbal remonstrances died away amidst the smoke and bloodshed of Lexington and Bunker's Hill. Congress now formally met, and George Washington was elected Captain-general of their forces. The American population was then under three millions, without artillery, arsenals, or magazines, but with a good cause, much popular enthusiasm, several virtuous and able leaders, and the best wishes of Europe on their side. They had to fight, moreover, for their own hearths and homes. Wives, sisters, friends, and children were living and looking on around, as close and interested spectators of the conflict. Nevertheless finances had to be found, the Indians were to be conciliated, and the Canadians allured if possible. To rescue these last, General Montgomery marched to Montreal, and afterwards to Quebec, where an honourable grave awaited him. Meanwhile, Sir William Howe headed the royal army, after it had been demonstrated only too late, how well the patriots could stand fire, or assail a province. At home, even toryism began to express surprise that the war, scarcely commenced, was not already over. The opposition found more ready listeners in anticipating difficulties and disasters. Vaticinations that France would espouse the severance of America from her ancient rival were uttered with all the confidence of certainty; nor ever were debates more violent in the House of Commons than those which followed the king's speech for the session of 1776. German mercenaries had swelled the British forces to upwards of forty thousand effective men, amidst a variety of murmurs from almost every quarter. At Newfoundland, an irruption of the ocean had desolated our fisheries. At Boston, the besiegers had become themselves besieged. Commerce caught the alarm. London and Bristol presented petitions, which 'expatiated upon the lives about to be sacrificed, the treasure to be expended, the new enemies to be encountered. They represented that the obstinacy of the colonists would render even victory too costly; that the victor and the vanquished would be involved in one common ruin. They exhorted, they prayed, they conjured the government to renounce hostile resolutions, which promised no good and threatened so many disasters.'

But the die was cast. The British were forced to evacuate the capital of Massachusetts, which General Washington immediately occupied. Privateers began to swarm upon the ocean, to the temporary ruin of our coasting trade, and the per-

petual humiliation of our marine. In both the Carolinas little else than disappointment seemed the lot attendant upon our best efforts. Royal commissioners had left London for America with gracious offers of pardon from his majesty, just when the gallant Congress were debating about their celebrated Declaration of Independence. This was at length announced with great solemnity, at Philadelphia, on the 8th of July, 1776. Salvoes of ordnance were fired; popular clamour rent the air; the people seemed delirious with exultation. At New York, three days afterwards, a *lead* statue of George the Third (how appropriate the metal) was taken down, and dragged through the streets, that it might be converted into musket balls. At Baltimore, the effigy of this same sovereign became the sport of the populace, and was burnt in the public square. Throughout New England and Virginia a similar spirit prevailed. The remarks of our author will be thought calm and sensible, when he observes,—

‘ Thus, on the one hand, the American patriots, by their secret manœuvres, and then by a daring resolution, and on the other, the British ministers, at first by oppressive laws, and afterwards by hesitating counsels, and the employment of inadequate forces, gave origin to a crisis, which eventually produced the entire dismemberment of a splendid and powerful empire. So constant are men in the pursuit of liberty; and so obstinate in ambition. But also so timid are they in their resolutions, and even more prompt to warn their enemy of his danger by threats than to overwhelm him by force. It is certain that the English ministers wanted either sagacity to foresee the evil, or energy to remedy it. The tumults of America had broken out, as it were unobserved: till at length, swollen like an overflowing river, they acquired such an impetuosity as to sweep before them the impotent dikes, with which it was attempted too late to oppose them.’—p. 215.

There can now be no question, on reviewing the whole contest, together with its preliminaries, that we first bullied when we ought to have conciliated; and hesitated when we ought to have acted. Our armies, however, were augmented with foreign mercenaries; and General Howe, in conjunction with his brother the admiral, commenced their combined operations against the state of New York, precisely when it was boiling over with joy at the recent declaration of independence. The battle of Brooklyn, on Long Island, where Washington is said to have shed honourable tears at the fearful carnage made among his brave, yet irregular militia, threw the Liverpool of America into the hands of her enemy. New Jersey was rapidly overrun; Philadelphia was threatened; General Lee was captured through his own carelessness; the tomahawk of savage tribes degraded and

afflicted both parties, in almost equal degrees; the campaign in Canada produced results, to say the least, doubtful for the present: so that, under Divine Providence, nothing could have saved the infant republic but the Fabian policy so ably carried out by Washington. The dictatorial powers, with which Congress of necessity had invested him, rather illustrated his own character, than really strengthened his hands. It was to foreign aid that all eyes were turned,—not to admit a master, but to emancipate a continent. The maritime prowess of England had long rendered her an object of jealousy to the continental powers. The Court of Versailles, relying upon its family compact for assistance from Spain, only waited until she could extort the best terms for herself from the new republicans. Her efforts had been incessant for some time, to effect retrenchment in her expenditure, and apply their savings to the reparation of her fleets and dockyards. Meanwhile Doctor Franklin appeared at Paris, an object of intense interest to the inhabitants of that gay metropolis. His simplicity of life, the fame of his talents and philosophy, and probably also his notorious coincidence with themselves in much of their irreligion, attracted all classes. His portraits caught the eye in almost every dwelling. His humorous and grave aphorisms made many compare him to Socrates. His whole aspect was a novelty most acceptable to the palled tastes of luxurious and voluptuous satiety. It was anticipated, moreover, that the cause of American independence, which he so ably represented, would gratify the ambition of the French in helping them to humble England: as, indeed, it did most effectually in the sequel. Great Britain stood in need of punishment for her oppression, presumption, and incapacity; nor was she long in obtaining a most abundant and profitable share of it.

The expedition of Burgoyne, in 1777, was to open a way to New York from the northern lakes to Albany and the banks of the Hudson. All intercourse would thus have been cut off between the eastern and western provinces, so that resistance on the part of the patriots could scarcely have had a gleam of hope afterwards. The British general, full of self-confidence, with an army of many thousand men, a complete train of artillery, and a numerous horde of savages, invested Ticonderoga on the first of July. This fortress is upon the western bank of that narrow inlet, which connects lake George with lake Champlain. The Americans now had to withdraw from before the British, after enormous losses; whilst their enemy haughtily advanced through a tract of country then rough and overgrown, besides being intersected with innumerable creeks and morasses. Trees had been felled and locked together,-

trenches were dug from side to side of every valley, through which a passage might be sought,—and parties of sharpshooters infested every thicket to impede the progress of Burgoyne. On that general at length emerging from the forests, on the real banks of the Hudson, he vainly imagined that a glorious triumph was at hand. General Schuyler, his opponent, had done all that an able commander could do under the circumstances; but notwithstanding the support of Washington his personal friend, he was superseded by Gates, an officer popular with Congress, and already celebrated for several partisan achievements. It was the 19th of September, when the first regular engagement terminated in no decisive results upon either side; except that to the English, every serious detention was equivalent to the loss of a battle, as provisions got scarce and the Indians refractory. They had been induced to rely upon assistance from General Clinton, who, it was hoped, would forward them succours from New York, to facilitate a junction between himself and Burgoyne at Albany. The latter had now exchanged his brightest hopes for the direst apprehensions. October had arrived. Several most severe and disastrous skirmishes had deprived him of many gallant supporters, and considerably disheartened his troops. The advances made, subsequently to the drawn battle of the 19th, had augmented his perplexities. In the neighbourhood of Saratoga, his position was that of a lion amidst the toils of his hunters, without the possibility of escape. Gates, by a long series of masterly manœuvres, had drawn him on towards destruction. Within a few days, it exceeded the power of words to describe his pitiable condition.

‘The soldiers, worn down by hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned by the Indians and Canadians; the whole army reduced by repeated and heavy losses, from 10,000 combatants to less than 5,000 effective fighting men, of whom little more than 3,000 men were English. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, they were invested by an army four times their own number, extending through three parts out of four, in a circle all around them; but who refused to fight from a knowledge of their own condition; and who, from the nature of the ground, could not be attacked successfully on any quarter. In this helpless situation, obliged to lie constantly on their arms, while a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of their lines, the troops of Burgoyne retained their ordinary constancy, and while sinking under hard necessity, showed themselves worthy of a better fate. Nor could they be reproached with any action or word which betrayed a want of temper or fortitude. At length, no succours appearing, and no rational ground of any hope remaining, an exact account of provisions was taken on the morning of the 13th October, when it was found that the whole stock would

afford no more than three days' bare subsistence for the army. In such a state it was alike impossible to advance or remain as they were; and the longer they delayed to take a definitive resolution, the more desperate became their distress. Burgoyne, therefore, immediately called a council of war, at which not only the generals and field officers, but all the captains of companies were invited to assist. While they deliberated, the bullets of the Americans whistled around them, and frequently pierced even the tent where the council was convened. It was determined unanimously to open a treaty, and enter into a convention with the American general.'—p. 294.

Considerable moderation was manifested by the triumphant patriots. The articles were settled on the 15th of October, and were to be signed on the morning of the 17th instant, when, strange to say, late in the night of the intervening day, an express reached the camp, that Clinton would be shortly at hand. Ideas of rescue revived in the breasts of some, but it was almost universally felt that the British troops were from exhaustion, no longer able to handle their arms, and that the public faith had already been engaged. Through magnanimous tenderness towards the feelings of the vanquished, General Gates ordered his troops to retire within their lines, that they might not witness the shame of their adversaries when they piled their arms. Verily, he that overcometh his spirit is better than he that taketh a city! He gained by the capitulation the surrender of a magnificent train of fine brass artillery, amounting to forty-two pieces of different sorts and sizes, 4,600 muskets, an enormous quantity of ammunition—grievously needed by the republicans—besides all the prisoners. Such was the fate of this celebrated expedition, conceived in overweening confidence, and conducted to its disgraceful termination, through want of combined action between the generals commanding in Canada and those in the province of New York. When the British made their way along the lakes of Champlain and St. George, Sir William Howe, instead of ascending the Hudson, moved upon the Delaware. When Burgoyne captured Ticonderoga, Howe set out against Philadelphia! Who could be surprised at the result of hardihood without wisdom,—of profuse preparation without unanimity of purpose?

It was a dark day for England when the news arrived. France quickened her preparations. De la Fayette and others had embarked with all their heart and soul in the cause of liberty; nor ever were individual disinterestedness and enthusiasm more beautifully attractive. Meanwhile, there were abundant catastrophes to act as so many sets-off against the brilliant achievement at Saratoga. Washington had plucked his country like a brand out of the fire at Trenton; but his

noblest reputation was won in the deepest adversity. Sir William Howe had fought and gained the great battle of the Brandywine, which gave the royalists Philadelphia: nor did the subsequent most severe action at Germanstown at all shake his position. As winter came on, the British and Americans withdrew into their respective quarters; the former, surrounded with every comfort in a handsome city, the latter merely *huddled*, as it was termed, in temporary hovels hastily erected at Valley Forge, a deep and rugged hollow on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. These wretched abodes were made of logs filled in with mortar. When the republican army commenced its march thither, the cold was already intense. Some soldiers were seen to drop down dead from its severity. Others, without shoes, had their feet wounded by the ice, so as to mark their tracks with blood. When once encamped, their position was, in a military sense, perhaps, impregnable; but on no occasion, in modern times, had deeper destitution to be endured. Upon one occasion, the state of the magazines proved to be such, that there was scarcely full provision even for a single day. Hunger alone would have generated the seeds of mutiny, had not overpowering attachment to their leader silenced all complaints. A few had one shirt; many only the moiety of one; and the greater part no rag of personal linen whatever. Blankets for night were as rare as decent habiliments for the day. The celebrated regiment of Falstaff found its antitype in the troops of Congress. The want of straw compelled them to sleep on the bare and humid ground; so that fever and dysentery as rapidly replenished the hospitals as death evacuated them. Three thousand were often on the sick lists at the same time. Out of seventeen thousand on the muster-rolls, not more than five could have manned their lines, had Sir William Howe offered to attack them. This, however, he never attempted; absorbed as his officers were in gaiety, luxury, and dissipation. The quiet yet wealthy capital of Pennsylvania seemed a kind of Capua to the royalists, without their having such laurels, as Hannibal had, to rest under, and forfeit the meed of glory through a premature contemplation of their past labours. Sir Henry Clinton at length succeeded to the command on the resignation of General Howe. No access of vigour or judicious management followed upon the change. In parliament, Lord Chatham proposed his plan of conciliation, but was unable to procure its adoption. Ministers had to run the gauntlet of augmented unpopularity, yet they were resolved to continue the war. Fresh reinforcements were enlisted, and recourse was even had to voluntary benevolence, which, although unconstitutional as proposed by Lord North, produced

wonderful results. Liverpool and Manchester each raised, at their own expense, a thousand men. Edinburgh and Glasgow imitated their example. The Highlanders of Scotland descended from their craggy fastnesses to rally round the royal standard. There was now no pretender to engage their unreflecting loyalty, so that their natural regard for the 'right divine of kings to govern wrong,' developed itself in favour even of a Hanoverian sovereign. They also followed their lords and lairds, who had for a half a generation discovered that Toryism no where so happily flourishes as within the warm precincts of prerogative. London and Bristol leaned to the liberal side, peremptorily refusing to countenance any municipal levies, but each allowing private individuals to subscribe 20,000*l.* against French machinations. Louis the Sixteenth had acknowledged the independence of the United States, and concluded a treaty with them on the 6th of February, 1778. Hostilities ensued, with but brief delay, between France and England.

From this point all reflecting politicians, except those bound in chains to the chariot wheels of a reckless cabinet, must have discerned the unavoidable issue of the contest. Not but that bitter disappointment at first awaited the expectants of an immediate triumph from the French alliance. The Court of Versailles mainly wished to mortify Great Britain at as small an amount of cost as possible; and, therefore, it for some time did little and professed much. Its greediest gaze settled upon the West Indies, where alone indemnification could be hoped for, through the seizure of some of our rich sugar colonies. Meanwhile, over sea and land spread the horrible conflagrations of warfare. As usual, when it was too late, the British administration resorted to conciliatory measures, amidst immense mockery and derision, the more galling, because felt to be deserved. Of course they were productive of no other results, since contempt was thus allied with hatred. Many such massacres as that of Wyoming had before this period occurred, of which the memory has now perished, perhaps for no other reason than *quia vate carent*! Campbell having immortalized the tragedy of the Susquehannah, our readers may not object to a glimpse, in plain prose, of what will seldom be read without tears. Some inhabitants from Connecticut had formed the settlement, and laid it out in eight townships, on the road to Oswego. The mildness of the climate answered to the fertility of the soil. 'All lived in a happy mediocrity, frugal of their own, and coveting nothing from others. Incessantly occupied in rural toils, they avoided idleness and all the evils of which it is the source. In a word, this little country presented in reality an image of those fabulous times which the poets have described

under the name of the Golden Age. But their domestic felicity was no counterpoise to the zeal with which they were animated for the common cause. They took up arms and flew to succour their country. It is said they had furnished to the army no less than a thousand soldiers; a number truly prodigious for so small a population, and so happy in their homes. Yet, notwithstanding the drain of all their vigorous youth, the abundance of harvest sustained no diminution. Their crowded granaries, and pastures replenished with fat cattle, offered an exhaustless resource to the American forces.' Party opinion seems to have been the first serpent that crept into this paradise. Toryism happened to have received some personal slights from the warmer republicans of Wyoming. It vowed revenge, and called in the Indians! Alecto could have done no more, nor Satan himself. About the commencement of July, 1778, the savages rushed upon their prey; indiscriminate slaughter ensued, until the tomahawk, satiated with butchery, paused through weariness. The living were, however, only reserved for tortures. Men, women, and children were promiscuously huddled into a barrack and there burnt alive, as our druidical forefathers used to propitiate their grim idols. Crops of every description were consigned to the flames. A few days before the land was as the garden of Eden; but when the barbarians had let loose both the fire and sword upon it, the smoke from blackened ruins went up towards heaven as the smoke of a furnace. The slight garrison found in the fort of Wilkesbarre were destroyed with torments that may not be described. Even the beasts of the field could find no mercy from these human savages, who deliberately cut out their tongues and left them amidst scenes of desolation, to die a lingering death! Captain Bedlock met a destiny more dreadful than that of Regulus, since he was literally impaled upon splinters of pine-wood stuck all over his body, until at length, something like caprice rather than humanity, consumed him with two of his companions, to ashes upon a funeral pile. 'The Tories appeared to vie with, and even to surpass, the savages in barbarity. One of them, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered her with his own hand, and afterwards massacred his father-in-law, his own sisters, and *their infants in the cradle!* Another killed his own father, and exterminated all his family! A third imbrued his hands in the blood of his brothers, his sisters, his father-in-law, and his brother-in-law. These were a part only of the horrors perpetrated by the loyalists and Indians. Other atrocities, if possible, still more abominable, we leave in silence. Those who had survived the massacres were no less worthy of commiseration; they were women and children, who had

escaped to the woods, at the time their husbands and fathers expired under the blows of the barbarians. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps, without clothes, without food, without guides, these defenceless fugitives suffered every degree of distress. Several of the women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. The most robust and resolute alone escaped; the others perished; their bodies, and those of their helpless infants, became the prey of wild beasts. Thus the most flourishing colony then existing in America was totally erased! This infernal excision of Wyoming will never be forgotten.

Upon a larger scale, blood flowed like water in various quarters. The French captured Dominica and the English St. Lucia. On the American continent our ministers and generals had determined to direct their greatest efforts against the southern parts of the confederation. It was conceived that there were more secret loyalists there; and that Georgia and Carolina could better feed an invading force than the northern states, already devastated or exhausted. Enormous tracts of country were accordingly overrun by invaders, who could only retain them until the republican militia or volunteers had mustered in sufficient numbers to drive their assailants into the cities and strongholds. The islands of St. Vincent and Grenada meanwhile fell into the hands of Count d'Estaing, who, after a naval action with Admiral Byron, sailed for Savannah, the capital of Georgia, which he besieged in conjunction with General Lincoln, although without success. His intention was to return forthwith to Europe, but a violent tempest dispersed his ships and sadly baffled any hope entertained of enriching himself with British prizes. Congress having been made, as was asserted, a mere cat's-paw by France to assist her in the acquisition of important sugar-colonies, warmly remonstrated against his withdrawal. Verily the flag of England had seldom been seen to less advantage, since the days of the Dutch wars, after the Restoration: and Spain had now cast her blunted sword into the scale against the Queen of the seas. But the infant republic, about whose cradle so many nations were contending, was at the present crisis, far enough from being itself in a healthy or vigorous state. Lethargy had seized upon all public spirit. What was plainly the grand concern of all, appeared to have lost its power of practically affecting each individual. Washington beheld the scene with undiminished confidence as to the ultimate results, but with ten thousand apprehensions for the immediate honour of his countrymen. They intensely abhorred their former masters: they resolved to stand to the last by liberty and independence; but the sacrifices already rendered, disinclined them

to further personal exertions. France and Spain were now too perfectly committed against Great Britain to forsake their cause until the struggle should have reached its issue, although both these powers enjoyed little current popularity, through their manifest selfishness and lukewarmness. The seeds of those evils also began to appear above ground, which have since blossomed into commercial dishonesty and Pennsylvanian repudiation.

Botta observes,—

'Nor were the Americans chargeable only with indifference, for there prevailed amongst them the most shameless thirst after gain,—an unbridled desire for riches, no matter by what means acquired. The most illicit, the most disgraceful ways, were no obstacle to this devouring passion. As it happens but too often in political revolutions, there had sprang up a race of men, who sought to take private advantage of the public distress. Dependence or independence, liberty or no liberty, were [was] all one to them, provided they could fatten on the substance of the state. While good citizens were wasting themselves in camps, or in the discharge of other arduous functions; while they were devoting to their country their time, their estates, their very existence, these insatiable robbers were plundering and sharing out, without a blush, the public plunder and private fortunes. All contracts became the object of their usurious interference and nefarious gains: all army supplies enriched them with speculations; and the state often paid dearly for what it never obtained. Nor let any imagine that the most sincere and virtuous friends of their country ever made so pompous a parade of their zeal!

To hear these vile beings, they were only animated with genuine and glowing patriotism. Every citizen of eminent rank, or invested with any public authority whatever, who refused to connive at their rapines, was immediately denounced as tory, lukewarm royalists sold to England. It would seem that the first duty of those who governed the republic, in times of such distress, was to fill the coffers of these flaming patriots. That their own praises should always have hung upon their lips is not to be wondered at, for there never has existed a robber who has not been first a cheat; but what seems really strange, and almost staggers belief, is that they could have found dupes and partisans. This public pest spread wider every day: it had already gangrened the very heart of the state! The good were silenced, the corrupt plumed themselves upon their effrontery; every thing presaged an approaching ruin. *It was the hope of England.* Shall we attempt to penetrate the causes of so great a change in a nation once so distinguished for the purity of its manners?—pp. 411—412.

Without pretending to enumerate them all, one can hardly help seeing that large allowances must be made, in the very commencement, for the natural selfishness of mankind: *trahit sua quæque voluptas*. The profession of political liberalism was not conversion of the heart. On the other hand, it

is but too probable, that the excitement attendant upon all vast national changes, of itself throws the mind and understanding off their balance, so as to withdraw, in some degree, several of those checks which operate at other times in favour of external virtue. Then again, it must be remembered, that warfare demoralizes wherever it rages; not only letting loose the darker passions of revenge and fury, but also generally lowering the standard of right and wrong. Revolutionary governments, moreover, are of necessity driven to strange resources and singular instruments. Usurers hover round them, ever ready to reap gold from their necessities, and the example grows contagious. If competition be keen, the spirit of mammon will call both patriotism and its counterfeit into the field. Besides which, there was before the civil contests but very little coined money in America: the sudden influx of troops brought large quantities of specie with them, together with a tide of profligacy and luxury, sufficient to corrupt a class, if not a generation. Congress, at the same period, found themselves obliged to issue such an enormous amount of paper, that the circulating medium ran through the wheels of an ever changing lottery. A silver dollar, in 1779, came to be worth forty paper ones; an almost incredible statement, yet perfectly verified by the documents and accounts of that day. Hence the commonest affairs of life degenerated rapidly into more or less of gambling transactions. The several states of the Union also emitted their bills, as if to render the universal bankruptcy 'confusion worse confounded.' When matters were investigated, it was discovered, that in the September of the year last mentioned, the confederation was literally responsible for 159,948,882 dollars! Lord North, we regret to add, was not ashamed to forge the notes of the new republic, that through the falsification of its credit, its pecuniary difficulties might be multiplied. Entire chests of these spurious bills were forwarded from England, of which so perfect was the execution, that scarcely could a practised eye detect the fraud. Through the quiet loyalists, scattered up and down the country, these were pushed upon the widest scale into general circulation, and sorely embarrassed every kind of public transaction. 'Unquestionably it was neither the first time, nor the last, that this mode of making war was had recourse to. It will nevertheless be always held in abhorrence by good men, for public faith should always be respected even amongst enemies; and of all perfidies is there one more frightful, and especially more vile, than counterfeiting money?' We feel certain that Washington would have recoiled from such a step; and it is said that Sir Henry Clinton only yielded most reluctantly to the overbearing dictation on this point, from the court of St. James's, no long

while after the very sovereign of that court had set public opinion, together with his whole clergy and aristocracy for once at defiance, in hanging Doctor Dodd for the crime he was himself countenancing. 'From such an alarming depreciation, it followed that not only all purses were closed, and that the markets, scantily and with extreme difficulty supplied, became the objects of continual murmurs,—but *even that the faith of contracts was violated, and that individual probity every where relaxed.* With little, debtors acquitted themselves of much towards their creditors. Very few at first resorted to this unworthy expedient, but as evil propagates itself more rapidly than good, a multitude of citizens stained themselves with the same reproach. Herein the faithless and avaricious proved themselves no respecters of persons. Washington often experienced this odious action from some whom he had generously succoured in their necessities.' Party spirit and general distress may be appended to the list of causes, which undermined the social uprightness of America, more than sixty years ago, and through which, so great has grown her pecuniary degradation at the present moment, that the roguery of our own Cabal, in shutting up the exchequer under Charles II. bids fair to pass into oblivion.

The spotless commander-in-chief, however, had not only to suffer in his purse, but calumny even dared to strike at his character. It was indeed all in vain, since he came out of the ordeal unscathed, and from that hour remained enshrined in the affections of his people. He had quitted his natural fortress at Valley Forge for another at Morristown, which enabled him to countermine the best concerted projects of the British, and at the same time preserve his communications with Congress, of which he was the actual head, as well as its right hand. The year 1780 was remarkable for many events in Europe, such as the accession of Holland to the continental league, the armed neutrality, the siege of Gibraltar, and the important incidents, which however far removed from the scene of the war in America, materially contributed towards its ultimate issue. Our historian has well traced out the tangled story, whilst, as he justly observes, the grand campaign of the Carolinas demonstrated the uncertainty of arms: 'victory often produced the effects of defeat, and defeat those of victory; the victor frequently became the vanquished, the vanquished the victor. In little actions was exhibited great valour, and the prosperous or unfortunate efforts of a handful of combatants had sometimes more important consequences than in Europe attend those terrible battles, where valiant and powerful nations rush, as it were *en masse* to the shock of conflict.' Sir Henry Clinton had resolved to add the conquest of Charlestown, with its wealthy province to that of

Georgia. After immense efforts he succeeded. Colonel Tarleton also defeated the republicans at Wacsaw: whilst Lord Cornwallis consolidated, as he vainly imagined, the restoration of royal authority from Florida to the frontiers of Virginia. Those, who love military details, may discover enough to satisfy them in the actions of Camden, the Cowpens, and Guildford, in the various pursuits and retreats of troops marching and countermarching, or in the notorious treason, in another quarter, of General Arnold, and the melancholy execution of Major André. The patriotic enthusiasm of the South Carolinian ladies is more to our taste, nor did the English anywhere commit a greater error, than when they condescended to banish them for their liberalism, and confiscate their property. In every affair of public interest, 'general opinion never manifests itself with more energy, than when women take part in it, with all the life of their imagination. Less powerful, as well as less stable, when calm, than that of men, it is far more vehement and pertinacious, when roused and inflamed.' Sundry cruel edicts, on the part of Lord Cornwallis, relative to other matters, also tended to exasperate the entire Union. The reverses at Charleston touched American honour to the quick, and from that moment it was as though the first love of the revolution had revived again. Changes came over the spirit of their dreams. Washington fanned the flame. His own consort, worthy of her husband, placed herself at the head of her sex in Pensylvania, so that an organization was formed for stimulating every class to exertion. Immense sums were collected for lodgment in the national chest, whence they were to be taken out and distributed in bounties to such particular soldiers as should merit them, and in augmentation of pay to all. Imitation of such benevolence became universal. A bank was also established upon the most liberal principles, with a basis both extensive and attractive. Money now flowed in more steadily to support governmental operations, and France advanced rather a handsome loan. A kind of Guerilla opposition to the sovereignty of George III. broke out in numerous localities, of which, as specimens, we may take the followers of Colonel Sumpter, no obscure name in the mighty struggle. His people possessed neither pay, uniform, nor any certain means of subsistence. They were freebooters, living like Donald Bean Lean in Waverley, upon what accident or their own courage provided them. Without regular weapons, they learned to handle with strange and horrible success the implements of peaceful husbandry. Instead of leaden balls they cast pewter bullets out of the plates which patriots cheerfully gave them for that purpose. They were known several times to encounter the

enemy with only three charges of ammunition, and the most precious point in their eyes of any advantages gained over the British, lay in the muskets and cartridges which they acquired at the expense of the vanquished. During a combat, such as had no arms would quietly lie down on the ground, or stand aside in thickets until the death or wounds of their comrades might enable them to take their places. In very deed and truth they were what the Roman lyrist calls a *gens prodiga vite*: and how deeply seated must have been the love of liberty, to summon from industrial pursuits such Spartan battalions. Even the prowess of Great Britain quailed before them.

The following year, 1781, at length terminated the bloody drama. The Dutch, French, and Spanish armaments encountered our flag upon the ocean with various fortunes. The first suffered fearfully in their commerce and lost St. Eustatius; the second retaliated upon the English with considerable success, captured Tobago and St. Christopher's, succoured the Cape of Good Hope and acquired Minorca; the third seized upon West Florida and entirely failed upon Gibraltar. All shewed themselves in combined and most tremendous force in the British channel. In America the actions of Hobkirk and Eutaw Springs distinguished the southern campaigns; whilst Lord Cornwallis, watched and overmanaged by Washington, was successfully allured into the trap prepared for him at Yorktown in Virginia. Here the American commander-in-chief, supported by the French, won his conclusive victory. Our native flotilla of twenty-two sail, one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery, with seven thousand troops, exclusive of seamen, became the splendid prize of the conquerors. Royalism was now prostrated in the dust, from New England to the Gulf of Mexico; Philadelphia had long been given up; the cities of New York, Charleston, and Savannah, alone remained in our hands towards the close of October. On the fourth of the following March, in 1782, General Conway proposed and carried his resolution in the House of Commons, that those who should advise His Majesty to continued hostilities were enemies to their country. This produced the retirement of Lord North, whose inglorious administration was succeeded by that of Lord Rockingham. All that could be hoped for, was, that some favourable event at sea might possibly repair the national misfortunes, so as to secure something like fair terms in the approaching treaty for peace. This brings Dr. Botta to his fifteenth and final book, in which he gives the best description we ever remember to have seen of Lord Rodney's memorable engagement on the 12th of April.

This triumph, together with our success at Gibraltar,

and the new empire we were rapidly acquiring in India, enabled us to make the peace of Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783. We ceded to France some possessions in the West Indies, which we have since recovered; to Spain the Floridas and Minorca; and to America—Independence! We extended our Newfoundland fisheries, secured our Asiatic conquests, and broke up the armed neutrality: but the war added one hundred millions to our national debt, and cost us from forty to fifty thousand lives. In the position which, under the influence of toryism, we had taken up contrary to the freedom of mankind, we were righteously and ignominiously defeated. We trust that similar policy will never fail to encounter similar results.

And now for the lessons of wisdom to be learned by the present, as well as every future government. Let just concession be always made, before coercion steps forward to deprive it of its gracefulness. The achievement of American independence has quickened the circulation of mind throughout the world. It has passed a sentence of deposition or banishment against regal tyranny, wherever it may again presume to rear its head, with the exception, perhaps, of Russia and Turkey, whose time has not yet come. Yet, generally speaking, there is scarcely a throne in Europe which has not directly or indirectly felt its influence. Our own islands, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and some of the states of Germany have clearly done so: and who fails to see that upon the growth of sound liberalism in Great Britain and Ireland, the future fortunes, under Divine Providence, of all India will turn;—to say nothing of China and the other eastern empires about to be embraced within the circle of our commercial energies? In mentioning Ireland, however, we are forcibly reminded of a larger amount of wrong to be redressed, within a day's sail of our own doors, than that which provoked transatlantic resistance against the sceptre of George III. From New England to Georgia, much less than three millions of our fellow-subjects confederated against the yoke of the mother country: in the sister kingdom, we have forfeited the affection of more than double that number. America after all, to a very great extent, governed herself, and was slightly interfered with as to the inalienable rights of man. Ireland has been treated for ages as a conquered province, without possessing even ordinary municipal privileges, until within the last few years. When forcibly united to this island, by an Act carried by perfidy and oppression, she owed only £40,000,000: her resources now bear the burden, with slight differential exceptions, of more than twenty times that amount. With a population of eight millions and a half, she has one hundred and five representatives in the Lower House, against

five hundred and sixty-three English and Scotch members, returned by a census amounting only to a duplication of her own. We write in round numbers, yet with abundantly sufficient accuracy to enforce our meaning. Above all, she is afflicted with a church establishment intolerable to seven-eighths of her children, whilst by more than six millions and a half its doctrines are deemed as heretical, as its domination is odious. The revenue which Lord North would fain have extorted from the colonies was about £300,000 per annum; the Anglican hierarchy of Ireland pocket £450,000 as an annual composition for tithes modified to the extent of twenty-five per cent., besides the rich glebes of eleven hundred livings, together with the palaces, churches, deaneries, dignities, and episcopal incomes of upwards of thirty bishoprics condensed into twelve, founded and endowed by those whom their present holders now consider as having belonged to the Babylon of the Revelations. For years past have the sons of Erin been organizing themselves under an able leader for a total reversal of the current order of things. The combustibles are all prepared, — the trains are ready laid, — the matches are lighted. A numerous priesthood, popular and identified with the cause they patronise, are on the watch day and night for the first favourable opportunity. Where is the wisdom of administration? Where is the foresight of the premier? Sir Robert Peel cannot plead ignorance of Ireland, since he came early into office as her secretary: so much more therefore is required of him. Are the perambulations of an antiquated, though noble commissioner, to quell the disturbances of Tipperary? Is not Ireland, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, *occupied* rather than governed? Are twenty thousand bayonets the *horrida seges*, the spiky rampart, behind which alone civilization is to sow her seeds, and reap her harvests? Is not the chasm every moment widening between the two countries? Have not the last decade of years presented many frightful points of analogy with the periods from 1765 to 1775? If the sister realm be more immediately within our grasp, is she not also all the nearer to those foreign potentates jealous of our ascendancy, and ardent to behold us in difficulties? What more will the Orange lodges be able to do for toryism than the loyalists, so vainly relied on, were able to effect in the struggling United States? In rendering strict justice to Ireland, we shall in fact only be doing justice to ourselves; nor need we ever but feel perfectly confident, that the path of honour will be found the genuine path of safety. We could well endure the severance of the thirteen colonies, and in many respects are all the better for the separation, but a dissolution of the union with Ireland, achieved

by violence, by rebellion at home and foreign aid from abroad, would undermine our mountain of strength, shiver the talisman of our imperial dominion, and convince all mankind that we deserve to fall; since the experience of previous generations will have been expended upon us in vain!

In taking our leave of Dr. Botta and his translator, we could have wished for a more distinct and continuous recognition of Divine Providence, than appears in the history. Ascriptions to 'Fortune' and 'Destiny,' neither become the catholic nor the protestant. It is the 'most High God who alone rules over the affairs of men, and disposes of them with unerring wisdom. America may one day discover that even the present world is a tribunal for nations, when the wrongs of the Indian and the Negro shall rise out of the dust of ages, and demand retribution at the hands of the posterity of their oppressors. We have all much to learn in this respect, and the sooner we learn it the better.

Art. VI.—1. *A Pamphlet in Defence of the Game Laws, in Reply to the Assailants; and on their Effects on the Morals of the Poor.* By the Honourable Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley. London: 1845.

2. *Speech of John Bright, Esq., M.P., on the Motion for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the Operation of the Game Laws.* 'Times' Newspaper, February 28, 1845.

THERE are two features in the present times which not only distinguish them favourably from the past, but which, on the security of some deeply-seated social laws, promise to be characteristic of the indefinite future. The one of these is the increased and ever-increasing influence of public opinion, as compared with the crude and naked force of law and the power of the conventionally great.

And in this we do not so much rejoice, because it consists with that first axiom which the unassisted perception of every human understanding adopts,—that the opinions and interests of the few must yield to those of the many,—as because we see in this great fact the incipient triumph of the universal empire of reason and justice; because in it seems to be involved the deepest welfare of the species; and because, simultaneously with its growing development, those blessings of education and religion are descending upon society at large, under the influence of which it must ultimately reach the highest and most glorious results.

The second feature which may be derived not very indirectly

from the first, is, that the cardinal evils which afflict society, and which are most strongly fortified by usage, prejudice, and conventional power, seem to be decaying, and in some instances to perish, chiefly through the efforts of their advocates to maintain them. Who can doubt that an impetus which could hardly have been derived from elsewhere, accrued to the popular movement which swept away our nomination boroughs, from the insane declaration of the Duke of Wellington—then at the helm of government—that no parliamentary reform whatever was necessary; and that, had he to frame a constitution for a new country, he would stereotype the hideous deformities of our own? As little can it be doubted, that the efforts—dictated alike by the spirit of freedom and the principles of spiritual religion—against the abominations of the established church of this realm, derive their most powerful aids from the imperious phantasies of the very heads of that church. The sly and sinister policy of a Blomfield, and the wrong-headed, uncalculating assumption of a Philpotts, the theoretic laxity,—out-heroding Paley himself,—of the bishop of Norwich on the momentous question of doctrinal subscription, and the mad Puseyite freaks of timid rectors, stolid professors, and hair-brained curates, are so effectually doing the work which christian fidelity imposes on dissenters, as even to give some colour of propriety to that supineness from which it costs so much effort to arouse the more somnolent members of our community: in-somuch that we hardly know whether the waking inquiry of some of our body, ‘*Cui bono bishops?*’ is much more rational than the advice of others, prostrate in ‘a laugour which is not repose,’ and which might be conveyed in the vulgar adage: ‘*Give them rope enough, and they’ll hang themselves.*’

On the same principle, a few Carlton-Club elections—Cambridge elections, for example—which induce even high-minded men to court the ignominious brand of disfranchisement, will probably do quite as much for the cause of parliamentary reform as the energies of lecturers and the serious philanthropy of societies.

And so, too, in the matter of the Game Laws, to which we now propose to confine our remarks. Magistrates may continue to condemn them; the newspaper press may expose their turpitude; coroners’ juries may record their remonstrances, and county rates their mute, but most impressive evidence; but we are much mistaken if two or three Grantley Berkeleys (supposing more than one of that Phoenix genus to exist) will not finish the business in a far more direct and satisfactory manner.

At this ‘*summa dies et ineluctabile tempus*’ in the longevity of the Game Laws, we cannot hope, nor shall we attempt, to ad-

duce any new argument for their removal. Our object will be briefly to review the character and effects of those laws, and then to notice the arguments for their continuance urged by Mr. Berkley in the pamphlet before us.

The privileges conferred by the Game Laws, like other manorial rights, must be classed among the remains of the feudal system. They are not, it is true, the worst remains of that decaying and pestilential *régime*. The most mischievous of these, unquestionably, is the hereditary descent of legislative power, under which the weakest and worst of men are enabled to control the voice of a nation, and divert the current of its prosperity into their own personal or party channels, simply because they have suffered the accident of being born of a titled lady, and often without any too strict regard to the secret of their paternity. But by a curious law, in obedience to which men merge the sense of more indirect evils, though ever so comprehensive, in the pressure of even the slightest that are immediate and palpable, the monster mischief of hereditary legislation is forgotten in the contemplation of the price-current and the visit of the tax-gatherer. Perhaps this principle accounts for the popular prejudices, now fast giving way, in favour of indirect as compared with proportional taxation.

The time has, however, at length come, when the cultivators of the soil are not placed in the same category with game: they are no longer regarded as *feræ naturæ*; and the sovereign protection which was heretofore exercised towards man, has been transferred to hares and pheasants *et hoc genus omne*.

The problem of the original rights of property has long since been abandoned to the sepulchre of the philosopher's stone and the *elixir vitæ*; and the very necessities of civilization have substituted prescriptive for primeval right. Still there are some claims of most ancient date, which may fairly be tried at the bar of public opinion: and among these, in defiance of antiquated usage, we may fairly place those which are sanctioned by the Game Laws.

There is a natural sense of right and justice anterior to all law, and of which law itself is the offspring and the partial reflection. In accordance with this, every rational man admits that those animals which his neighbour breeds and feeds, and tends at his own expense of money and labour, are his by a natural and indefeasible right. The common sense of mankind would revolt from the seizure and slaughter of one's neighbour's sheep, oxen, or horses: the husbandman's right to reap his own corn has never, we presume, been questioned; but the bird which flies, with no law-bound discrimination, over the flourish-

ing crops of all, alighting for its food or its pleasure on every field without distinction, is regarded in the unsophisticated notions of mankind as common property. Every man revolts from the injustice which would compel one man to pasture the sheep of another: and the very principle of the game preserver comes—and that in all justice—to be the principle of the game destroyer: the animals which I feed are mine. It is futile for my neighbour to apprise me that he spends five hundred a year for preserving his game: my answer is, they eat my oats. The argument that a large number of families are supported by his fantastic and luxurious extravagance: that he can supply thousands of heads of game for the annual amusement of a prince at a *battue*; and that he can turn the wavering balance of a tenant-farmer's political virtue by the weight of a brace of pheasants, is nothing to me. I answer, they trample beaten paths in my barley, and that their favourite delectation is in nibbling off my wheat stalks in the middle. It is a small consolation to the thrifty husbandman, that the animals which devour his crops all night amuse the right honourables in the day, and keep their dogs in condition, to half an ounce for the Newmarket stakes.

And here, although foxes are not game, we cannot forbear a few remarks upon the injuries inflicted on the farmer by those whose zeal for the breeding and preservation of these offensive animals, is only surpassed by the almost insane enthusiasm with which they destroy them. A farmer, in the vicinity of a large and well-preserved fox cover, is the victim of innumerable depredations which he dares not complain of, and cannot redress. His poultry are stolen without mercy; his ducks, fowls, and goslings become mere game, always excepting the protection afforded to the latter and privileged class; even his young lambs are destroyed, and the remains of Mr. Reynard's feast buried in the adjoining field, for a second repast. But let him defend himself against this plunder if he dare. A friend of ours recently shot four of these desolators of his farm-yard, and nailed their carcasses to his barn door. Happy man! he did not reside in a hunting country, else the lightest retribution he would have incurred would have been to be hustled and mobbed in the corn-market, and sent to Coventry at the ordinary. Good farmers, too, have a pride in good hedges, and naturally set some value on their young crops; yet it is no uncommon thing for a field of two hundred horsemen to gallop nearly abreast over their seeds and their growing corn, breaking their hedges and rails to mere firewood; thus most seriously damaging their crops, and affording many a day's work to their labourers, whose wages the master of the hounds would as much think of paying, as of paying the farmer's income-tax.

Yet the unfortunate tenant does not dare to open his mouth ; and would as soon think of poisoning his wife, as of shooting one of these vermin if it were cantering away before his eyes, with his favourite duck over his shoulders. Now, with all deference to the honourable Grantley Berkley, we must take leave to designate this as a scandalous and intolerable injustice : the only principle on which we can account for this disgraceful injury inflicted by men of *honour*—men who would not escape from an hotel by the window, leaving their bill unpaid,—is that suggested by the ancient satirist, ‘*DEFENDIT NUMERUS.*’ The injustice which no individual Meltonian would dare to inflict, and which he would be the first to resent, is sanctified in his estimation by the company of a hundred blockheads in scarlet, and in no way interferes with their convivial gratulations on an excellent day’s sport. But the inexperienced reader will perhaps say, he has the protection of the law, let him bring his action for trespass, or lay his complaint before the bench of magistrates. We can only say, that should he ever commit such a trespass in the court of the great unpaid, especially with a country clergyman or two on the bench, he has only one greater blunder to commit, and that is, to carry a grievance into an ecclesiastical court.

But again ; it may be supposed, that the farmer’s liability to these outrages is the unavoidable accident of his condition, and that it is not permitted and perpetuated by act of parliament. Perhaps the principle, *de minimis non curat lex*, which the rustic might freely translate—the law takes no care of *very* small farmers, might seem to the uninitiated to cover the case.

But let us look to the act, anno primo, Georgii IV. Regis, cap. 56. In this act it is provided, that ‘if any person shall wilfully or maliciously commit any damage, injury, or spoil upon any building, fence, hedge, gate, stile, guide-post, milestone, tree, wood, underwood, orchard, garden, nursery-ground, crops, vegetables, plants, land, or other matter or thing growing or being therein, or to or upon real or personal property of any nature or kind soever, he may be immediately seized by anybody without a warrant, taken before a magistrate, and fined (according to the mischief he has done) to the extent of £5, or in default of payment, may be committed to the jail for three months.’ And at the end comes a clause exempting from the operation of this act *all mischief done in hunting and by shooters who are qualified.*

‘This,’ says that wittiest of divines, ‘Sydney Smith,’ is the most impudent piece of legislation that ever crept into the statute-book, and, coupled with Mr. Justice Best’s declaration, constitutes the following affectionate relation between the dif-

ferent orders of society. Says the higher link to the lower, 'If you meddle with my game, I will immediately murder you; if you commit the slightest injury upon my real or personal property, I will take you before a magistrate, and fine you five pounds. I am in parliament, and you are not; and I have just brought in an act of parliament for that purpose. But so important is it to you that my pleasures should not be interrupted, that I have exempted myself and friends from the operation of this act; and we claim the right (without allowing you any such summary remedy) of riding over your fences, hedges, gates, stiles, guide-posts, mile-stones, woods, underwoods, orchards, gardens, nursery-grounds, crops, vegetables, plants, lands, or other matters or things growing or being thereupon, including your children and yourselves, if you do not get out of the way.' Is there upon earth such a mockery of justice as an act of parliament pretending to protect property, sending a poor hedge-breaker to jail, and specially exempting from its operation the accusing and the judging squire, who, at the tail of the hounds, has that morning, perhaps, ruined as much wheat and seeds as would purchase fuel a whole year for a whole village?'

But to return from these more general aristocratic grievances, to the specific evils of the game-laws. These, with all the vexation, destruction of neighbourly feeling, public expense, multiplied crime, and not infrequent murder, of which they are a prolific source, proceed upon the principle, that wild animals are as essentially the private property of certain individuals, as any other species of possession. To this assumption, the common sense and the universal feeling of society ever has been and, we venture to predict, ever will be most resolutely opposed; while the horrible murders committed in its support alike by the law, the game-keeper, and the poacher, the extended term of transportation and imprisonment, entailing the ruin of individuals and the pauperization of families, and the perfectly disgusting brutality of county and clerical magistrates, have so deepened and strengthened this feeling that, on this account alone, it becomes imperative that the game-laws should be abolished, even were there some appearance of justice and propriety in the arguments adduced for their continuance. In support of this position, we will refer to one or two recent instances out of hundreds, with which the public press is continually teeming. It will perhaps be recollected, that at a meeting of the magistrates of Bedfordshire, in session, a proposal for the enlargement of the county jail was vigorously resisted by a worthy baronet, a member of parliament, on the ground that it was only necessitated by the laws

for the protection of game, under which *one third* of the commitments (we believe, though we are quoting from memory) were made. On this occasion the honourable baronet, cordially supported by a few of the more independent of his brother-magistrates, so effectually denounced the flagrant injustice of saddling the county with the expense of building and maintaining one-third of the jail, for the purpose of protecting the amusements of a handful of landlords, that the question of the said enlargement was postponed.

In an adjoining county we have the following cases reported, which occurred within a week of the time at which we are now writing.

At the Aylesbury Petty Sessions, Emanuel Priest was convicted of having set a snare in a hare's run, on the preserve of Sir J. D. King, Bart., at Helston. He was committed to prison for seven days, in default of the payment of one shilling fine and nineteen shillings costs. William Jeffkins was committed to prison for ten days in default of the payment of two shillings and sixpence fine and twenty shillings costs, for having trespassed in pursuit of game on the preserve of the above gentleman.

We have before us the report of a still more offensive and equally recent occurrence; we copy it from the Liverpool Mercury.

On Saturday last, Thomas Edge, of Hoskar Moss, and three other young farm labourers, appeared before the Rev. Joshua Thomas Horton, clerk, in the public-house justice-room, to answer a charge of trespass preferred against him by Lord Skelmersdale, father-in-law to Lord Stanley, one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state. It appears that the young men had obtained permission of Thomas Morris, Esq. to have a day's ferreting for rabbits, as a sort of Christmas gift on his lands near Hoskar Moss in Latham, and in the course of the day they inadvertently walked into a field adjoining the one of Mr. Morris's, belonging to his lordship, erroneously supposing it at the same time to belong to the former gentleman. They were seen by his lordship's gamekeeper, who informed them they were trespassing, when they immediately retired, expressing their regret to the keeper, and telling him that the trespass was not committed knowingly. The damage done to the herbage of the field does not amount to more than *half a farthing*, rated at the very highest. The gamekeeper appeared to support the information, and the reverend magistrate convicted the parties in damages of forty shillings each and costs, and inflicted an additional fine of *eight pounds*.

It is impossible to believe that the humane and christian public will longer tolerate such scandalous injustice as this, and

we trust that the feeling which the daily publication of such cases excites, will lead not only to the abolition of the existing game-laws, but to such an examination of our present system of magisterial judicature as shall purge the commission of the petty despots who at present disgrace the bench (and especially of the clergy), and rescue the most unprotected classes of society from the multiplied but unnoticed wrongs which they daily suffer from the cruel despotism of the squire and the stolid bitterness of the parson.

The ninth parliamentary report on prison discipline lately published, contains some equally impressive evidence on the mischievous tendencies of the Game-laws.

‘At the House of Correction for Norfolk, the Inspector found ‘the youngest offender against the Game Laws’ he had seen, a boy of eleven years of age, who was summarily convicted with his brother, aged thirteen, for using a certain engine called a snare, for the purpose of taking game, not having a game certificate.’ The experience drawn from witnessing the utter inefficacy of the numerous convictions for offences against the Game-laws, induces Captain Williams, in reporting specially to the Home Secretary, to say, that ‘however severe in physical restraints, or powerful in moral influence, prison discipline may be, it signally fails in producing any salutary impression upon offenders convicted of infractions of the law enacted for the preservation of Game. These men, when undergoing imprisonment, appear possessed with the idea that these laws are more harshly and inflexibly administered than other cases of a more serious character; and that the punishments awarded are unequal, disproportionate, and unjust.’

‘I have frequently endeavoured,’ says the Chaplain of the House of Correction at Northallerton (for the North Riding of Yorkshire), ‘but quite in vain, to persuade prisoners convicted of poaching, that they offend God in breaking the laws of their country. They answer—the law is oppressive, and they have as much right to the game as others. The man’s neighbours, too, second him in this feeling when discharged; they receive him as usual, saying, ‘Tom, you have been in prison, it is true, but not for stealing, or felony.’ A man loses no caste by having committed an offence against the Game-laws, but when discharged, goes into the society of his fellow-men quite as usual.

‘The Chaplain of the Beccles House of Correction for the county of Suffolk, says—‘It is difficult to impress the prisoners with an idea that poaching is a crime; I endeavour, therefore, to impress them with an idea that it is injurious to their temporal welfare, by setting the higher orders against them, as placing obstacles in the way of their getting employment. I have frequently heard them say, ‘I shall never follow poaching if I can get employment;’ and this has been uttered by men of whom I have had the best opinion, but I could never get one to go farther than in promising

conditionally to give up the pursuit. I have frequently heard them make comparisons between the punishments for game and for felony. They also say it is better to do this than go into the Union.

'At Kendal, the Chaplain of the House of Correction for the county of Westmorland, says—'There are frequent commitments here for poaching, or rather illegal fishing, chiefly from Kirby Lonsdale; the Lime being a great fishing river. One reason for taking salmon out of season is, the roe being greatly prized as a bait for trout and char. I cannot, with all my endeavour to do so, persuade them it is a crime; they answer, 'It is no crime against God, if it be against man.'

'In like manner the Chaplain at the Carlisle County Gaol remarks, that 'it is quite hopeless to impress poachers with the feeling that they are guilty of a crime. They say, 'the birds of the air, and the fishes of the water are everybody's property.' They go out of gaol under the same impressions, only to return.

'And in the journal of the Chaplain to the Knutsford House of Correction for Cheshire, the following passage occurs:—'Admonished, but to little purpose, two poachers on their discharge. The great difficulty with such cases is to persuade them that wild fowl can, or ought to be considered a property.'

Nor is this feeling confined to game-law culprits. It prevails universally throughout the country, and obtains more or less the sympathy of all who have not a direct interest in the perpetuation of the injustice. Most truly does a recent and very sensible writer on this subject observe that—

'If a farmer, pestered with hares, were to shoot one in his fields, and carry it home for dinner, though the law might punish that farmer, his character would not suffer, except with game-preserving landlords. But let a farmer shoot a neighbour's sheep which may chance to have strayed into his fields, and carry home the mutton for domestic use, and such farmer will at once be set down as a *thief*—a sheep-stealer. In the one case, he is looked upon as a sufferer—in the other, as a dishonest, dishonoured, and irretrievably-degraded man.

'It would probably be found, on an appeal to the public, that there is no indisposition to recognise a property in game, in a modified sense; and that a strong aversion would in fact be entertained to having the breed of wild animals exterminated—as they would be were hordes of idle and dissolute characters allowed to roam unchecked over the country. But the preservation of pheasants and partridges may be bought too dear. And such has been the case. Blood has been shed like water; hundreds of men have been transported—thousands have been imprisoned—in upholding the Game-laws; and, independent of all that, there has been more of insolent and vindictive cruelty, and mean, petty oppression exercised in carrying them out, than in carrying out all our other laws put together. The details of some of the cases connected with the

Game-laws are enough to make the blood of the most temperate boil with indignation.'

Such then is as much of our case against the game-laws, as we deem it necessary to bring forward. We will now proceed to examine the Honourable Grantley Berkeley's vindication of their humanity, their justice, and their essential bearing on the social, moral, and religious interests of the poor. It is generally admitted to be the best defence of the game-laws with which the public have been favoured. It is the production of an Honourable and an M.P.; of the younger brother of a peer—the ennobled possessor of Berkeley Castle—which has the historic notoriety of having been stained with nobler blood than that of pheasants, or even of poachers;—of the hero of *twenty-six* personal encounters in defence of game, who has the distinction of having got himself sworn as a special constable for the capture of a party of marauders, and of having succeeded in the glorious enterprise; whose extensive experience has taught him the grand secret of protecting the sanctuary of the cover, namely, 'a well directed punch of the head,' and 'showing them their own blood!' When, in addition to all this, we assure our readers, that the work before us is written with that fine enthusiasm which the subject would naturally inspire, we have surely said enough to enlist their deepest interest, and to vindicate for it a place, (it will need, by the way, the editorship of Colonel Gurwood), beside the dispatches of the Duke of Wellington.

Its title page, which, if rhetorical laws were as rigid as game laws, would probably have subjected the author to some awkward consequences, runs as follows. 'A pamphlet in defence of the Game-laws

In Reply to the Assailants;

and on their effects upon the morals of the poor.' It may occur to some that the clause in old English might have been omitted, as defensive pamphlets are so much more commonly written in reply to *assailants* than to those who fully concur in the views of the writer. But perhaps it may be fairly allowed to peers and honourables, who intrude themselves so seldom upon the literature of their country, to use, when they do write, as many words as they please. Mr. Berkeley's pamphlet is so utterly defective in connection and arrangement, that it is impossible to adopt with respect to it any ordinary method of criticism. We must confine our attempt to the somewhat difficult task of seizing the most prominent points of his argument. The very commencement of his pamphlet may be taken as a fair specimen of that total disregard to known facts which distinguishes the whole production.

This advocate of the exclusive right of the aristocracy to the amusements secured by the game-laws, has the effrontery to boast that he has always 'advocated the interests of the poor, and endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to uphold them in their rights, their sports, and their recreations;' and designates his opponents as 'self-sufficient Quixotes, who seek to trample on those rights, whether they be those 'of amusement, of food, or healthful locomotion.' It may safely be conceded to Mr. Berkeley, that as a controversialist he makes it very difficult for any one to reply to him. What can be said to a man who, in advocating the most rigid protection of game, pretends to be ruled by an interest in the rights, sports, recreations, and healthful locomotion of the poor!

Had he pretended a regard for the morals or the industrious habits of the poor, there might have been some plausibility in his assumption, but the audacity of such a boast as this can only be met with the gaze of blank astonishment—its only consistency is with the honourable writer's constabulary tactics. It is giving the whole thinking public a 'well directed punch on the head.' In the next page Mr. Berkeley has the boldness to affirm that the crime of poaching has not at all increased beyond the ratio of population, and that 'it has *not* increased in any greater extent than other crimes, and *not nearly so much* as many others.' It is impossible to reason with a man who thus sets all the most notorious facts at defiance. We need not refer to statistics, inasmuch as the reports of every daily paper, the incessant complaints of magistrates, and the solemn remonstrances of juries, stamp this assertion as not only false, but ridiculous. If Mr. Berkeley does not wish to be classed in reputation with Busfield Ferrand, we would recommend him to suppress his pamphlet on the game laws. We are not surprised to see the above outrageous assertion immediately succeeded by the following sentence:—'I am also prepared to show that, so far from having a demoralising tendency, or of being injurious to the welfare of the lower classes, the game laws are founded on sound and rational principles, and *have a beneficial effect* in regard to the proprietor, the tenant, the yeoman, and the poor.'

As the Honourable Mr. Berkeley, according to his own account, has been engaged in six-and-twenty personal encounters with poachers, he does not affect to deny that some offences, however few, are committed against that sacred palladium of British morals and prosperity, the game-law; and for the development of his theory on the causes and the remedy of these irregularities, we must endeavour to disentangle the confused mass of paragraphs which lies before us. As, however, any attempt to condense his notions into an intelligible abstract

would be altogether futile, we must adopt the method pursued by council with a garrulous or superannuated witness, and let him tell his own tale, with as little interruption as may be.

Mr. Berkeley first attempts to show that the undue and horrible severity with which offences against the game laws are visited, does not contribute to the fatal effects of encounters between poachers and keepers, or, as he invariably terms it, of *murder*; charging the guilt by a *petitio principii*, which can only be pardoned in a young logician, upon the poacher and not upon the keeper. He says:—

‘I may be permitted here to turn to other statutes, and invite the public attention as to how far the mitigation of punishment has led to the prevention of crime, where the experiment has been tried. Has the abolition of the punishment of death lessened the crime of forgery? No. Forgery has increased to a frightful extent. Has the reluctance to visit murder with that unflinching severity, so honestly and religiously demanded at the hands of man, lessened its perpetration? No. We have the fearful fact from the lips of a culprit who murdered his sergeant on parade, when he found that death was to be awarded to his crime, that had it not been from the observation he had made as to the rarity of the fact and reluctance in government to carry out the capital punishment, and the hope he therefore imbibed that he should but be transported for life, he would never have murdered his non-commissioned officer.

‘The severity of punishment on persons banded and armed at night for the destruction of game does not produce murder rather than submission.’—pp. 6, 7.

This may be regarded as a fair specimen of the author’s utter recklessness of assertion—of what may be properly called his ‘punch on the head’ method of reasoning. Where does he find his proof that forgery has frightfully increased far beyond the ratio of increased population, since the amendment of the law? Can he be ignorant of the fact that the certainty and fixedness of punishment is far more effective than its severity, fluctuating, as all severe punishments must be, through the scruples of prosecutors, the humanity of jurors, the stupid tyranny of magistrates, and the testy caprice of judges? If so, we beg to refer him from the extorted confessions of culprits to the enlightened and comprehensive views of such jurists as Romilly and Mackintosh.

His next argument appears to be directed not so much in support of the game laws as against those which obtain in our solar system, and which regulate the succession of day and night. He puts into the mouths of his opponent the following unspeakably silly enquiry:—

‘What is the reason, then,’ asks the surface observer, ‘why

there are more murders in poaching cases by night than there are by day? Does it not arise from the difference in the grade of punishment?

‘It does not arise, he replies, ‘from the difference in the punishment by which the heavier and the lighter crimes are met.’’

And after a series of sentences, which are really too foolish to be quoted, he adds:—

‘There are a thousand obvious reasons why the night should be the more probable time for murder than the day.’—pp. 8, 9.

Of course there are. Who doubts it? When men are forbidden, under heavy penalties, from exercising what they deem their just rights, they prefer the obscurity of the night to the dangerous openness of the day. Christian martyrs and persecuted dissenters have even been driven to the same necessity. The obvious hinge of the question is the rigidly restrictive character of the game laws, and upon this our author is wisely silent.

The next cause to which Mr. Berkley refers, is the beer shop:

‘Inflamed with the beastly drugs of the pothouse, and in the hope of being shielded from observation by the obscurity of night, the cowardly and brutal ruffian fires his gun, without any very clear reason in his brain as to the cause of his doing so, save in the hope of injuring some honest man. The severity of punishment consequent on capture no more hastens the murderous grasp on the trigger than it hastens the next year’s snow; the ruffian steals, &c., &c.’

And again (p. 17), ‘watching in the cold drives him to drink with the evil companions of his sport, &c.’ Now we beg to ask Mr. Grantley Berkeley, whether his keepers are members of the temperance society? Have they no acquaintance with the butler at the hall? Are keepers so differently constituted from other men, that watching in the cold midnight never suggests to their minds the convenience of a flask of gin? Do they not carry guns? And would it be an unpardonable impeachment of their character to imagine that they may now and then be a little pot-valiant in their encounters with the unauthorised sportsman? But Mr. Berkeley tells us that he himself has been in the habit of accompanying his keepers all night in their rounds. Did he never fortify himself against the cold of the midnight watch with those creature-comforts to which mendacious rumour hints that sportsmen are slightly addicted. Did *punch* in the stomach never precede the ‘well-directed punch on the head,’ which he has so gloriously inflicted in his twenty-six encounters? On these points, as on the drunkenness of poachers, Mr. Berkeley unfortunately adduces no evidence whatever.

One of our author's strongest points, however, is that no man is led to the conventional crime of poaching by *distress*, and on this he cites the evidence of the Duke of Beaufort, whom all who are acquainted with his Grace's character and pursuits, must, *of course*, regard as an unprejudiced witness. Now, if by *distress* these honourable and noble game preservers mean the temporary and total destitution of food for their families, without the slightest prospect of supply, we can admit their statement with a comparatively slight discount; indeed, in such a state of things, the labourer would be more likely to pawn his gun, than to load it; but then, gentlemen have yet to learn that syncope from starvation and the raging fever of famine, are not the only forms of distress, though such alone may constitute their criterion. Children, with insufficient rations of oatmeal and potatoes—wives sinking, perhaps, in pregnancy, from want of adequate support—limbs incapacitated by rheumatism, from want of fuel and blankets, are indications of what humane men designate as distress, by whatever terms they may be known in the vocabulary of the aristocracy; and these, we have abundant evidence to prove, are some of the many temptations to the infraction of the game laws.

Besides, Mr. Berkeley tells us that poaching (i.e. by his own showing, nocturnal poaching) is extensively pursued as a trade; men, boys, and even women, he tells us, are accustomed to exterminate the game in the fur, the feather, and the egg.

'In Wiltshire, my keeper caught a woman in the act of setting traps for game, her husband thinking that she would attract less suspicion than himself, and that we should deem her as simply employed in gathering sticks for fuel. In each of these places I had the rights of sporting, and set about a speedy reformation. In each of these places some of the tenantry were the first whom I caught poaching; and in each place I had personally to establish a character for determination of purpose and *aptness of hand*, before I could enforce obedience. In addition to the rebellious spirit of the lower orders, consequent on long neglect of the laws and habitual demoralization which ever attends their slightest infringement, I was hampered with the weak and prosy decision of timid *injustice*, for I seldom attained justice.'

Now, men, women, and children, do not usually act without motives; and nightly watchings coupled with Mr. Berkeley's 'well directed punch of the head,' and the agreeable 'sight of their own blood,' are not the most powerful incentives to this kind of sport; yet our author has the simplicity to assure us that the game do no harm to the farmers' crops and the labourers' cabbages; and even adduces an instance of one old man who, in a fit of landlord loyalty, declared that he thought

the game so far from injuring him, had rather done him good. This last case reminds us of a lady, who in the late slippery weather, accidentally tripped up on the pavement, and fell violently backwards. The nature of the injury, if ascertained, would not need to be specified; but upon a gentleman promptly lifting her up, and enquiring if she was hurt, she replied, 'Not at all, Sir, I'm much obliged to you, *quite the contrary* !'

But we must meet Mr. Berkeley's case with a few facts. Our author, with that cunning which constitutes his sole qualification as a controversialist, adduces the published opinion of some farmer, that a thousand hares on an estate do as much mischief as an equal number of sheep, and to do him justice, he tilts at this windmill with some success. It has, however, been repeatedly declared by experienced farmers, that the keep of three hares is equivalent to that of one sheep; and we believe that this statement has never been refuted. In a recent number of the 'Mark-lane Express,' we find the following statement in a letter signed 'A Tory:—

'Observing in your paper some account of the ravages caused by game, I beg leave to state what I saw during the harvest of 1844, on the estate of a tenant-farmer, who has now happily left that occupation: he did not put a scythe into 36 acres of barley, it being so completely destroyed by the game. The proprietor has since killed on the estate 3000 hares. In these days, when the population is considered to be more than the kingdom can contain, still less support, we see hares and rabbits eating that which would feed thousands all the year round. Nor is this all; 'tis not that which is wasted or eaten by these creatures, but it is what is also prevented from being grown, by the curtailment of the tenant's means, and also the distress amongst the labourers by the damages sustained by the farmer.'

But Mr. Berkeley slyly intimates, without daring to assert the fact, that a compensatory provision for these damages is made in the diminished rent of the tenant. Here, too, we will appeal to known facts. In a recent number of the 'Norwich Mercury' we find the following paragraph—

'DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY GAME.—Sir Thomas Hare has given directions that the game on his estate at Stowe, near Downham, Norfolk, should be shot down as close as possible. This determination, we believe, has arisen in consequence of the numerous complaints he has received of the injury done to the crops of his tenants. A gentleman near this city, who hired an estate last year in this county for sporting, and where he had reared a large head of game, had this week an account of £200 presented to him for payment for damage done by the hares and rabbits to the tenants' crops.'

We have similar cases within our own personal knowledge. On the estates of a certain noble lord in Leicestershire a highly

respectable tenant had, during the last year, a most promising crop of oats. The whole ground was so completely destroyed by his lordship's game, that the tenant never realized a single peck. To complain was to lose his occupation. On the rent-day, however, the steward returned him the sum of £20, probably *one fifth* part of the loss he had sustained. On another occasion the same nobleman, while walking over a part of his estate in the company of his tenant, and observing the destruction occasioned by his game, ordered the steward to return to him at the next rent day no less than *a hundred and forty pounds* upon his rent, adding, 'I wish, Mr. —, I had known of this before;' to which the tenant replied, with amusing *naïveté*, 'I wish you had, my Lord!' But even these are not the most serious evils resulting from the game laws. It appears that in a single county town (Buckingham) out of 539 prisoners, committed during the past year, 169 were offenders against the game laws, while, in the year 1843, there were in England no fewer than 4,500 men convicted of poaching. Most truly did Mr. Bright say, at a recent county meeting at Aylesbury—

'His opinion was, that the game laws should be abolished, and that the law of trespass would be quite sufficient to ensure a gentleman sufficient game and sport. His neighbours would protect his land, and his tenants would get rid of a great source of disaffection. Any gentleman who would have the moral courage to call upon Parliament to repeal the game laws would prove himself to be the farmer's friend. The game preserver was not the farmer's friend, but his enemy, and the persecutor of the labourer, loading the villages in his neighbourhood with taxation to maintain the wives and children of those he caused to be sent to gaol. The game-preserver was indeed the tyrant of his country, filling the prison with inmates sent from his own domains, and doing mischief to almost every other class of his fellow-subjects.'

And here it is impossible to pass by one statement of Mr. Berkeley, 'That the pheasant is often the farmer's best customer.' On this subject we will quote again the language of Mr. Bright. 'There was,' he said, 'a general charge he would bring against the game laws.' The landowners of this country had undertaken to feed the people.

'It was common for them to express their desire that this country should be independent of foreigners for a supply of food, saying that the land of this country was sufficient to supply the whole population with food. He was not going into other questions. But the land-owners having undertaken to feed the 27,000,000 of people of England and Ireland, if there was reason to believe that those people were not sufficiently fed, then it was the height of injustice and im-

morality on the part of the landowners to keep up a very large quantity of game, a kind of vermin, to devour a large portion of food which multitudes of the starving population would be glad to obtain.'

It is a happy circumstance that one wrong frequently exposes and counteracts another. Thus it is with the corn laws and the game laws. Each is indefensible on the principles of justice, but the two cannot certainly co-exist without reflecting on each other a character of the most palpable and infamous wrong.

We will now come to the remedies proposed by Mr. Berkeley for the multiplied evils confessedly occasioned by the game laws, and the first of these is what the writer designates a large head of game. This appears to be the cardinal article in Mr. Berkeley's creed, to judge from the earnestness of his style. A small and unprotected quantity of 'indigenous game' would seem to be the greatest of all social evils. His faith, indeed, embraces both horns of the dilemma expressed in the old distich:

'My wound is great because it is so small.

Then 'twould be greater were there none at all.'

'I am here again,' says he, 'forced into the consideration of the good or harm occasioned by large heads of well-protected game and small lots of unprotected game on neglected lands. Closely adjoining to the village of Carleton, whence these poachers came, and adjoining or within my manor, there were some unprotected fields, the property of Earl de Grey and others, and of the parson of the parish, abandoned to the evil propensities of every vagabond who chose to carry a gun: these fields became a nursery for poachers. On these lands there were only a few scattered heads of game, and there was no enforcement of the law for their protection. An occasional hare, partridge, or rabbit, with a wild duck or snipe, as the fields adjoin the river Ouse, were all that offered to the poacher's gun.

'It was on these *neglected lands* that the man who kept the public house, where the poachers were in the habit of meeting, first imbibed a love for shooting.'—pp. 16, 17.

Now, there are two obvious questions which arise out of this statement. The first is, when game is altogether unprotected, and neglected as valueless, where is the guilt of the poacher? On the author's showing, he does but destroy that for which the landed proprietor cares not a rush, while his own necessities make the produce of his gun a matter of no inconsiderable importance. The second is; If, under these circumstances, the poacher, as he is called, imbibed his immoral and most pernicious love of shooting—where did Mr. Grantley Berkeley imbibe *his*? What demon seduced Prince Albert into similar snares?

and what evil-eye beguiled all the dukes, and lords, and squires in the land into the same guilty tastes and pursuits? If the taste itself is vicious, let Mr. Berkeley by all means be installed as a pluralist preacher against it. But if, on the other hand, he contends that the game which feeds on the land of B, and crosses the highways and the commons, which are the common property of the whole population from A to Z, belongs to A by an indefeasible right; then, in the name of honesty, let him prove his position—an undertaking from which, throughout the pamphlet before us, he has most studiously shrunk.

Mr. Berkeley's next remedy for this great social disorder is the strict protection of game:—

‘I have observed,’ he says, ‘in each of the places I have rented a great improvement in the conduct and habits of the labouring population when the game laws came to be enforced, and idle poaching inclinations restrained; the wholesome fact also having been placed before their eyes, that it would be their interest as well as their duty to cease from the pursuit of game both by night and day. The hitherto systematic Sabbath-breaker returned to his church; and I have had it from his pastor's lips, that ‘he had never seen the man so frequently an attendant on divine worship, as he had since my arrival at ‘the House.’ And what was the cause of this? Why, the woods and manor, the fields and the river, were no longer free to be made the exercising grounds of the idle and disorderly, or of the man of six days’ labour who was tempted to desecrate the Sabbath; but the lands and the *commons* were protected from demoralizing abuses, and the outbreakings of a certain class in society necessitated to return by just restrictions into their proper channel.’—pp. 34, 35.

Some passing notice is due to this new argument for the observance of the sabbath. We are happy to witness Mr. Berkeley's anxiety on this very important matter. But, unfortunately, it appears from our author's statement that the only safe-guard against this sabbath-breaking on the part of the poachers, is the rigid protection of the game by a large number of keepers. ‘I repeat again,’ he says, (p. 45) ‘that the proprietor of the abandoned land, in regard to game, is the breeder of crime, the abettor of murder, and not the resident gentleman who enforces the law, and keeps up a large head of well-protected game;’ while in the same page he informs us that at Berkeley alone, there are sixty men employed in nothing else than the care of the game and deer; to which he adds, ‘the immense number of grooms, and helpers, huntsmen, whippers-in, and kennelmen necessary to the care and condition of from fifty to sixty hunters, besides other horses; and from eighty to a hundred couples of fox-hounds, besides other dogs; let any

man imagine the amount of wages expended on such species of labour, and then reflect on the misery which would arise if all these men and their families were deprived of their employment and subsistence.'

Thus it appears, that in order to prevent one cottager from breaking the sabbath by killing a rabbit for the sustenance of his starving family, sixty men regularly commit the same offence for the protection of their master's game, without reckoning the hangers-on of the kennel and the stable. 'I repeat,' says he (p. 39), 'it is the non-enforcement of the law which demoralizes the poor; it is the neglected manor, and the little unprotected game which makes the poacher.' And again (p. 41), in speaking of his christmas benefactions, Mr. Berkeley says, 'from such gifts by me, are systematically excluded all those who habitually transgress the game or any other laws; and if in a hunting country, I am aware of a man who *has stolen or injured a fox*, I exclude him likewise.'

Well may Mr. Berkeley add, that had his benefactions been published 'they would have appeared under the very singular announcement that Mr. and Mrs. Berkeley were dispensing their usual bounty in a wholesome manner of good old English beef and plum-pudding to one old man and a woman! With the exception of this old couple, there was not a family in the vicinity within that which I conceived to be my immediate range, that had not in some way or other *grossly misconducted themselves*.'

Two more illustrations of the nature and benefits of rigid protection we must notice, before we proceed to dispose of this notable argument of the Honourable Grantley Berkeley.

'I will here give,' he says (p. 20), another instance which came under my own observation touching the matter immediately in view. I detected a man in the grounds at Cranford stealing acorns. He refused to surrender to me the sack containing them, or to give his name. We were alike unarmed, and a mere personal encounter with fists was the consequence. It ended in my securing the man and sack. The thief, however, an excavator, having received some punishment, and as he looked unhappy, I forgave him his fault upon the spot.'

And again (p. 29) he says,—

'Now, to speak in homely downright old English phrase, there is nothing which banishes an inclination to commit murder, or to be dangerous, from a brutal mind, half so much as a simple, well-directed 'punch on the head.' All, or nearly all, murderers are cowards: the sight of their own blood will prevent their shedding the blood of others. A gamekeeper or a constable need not wait

until he is struck: if he sees that a blow is thought of, he is justified in striking, to prevent his being struck.*

The argument that Mr. Berkeley has here adduced against the notorious mischiefs of the game laws, viz., the maintenance of a large head of game and a strict protection, so graphically illustrated by his personal experience, deserves a moment's attention for its very thoughtlessness and folly. Let it be applied to the most acknowledged right of the people, that of meeting to petition parliament for the redress of their grievances; according to Mr. Berkeley's theory, if magisterial authority is insufficient to put down these inconvenient movements, employ horse, foot and artillery. This will be 'RIGID PROTECTION.'

Is the ministry embarrassed by protestantism and dissent? Re-establish the tortures of the inquisition. This would be 'RIGID PROTECTION.'

Is a choleric gentleman annoyed by the intrusion of beggars at his back door. Let him plant a loaded spring-gun in his yard. This is Mr. Berkeley's 'RIGID PROTECTION.'

The honourable author appears, indeed, to be emulous of the fame of the Macedonian conqueror, not only in his method of untying a Gordian knot, but in the comprehensive pugnacity of his disposition; and we can easily imagine, that, if hares and pheasants were as sacredly preserved as title-deeds, the honourable gentleman, though not much given to the melting mood, would weep like Alexander, that there was not one poacher left to 'punch in the head.' We cannot conclude this notice of Mr. Berkeley's panacea without a sympathetic tear over the doleful appeals in the fiftieth page of his pamphlet.

'Is the long and old boasted adage,' says he, of 'the Englishman's house being his castle' to become a by-gone saying of a good old time, no longer available in these days of cant and morbid reformation?

'Does the collective wisdom and feverish anxiety of the self-dubbed reformers of the morals of the poor, mean to throw open the private estates and manors of individuals to the incursion of a lawless rabble of bad-charactered men, who are to have free ingress to the lands for the purpose of killing game?'

The pathos of these appeals might well disarm criticism. Yet, in reply to the first of them, we may, perhaps, be permitted to suggest to so accomplished a sportsman as Mr. Berkley, that hares do not ordinarily make their forms under

* (*Note in the margin.*)—'I have been personally engaged with poachers in twenty-six instances, by night and by day, and always with success, having made it a rule to be the first to play at the roughest game.'—p. 55.

the beds of country gentlemen; that pheasants do not usually roost on their testers, or breed in their wardrobes; and that it is comparatively seldom that snipes are put up in their drawing-room, or shot in their library. And with respect to the second appeal, our author may be reminded, that parliament may abolish the game laws without turning into commons the parks, plantations, and estates of the gentry of England.

But our author goes further than all this, and attempts to deduce from the system he is defending, such advantages as would constitute it the safeguard of social order, prosperity, and freedom.

‘I hold,’ says he, ‘the man, or set of men, who would stir a step to prevent or risk the residence of the country gentleman on his lands—and they would go far to prevent it who would abolish the game laws—to be the declared and bitter foes to the interests of the poor.

‘What would the castle or the abbey be without its lord? or the hall or manor-house without its squire? Why, the first *would* be a ‘remnant of feudal ages,’ if not inhabited by a heart and hand of liberal and enlightened times, and the other but the empty shell of the good old English gentleman. If by untimely and ruinous interference with their amusements (for rich men *will have* their pleasures), you drive them to seek the joys of life at Paris, or in foreign lands, who remains to stand up for the liberty of conscience? who to countenance the teacher of religion, whether protestant, catholic, or dissenter? and who to give effect to the local administration of the laws?’—pp. 48, 49.

There are unhappily too many evidences of the want of earnest patriotism on the part of the British aristocracy, but we were certainly not prepared to hear that a legislative interference with their monopoly of field sports would be sufficient to expel them from their country, to lavish abroad the wealth they derive from home. We know that the age of chivalry is gone, but we were not prepared to believe, till informed from so competent a quarter, that hares and wild-fowl constituted the chief, if not the only, tie that bound to the soil of Great Britain its largest proprietors and its hereditary legislators.

And here we cannot refrain from the insertion of a characteristic paragraph upon this particular point from the pen of the late highly gifted Sydney Smith. ‘We really cannot believe,’ says he, ‘that all our rural mansions would be deserted, although no game was to be found in their neighbourhood. Some come into the country for health, some for quiet, for agriculture, for economy, from attachment to family estates, from love of retirement, from the necessity of keeping up provin-

cial interests, and from a vast variety of causes. Partridges and pheasants, though they form nine-tenths of human motives, still leave a small residue which may be classed under some other head. Neither are a great portion of those whom the love of shooting brings into the country, of the smallest value or importance to the county. A colonel of the guards, the second son just entered at Oxford, three diners out from Piccadilly, Major Rock, Lord John, Lord Charles, the colonel of the regiment quartered at the neighbouring town, two Irish peers and a German baron; if all this honourable company proceed with fustian jackets, dog-whistles, and chemical inventions to a solemn destruction of pheasants, how is the country benefitted by their presence? or how would earth, air, or sea, be injured by their annihilation?

‘There are certainly many valuable men brought into the country by a love of shooting, who coming there for that purpose are useful for many better purposes; but a vast multitude of shooters are of no more service to the country than the ram-rod which condenses the charge, or the barrel which contains it. We do not deny that the annihilation of the game laws would thin the aristocratical population of the country, but it would not thin that population so much as is contended; and the loss of many of the persons so banished would be a good rather than a misfortune. At all events, we cannot at all comprehend the policy of alluring the better classes of society into the country by the temptation of petty tyranny and injustice, or of monopoly in sport. How absurd it would be to offer to the higher orders the exclusive use of peaches, nectarines, and apricots, as the premium of rustication—to put vast quantities of men into prison as apricot eaters, apricot buyers, and apricot sellers—to appoint a regular day for beginning to eat and another for leaving off—to have a lord of the manor for greengages—and to rage, with a penalty of five pounds, against the unqualified eater of the gage! And yet the privilege of shooting a set of wild poultry is stated to be the bonus for the residence of country gentlemen. As far as this immense advantage can be obtained without the sacrifice of justice and reason, well and good—but we would not oppress any order of society, or violate right and wrong to obtain any population of squires, however dense. It is the grossest of all absurdities to say,—the present state of the law is absurd and unjust; but it must not be altered, because the alteration would drive gentlemen out of the country! If gentlemen cannot breathe fresh air without injustice, let them putrify in Cranborne-alley. Make just laws, and let squires live and die where they please.’

But what are we to say of Mr. Berkeley's incredible ignorance in attributing the protection of religious freedom to the sporting aristocracy of the country. Let the catholics report how far they are indebted to the tolerant and paternal spirit of the fox-hunting squirearchy; and if they have fewer wrongs to complain of, we can only attribute that doubtful advantage to the closer proximity which the Anglican Church is daily making to the doctrines and practice of popery. With regard to dissenters, however, in rural districts, the bitter spirit of the landed aristocracy has long been too notorious to need exposure. Their malignant hostility, their exclusive dealing, their petty persecution, and their supercilious insolence, render them, for the most part, as far as dissenters are concerned, the nuisance of their neighbourhood. Why, what means the not unfrequent appendage, even to their advertisements for the letting of their estates, 'No dissenters need apply?' Whence arises the impossibility (and it is no uncommon case) of obtaining, in the village of a wealthy proprietor, the smallest and most useless plot of ground for the erection of a humble chapel, and the ruinous persecution of the 'village Hampden' who affords an apartment in his house as a substitute? And whence the refusal of the Duke of Buccleugh to sell the smallest plot of his waste land for the erection of even a shed in which the scattered members of a christian church may worship their God in peace, simplicity, and freedom? If the Honourable Mr. Berkeley is aware of these facts, we can only express our regret that his 'sporting' is not confined to the fields. If he is ignorant of them, he has commenced his career as a controversial author by many years too soon.

But our author's next position in demonstration of the advantage of the game laws is too amusing to be passed over. After laying down (p. 52) the truly comic principle, that the game monopoly is only a just set-off against the peculiar burdens of the land, he adds,—

'If the game laws existed no longer—observe the consequence—in every man's hand is placed a gun. If he trespasses, and refuses to desist, you may proceed against his liberty by the capture of his person, as you may do now, for, of course, there will still be a law for the protection of the privacy of property.

'Where there is one conflict now between men with fire-arms there will be thousands, and in the same ratio so many increased chances of the result in murder. Every old firelock and field-keeping musket will be brought into play, while at the same time the small proprietor and the hitherto certificated public will be giving up the amusement of shooting; the game on

places of their access being reduced to the small head indigenous to the soil not worth their seeking, but still just enough to induce the pursuit of the idle and demoralized. The gunsmith's trade is then affected; the demand for the expensive material being diminished, thousands of hands at Birmingham and other places lose their bread, and all for what? Simply because a cry has been raised against an old established law, founded as that law is on just and reasonable principles, by men who seek some public stalking horse on which to ride into notice; by men whose sect or personal inabilities do not lead them to enjoy the useful pleasures protected by that law; and by men who having suffered from just restrictions have imbibed a hatred to any similar restraint.'

Mr. Berkeley informs us in the course of his pamphlet, that at a certain period of his life (and for what we can guess to the contrary, this may be true of the larger portion of it) his chief companions were the country farmers of the neighbourhood. It may possibly be on their respectable authority that he affirms, that if the game-laws were abolished, 'a gun would be placed in every man's hand.' On this subject we are happily able to relieve his mind. We can assure him, for example, that among the many objects of religious zeal, the destruction of game is not to be reckoned. We question whether the evangelical clergy will give him any trouble in his nocturnal expeditions. The great body of the quakers are not so keen after grouse as Mr. Berkley may suppose. He will not, we take it, be called upon to administer the grand remedial 'punch on the head' to many dissenting ministers, nor is he likely to capture straggling Moravians knee deep in water after snipes. Indeed, we are sure that the honourable gentleman will take our word, when we affirm that the number of persons excluded from our religious communities for poaching is *very inconsiderable*.

Our author's sporting friends seem moreover to have been lamentably slow in communicating to him the result of their studies in political economy. We feel justified therefore in assuring him *ex cathedra* that if, according to his hypothesis, every individual in the British dominions were to carry a gun, the trade of the Birmingham gunsmiths would by no means suffer by the change. If our author's opinion to the contrary prevails extensively among his class, a fine opportunity is afforded to some starving operative, of turning a honest penny by the publication of a treatise, which might be entitled, 'Early Lessons on Political Economy, for the use of Country Gentlemen.'

To Mr. Berkeley's last statement, which represents one class of his opponents as men who, having suffered from just restrictions, have imbibed a hatred to any similar restraint, we

find an amusing parallel passage at page 21, where, speaking of the opponents of the game-laws in the daily papers, he adds, 'most of whom, if not all, have, in all probability, suffered from punishment rightly inflicted by the laws they are for that reason so sedulous to condemn.' We hardly know whether it would be more candid to ascribe these passages to the unfairness of partisanship or to supernatural ignorance. They will probably suggest to the mind of the reader some rather grotesque images: such, for example, as that of Sydney Smith and the honourable member for Durham, working side by side in the hulks, with their hair cropped to pattern; or of Dr. Bowring and the Editor of the Times, cheek by jowl in the stocks. Indeed, if the success of Mr. Berkeley's maiden attempt should encourage him to defend some other system of monopoly and wrong on the same principle, we may expect the gratifying information, that the public conduct of Dr. Wardlaw on the church question, of Earl Fitzwilliam on the corn-laws, and of Mr. Sturge on the subject of war, is to be accounted for by the fact that the first had had his nose slit for holding forth in a conventicle; that the second had been transported for a desperate affray with the coast guard; and that the third had lost both his legs at the siege of Salamanca.

The last, and (if comparison in such a case is allowable) the worst defence of the protection of game, which Mr. Berkeley attempts, is that that system is not injurious to the farmer. We imagine that our author must at some time have learned by experience the danger of proving too much, and he has certainly made good use of the lesson in citing from the Aylesbury News, the statement of a writer subscribing himself a tenant farmer, which is expressed in the following words:— 'A farmer may keep a hundred sheep with less expence than a hundred hares.' But the honorable gentleman attempts something more than a refutation of this certainly exaggerated statement, and in doing so unfortunately falls into a greater extravagance. He adduces the case of a man who, by the way, had 'rented under his family all his life,' and who declared shortly before his death (probably shortly after the failure of his recollection) that though he had been in the constant habit of making complaints against the game, on account of the allowances made him, he held himself a considerable gainer instead of loser by the hare and pheasant.

It would be easy to multiply instances supplied by the daily press, in proof of the almost incredible injury inflicted upon the farmer by the protection, and consequent increase of the breed of game. But on this subject it is due to Mr. Bright, the highly respected member for Durham, rather to direct attention

to the facts and principles brought forward in his late masterly address to the House of Commons, in moving for a select committee to enquire into the operation of the Game Laws.

We have long observed with great admiration the straightforward and dauntless career of Mr. Bright, in connection with the free trade agitation both within and without the walls of Parliament. In the honest devotion of his great talents to the cause which he has more particularly espoused, we find something which nearly approximates to a justification of his neglect of some other topics, which we deem more important than even free trade, and, even philosophically speaking, first in order in the catalogue of legislative reforms. Mr. Bright has, however, won our admiration by a public aggression against another enormous evil, beside his grand object it is true, but not so far beside it as to excite our jealousy or damage his consistency. Had Mr. Bright addressed himself either to wrangling on the currency question, or to fisticuffs with poor Colonel Sibthorp about railways, we should have been painfully disappointed, that his efforts should have withheld from the question of questions, the reform of the representative system. The operation of the Game Laws, however, is so nearly connected, as an aggravation, with the ravaging mischiefs of the Corn Laws, that, as we have said, his appearance in that field need excite no jealousy in the minds of Parliamentary reformers, and reflects in no way on his own consistency.

Mr. Bright's address to the House on his motion for a committee to enquire into the tendency of the Game Laws, was a masterpiece of business-talent, research, and statesman-like skill. It was listened to with marked attention, and complimented with repeated and general cheering from all parts of the House. But, stranger still, it drew forth the blandest compliments from the ministry, and especially from Sir James Graham. Thus has it ever been throughout the annals of despotism, whether bearing the name of priestcraft in religion, or of toryism in politics. Whenever he has to deal with a man whose integrity is impregnable, and whose moral courage is such as not to be abashed by the coarseness of vituperation, and the insolence of scorn, the thorough-bred tory, unlike the thorough-bred dog, 'runs cunning,' and seeks to wheedle through some possible weakness, the man whom he has neither the power to daunt, nor the wealth to buy.

In the case of Mr. Bright, however, the last man who should have been selected on this forlorn hope, was Sir James Graham — the unblushing apostate — the government spy. Surely the ministry could not suppose that their man of all work was so little known to Mr. Bright, that the

latter could mistake the slime of his compliments for that enamel with which rising merit is adorned by the praises of long tried and venerated virtue ! Young as Mr. Bright is, he is too old a bird to be caught by the ministry, if Sir James Graham is the only disposable chaff they can offer him. Mr. Bright is not yet so nauseated with the honourable applause of his country, as to 'sate himself in that celestial bed,' and then 'prey on the garbage' of the treasury benches.

The honourable member for Durham has shown himself perfectly master of his subject. His statistical statements are of the most striking and convincing kind. One farmer has made out to him an account which shows a clear loss through the havoc occasioned by game, of no less than £204 per annum. He has brought forward instances in Buckinghamshire in which one fourth of the entire crops was consumed by this species of depredation. He adduces another case in Hampshire, in which a loss of £50 a year is annually incurred on the produce of a single field ; and another, the case of a respectable farmer in Sterling, who, on a farm of 85 acres, suffers a loss of £50 annually by game ; while another occupier in Cheshire, after stating that on one estate three hundred brace of rabbits are weekly destroyed, beside a large amount of hares, adds, 'it is computed that two hares will eat as much as one sheep.' While in Sussex, a gentlemen, whose name was mentioned, makes the following statement :—'I have divided my land into the most damaged side, and the best side. On the best side about 18½ acres produced 327 bushels ; whilst on the other side about fourteen acres and three roods produced only 53 bushels. The damage computed by a competent valuer is £129 11s., for which I have not received one farthing compensation.' Mr. Bright further states that he has not adduced one in a hundred of the cases on which he has written incontestable evidence, the whole of which he is prepared to produce before the committee for which he moved.

The honourable member has further detailed the immense proportion of criminal prosecutions which has reference to offences against the game laws, proving from unquestionable returns that the convictions for these particular offences in the year 1843 amounted to no less frightful a number than 4,529, and exposes, with great boldness, the horribly unjust and tyrannical conduct of game-preserving and clerical magistrates, under these laws.

Mr. Bright has only moved for a select committee, and he has obtained it. The willingness of the Government to accede to his request pretty clearly indicates their confidence of his defeat. It is now for Mr. Bright to fortify the high ground he has been

permitted to take, and either to compel the legislature to a tardy and reluctant act of humanity and justice, or else to convince the country that nominal investigations of the imperial parliament, like the trial by jury in Ireland, are 'a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.'

We have left ourselves no room to comment upon the literary character of the honourable Grantley Berkeley's pamphlet. It is inaccurate, and, indeed, illiterate to the last degree. Some of the sentences it contains are altogether false in construction, and only fit for the criticism of school boys. Thus, for example, he says (p. 70):—'Now there are two *ways* of ceasing to preserve game, either the one just stated, or *because* the proprietor, from some personal consideration, &c.' And again (p. 20): 'I do not mean to say that men have never been induced to poach through want, but I assert that it is very rarely the case. Men have thrust their hands through windows in the street that they might be sent to prison, instead of starve; *and the occurrence of one fact is about equal to the other.*'

Indeed the whole performance sets the critic and the poacher at about equal defiance. It will perhaps suffice to state, that within these few pages the word *surface* is *fourteen* times used as an *adjective*, and once as an *adverb*!

The late Mr. Sydney Smith, in one of his characteristic letters to the 'Morning Chronicle' confessed that while he had enjoyed the advantages of a brilliant classical education, he had never been taught to *write*. In reading the literary productions of our aristocracy, it is humiliating to observe how few of them can adopt the first admission, and how many must plead guilty to the second, in a sense far different from that intended by the writer.

Art. VII.—1. *The 35th Geo. III., c. 21., entitled 'An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion.'*

2. *The 40th Geo. III., c. 85, entitled 'An Act for the better Government of the Seminary established at Maynooth, for the Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion, and for amending the Laws now in force respecting the said Seminary.'*

3. *The 48th Geo. III., c. 145, entitled 'An Act to amend two Acts passed in Ireland, for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion, and for the better Government of the Seminary Established at Maynooth for the Education of such Persons, so far as relates to the Purchase of Lands and compounding Suits.'*

THERE are some crises in the affairs of human society, the importance of which it is impossible to magnify or overrate; and

the position in which this nation is now placed, by the unexpected and astounding proposition of the Prime Minister, in reference to popery in Ireland, is one of precisely this character. The nation is suddenly called upon to choose between two rival systems of church establishment,—between a dominant protestant establishment, on the one hand, and what is in principle the establishment and endowment of all religions, on the other. As the advocates of a free and independent church, we protest against both of these systems; but if either be more opposed to scripture and right reason than the other, we hold it to be that which the nation is now called upon to adopt. We need, therefore, make no apology for entering at once upon the earnest investigation of this subject.

We view the proposition to increase the grant to the college at Maynooth, to the extent, it is supposed, of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, and to keep the buildings of that college in repair, under the superintendence of the Board of Works, as only part of a system, which must, in a short time, end in the endowment by the state of the Roman catholic church in Ireland. It seems that the tottering protestant establishment of that country must, if possible, be sustained; not for the benefit which it confers upon the community, nor for the truth which it inculcates, but that the tithes may be preserved, and the livings be maintained, for the benefit of the aristocracy, whose perquisites they are. The pretence of maintaining the Irish establishment, because it teaches the *truth*, is now virtually abandoned; for the legislature is called upon to provide means that the effect of that truth may be counteracted,—that priests may be multiplied and educated, and sent forth, to teach what our public formularies have designated as ‘damnable heresies.’ Let not the advocates of the Irish establishment henceforth say, that it is maintained for its apostolic doctrine, or its evangelical ministers; for the fact will be palpable henceforth, that not the *truth*, but the *tithes* are its stability,—not the gospel, but the livings, are its foundation. We have heard much of ‘*political dissenters*,’ in these modern days; we now know what a ‘*political churchman*’ is. A staunch supporter of the church as by law established, he cares but little about its doctrines; a protestant in name, he takes the haters of protestantism at home under his patronage, and abroad, abandons Tahiti to the Propaganda. Thank God! we have some few faithful to his truth,—so far, at least, as the latitudinarianism of our statesmen is concerned—even in the establishment; some who, with the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, are willing to declare, that ‘if the state cannot uphold principle, and the truth of God must be

maintained as second only, *it is best for the state to let all alone*; that, if the state feels itself incompetent to choose between truth and falsehood, *it would be best to leave all to themselves*; but to *support truth and falsehood at the same time is not wisdom, but presumptuous meddling with sacred things.** We have long laboured to convince the public, that for statesmen to take upon themselves to decide what is truth, and to impose that upon the nation, is a 'presumptuous meddling with sacred things;' and we rejoice to know that in the protestant dissenters of this kingdom,—the holders with us of this great cardinal doctrine,—we are likely now to find the great bulwark of protestantism. If this measure for reconciling the catholics to the continuance of the Irish establishment is to be defeated, we believe it must be mainly through the instrumentality of protestant dissenters; for they only possess the arms by which the battle can be fought and won. While other sects are struggling for domination, we are struggling for equality. While we assert the sole supremacy of the Great Head of the church, and vindicate his laws from the tampering of temporal authority, we assert for every man the same rights as we claim for ourselves. We ask for no exclusive privileges, for no state patronage; we demand nothing which we refuse to others. The independence of the church-of-state patronage and controul, is the only theory which reconciles obedience to the laws of Christ with civil liberty. For that independence we earnestly contend; and therefore, into this contest we can now enter as impartial, and disinterested arbitrators. As a body, we have nothing to lose by defeat, and nothing to gain by victory. We come forward with this simple view, to see justice done, both to the cause of God and to the liberties of our fellow countrymen. The catholics know that we have never sided with their oppressors, but have been companions with them in suffering under wrong: they know that we sympathized with them under their oppressions, and that we helped them to break off their chains.

It is now just twenty years since the deputation from the Catholic Association, on their visit to London, were hospitably entertained at the house of a leading protestant dissenter, and were supported by the body generally in their demand for the restoration of their constitutional liberties. When those rights were at length conceded, protestant dissenters did not begrudge them the boon; but rejoiced to see the laws administered in the spirit of the constitution. When

* Speech delivered March 18th, at the meeting in Exeter Hall, to petition parliament against the increase of the grant to the College at Maynooth.

several catholics were added to Her Majesty's privy council, they held no meetings, they signed no memorials nor petitions, to deplore this act of liberality and justice. They have ever claimed for the catholics, and they will ever claim for all their countrymen a fair equality in the rights of citizenship. But they protest now, as they have ever protested, against being compelled to pay for the support of any man's religion. They would not be compelled to pay even for their own. They object to the endowment of truth, and it is only consistent for them, therefore, to object to the endowment of error. Let it not be imagined that, because protestant dissenters are just and liberal to catholics, they are therefore tolerant of popery, and would be willing to pay for its support. *They* know but little of the spirit and feeling of the body who entertain such an imagination. We confess we never thought that popery was any other thing than our fathers found it. A false liberality has rendered statesmen unable to distinguish between the duty of protecting men in the exercise of their religious liberties, and of endowing their religion with state emoluments. We say, let the state protect the catholics, and let them have full liberty to propagate their creed, but let them have no endowment. As soon as a religion becomes endowed, it acquires an artificial power. It matters not whether the endowment be a state endowment or a private endowment, the principle is the same, and the effect is similar. An endowed church makes the zeal and liberality of a past age auxiliary to its present support, when otherwise it would die away and become extinct.

It was a great error in protestant dissenters that they did not come forward, during the last session, and resist the passing of the 'Charitable Donations and Bequests Act.' That act contains the germ of a Roman catholic establishment, and its simple operation will, in a few years, make the catholic church of Ireland an endowed church. That step towards the establishment of popery in Ireland has been already taken, and it is now proposed to follow it up, by a large endowment of the college at Maynooth. Our readers are aware that for the past fifty years, an annual grant of from eight to ten thousand pounds has been voted by parliament towards the support of this college; but, in order that the policy of the grant may not come annually under consideration, as at present, Sir Robert Peel has given notice of his intention to make a permanent provision for the institution, by a Bill which he will lay before parliament immediately after the recess. We say at once that, in our opinion, not only ought no increase to be made to the existing grant, but that the grant ought henceforth to be entirely abandoned; and such we think will be the opinion of

the public generally, when once they are acquainted with the history, constitution, and objects of the seminary.

Previously to the year 1795, the whole body of the catholic clergy of Ireland received their education on the continent of Europe. At that time, there was no institution in Ireland for the education exclusively of persons professing the catholic religion; and, indeed, it was absolutely unlawful to endow a college for such a purpose, until the 35th, Geo. iii. c. 21 was passed. In the year 1793, Trinity College, Dublin, was thrown open to the Roman Catholics; but it does not appear that they were at all willing to avail themselves of that act of liberality, as a means of education for those of their body who were intended for the priestly office. Catholic priests, therefore, continued to be educated at Rome, Douay, St. Omers, and other places. It was stated by Sir John Newport, in the debate in the House of Commons, April the 29th, 1808, that previously to the French Revolution, *four hundred and seventy-eight* students were educated on the Continent* for the catholic priesthood of Ireland; and of these, *four hundred and twenty-six* received gratuitous support; but it was remarked on the same occasion, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, from having been secretary for Ireland, was acquainted with these matters, that most of those persons received priest's orders before they went abroad, and that about *three hundred* of them supported themselves, by the exercise of their functions as priests. On the breaking out of the French Revolution, the education of the catholic priesthood naturally arrested the attention both of the catholic bishops, and of the government. The former viewed with concern the danger to their church which must result from the annual introduction of so many priests, imbued with sceptical opinions; and the latter saw with equal alarm the danger likely to flow from the introduction of foreign prejudices and republican opinions. In these circumstances the catholic bishops found the government ready to sanction the establishment of a college in Ireland for the education of their priesthood, a project to which Mr. Burke is said to have given the sanction of his high authority.

In 1793, a memorial was addressed to Mr. Pitt, signed by Dr. Troy, the then catholic archbishop of Dublin, Dr. O'Reilly, and other bishops, in which they begged for permission to found a college, and prayed for a charter, that their funds might be the better secured.† We believe that, at that time, no thought was entertained of the institution

* Hansard v. xi. p. 89.

† Sir Arthur Wellesley. Hansard v. xi. p. 89.

being either established, or supported at the public expense. But the wily bishops suggested to the government, that, if the college were founded by themselves, it would be under popular controul; whereas, if the government were to found it, they would direct it for loyal and useful ends. At that time, Ireland was in a state of extreme excitement; the nation was panting after liberty, but saw no hope of the realization of their desires, but in separation from England, and the establishment of republican institutions. The catholic committee, the precursor of the catholic association, consisted, according to Dr. McNevin, of 'immoveable republicans.' Under these circumstances, the catholic bishops, true to the policy of Rome, appeared before the world as the apostles of loyalty. In 1793, they came forward with a voluntary declaration of loyalty, and, in the same year, Dr. Troy, catholic archbishop of Dublin, with Dr. O'Reilly, and three other bishops, issued an admonition to the catholics, recommending allegiance to the king. In addition to these two manifestoes, Dr. Troy issued an address to the 'Defenders,' conjuring them to dissolve. They accordingly did dissolve, but only to pass into the deeper conspiracy of the 'United Irishmen.' The English government, who knew nothing of the secret movements of Dr. Troy were delighted, and looked upon him as the most loyal of men; and thinking that they had gained the bishops to the side of loyalty and British connection, gave their consent to the establishment of the college. In 1795, Dr. Hussey, whom Mr. Pitt had made his channel of communication with the catholic bishops, was sent over to Ireland, as Dr. McNevin says, 'to organise and frame the plan of education at Maynooth;' and we find, from an entry in the journals of the Irish House of Commons, (April 28th, 1795) that Mr. Thomas Hussey was ordered to attend the committee of the whole house, to whose consideration the bill for the establishment of the catholic college had been referred. This Dr. Hussey was so much trusted by Mr. Pitt that he was made the *first president* of Maynooth; but how worthy he was of that confidence, was amply proved by his conduct afterwards, by which he gave a notable warning to those ministers who seek to purchase loyalty by bribes. The establishment of Maynooth was intended as a bribe to secure the loyalty of the priests; and the increased grant now proposed by Sir Robert Peel, is designed for the same purpose; and we have no doubt will meet with a like return.

The first notice of the proposed Bill in the journals of the Irish House of Commons, is the following :—

‘ April 23rd, 1795.

‘ *Ordered*, that leave be given to bring in a bill for applying the sum of *ten thousand pounds*, granted to His Majesty, or part thereof, for establishing a college for the better education of persons professing the popish or Roman catholic religion, *and intended for the clerical ministry thereof*; and that the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pelham, and the honourable Mr. Stuart, do prepare and bring in the same.’

Upon this we remark, that the first motion of the legislature upon this subject was, to apply *ten thousand pounds* of the public money for establishing this college; and that the order given by the House was for the introduction of a Bill for the better education, not of laymen, but of priests. After the Bill had been read a second time, a petition of His Majesty’s catholic subjects of Ireland, whose names are thereunto subscribed on behalf of themselves and others, was presented to the House and read; setting forth *that they object to the appointment of trustees to regulate the course of studies,—that *that* should rest with the ‘Caput of the college itself, consisting of the principal and fellows,’—that *they* were likely to be most attentive, and most competent, and were most interested in the reputation and success of the college,—that in the university of Dublin candidates for fellowships were examined in public during four days—that the sizars also were elected after a public examination, at which all persons who presented themselves might be examined,—that these regulations were much to the honour of the Irish university, and ‘do very much promote and encourage learning, industry, piety, and good morals,’—that, by the bill, not only professors, but students were to be appointed by the trustees, without any examination being required,—that this would open a door for patronage and influence among the trustees, and for canvassing and caballing among candidates, which must prove injurious to the college,—that they also objected to the exclusion of protestants, and the sons of protestants from the college—that the youth of both religions might with advantage be instructed in the classics, &c., in the same institution, and afterwards live in peace and amity—that by a recent act of liberality on the part of the legislature, catholics and protestants were educated together in the university of Dublin—that they had hoped that the principle of separation and exclusion had been removed for ever, but that they feared that that principle was now likely to be revived and re-enacted.

The petition, of which we have stated the substance, was referred to the committee on the bill, but no alteration in it appears

* We give only the substance of the petition.

to have been made in consequence. The two chief objections of the catholics were to the exclusion of protestants, and the sons of protestants, from the college, and to the vesting the governing power in a body of trustees, appointed in the first instance under the Act itself. The former objection was not likely to have much effect on the protestant aristocracy of Ireland, who would not wish their sons to enjoy the privilege of a Maynooth education; and the latter was overcome by the appointment of a clear majority of catholic doctors in divinity as trustees, in addition to several catholic laymen.

After the house had been in committee on the Bill, notice was taken that its title differed from the leave given by the house for bringing in the same, the words of the order, '*and intended for the clerical ministry thereof*,' being omitted. The Bill was in effect, therefore, a Bill for the better education of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, without reference to their being intended for the priestly office, or not; and this appears to have been the altered intention of the government. Leave was, therefore, given that the said Bill should be withdrawn; the order of the 23rd of April, above quoted, was discharged; and a new Bill, with the same title as the former one, was immediately introduced, and read the first and second time, and committed, on the same day, the 30th of April.

Whether or not the Bill originally introduced contained any money clause, we are unable to say, but the Bill now before the house does not appear to have contained any clause applying the public money in aid of the establishment of the college. This is proved by the following entry in the journals of the house:—

' May 6, 1795.

' *Ordered*, That the committee of the whole house, to whom it is referred to take into consideration, a Bill for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion, be empowered to receive a clause for applying the sum of £8,000 (being part of £2,449,600 16s. 9½d. granted to His Majesty this session of parliament) *for the purposes of education*.'

The Bill, so amended, passed both houses, without a division; and, on the 5th of June, 1795, good King George the Third, who would have laid down his crown rather than grant his catholic subjects the enjoyment of their civil rights, gave his assent to a Bill, the object of which was, to keep up a constant supply of two thousand priests to teach the doctrines, which, in his coronation oath, he declared to be 'superstitious and idolatrous.'

Under this Act the College at Maynooth was established; and it is still in force, as well as two other statutes which have

been passed for the better government of the said college. But in order that we may show the more clearly the nature of the obligations which the legislature has undertaken, in the case of this institution, we shall now give a brief digest of these enactments, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article: and we confidently believe we shall be able to demonstrate that, consistently with a due regard to the public faith, that institution may now be left entirely to its own resources.

We shall take the first of these acts, under which the college was established, as our basis; and append to its several clauses those changes which the subsequent statutes have introduced.

The preamble to this Act (25th Geo. III. c. 21) is as follows;— ‘Whereas by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, and it is now become expedient that a seminary should be established for that purpose.’ It then proceeds to enact, that the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in Ireland, for the time being, together with the Earl of Fingall, Viscount Gormanstown, Viscount Kenmare, Sir Ed. Bellew, Bart., Richard Strange, Esq., Sir Thomas French, Bart., and eleven reverend ‘doctors in divinity,’ (O’Reilly, Troy, Bray, Egan, Plunkett, Mac Davett, Moylan, Tehan, Delany, French, and Hussey,) ‘and the persons to be hereafter elected, as by this Act is directed, *shall be trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining one academy*, for the education only of persons professing the Roman catholic religion; *and that the said trustees shall have full power and authority to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an academy* for the education of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, and to purchase and acquire lands, *not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds*, and to erect and maintain all such buildings as may be by the said trustees deemed necessary for the lodging and accommodation of the president, masters, professors, fellows, and students, who shall from time to time be admitted into, or reside in, such academy.’ (By the statute, 40th Geo. III. c. 85, entitled ‘An Act for the Better Government of the Seminary established at Maynooth, for the Education of Persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for amending the Laws now in force respecting the said Seminary,’ it is enacted (sect. 4) that the judges shall cease to be trustees, but that the other trustees, with their successors, shall continue trustees for the execution of the Act; and by the 48th Geo. III. c. 145,

s. 4, it is enacted that it shall be lawful 'for the trustees for the time being of the said college or academy, or any seven or more of them, to purchase and acquire lands, not exceeding in value the annual sum of one thousand pounds, exclusive of the value of the lands and premises held under the before-mentioned lease, from William Robert, late Duke of Leinster, and the buildings erected thereon, or hereafter to be erected, and used for the purposes of the said college or academy.'

Sect. 2. enacts, 'That any popish ecclesiastic may officiate in a chapel or building to be appointed for that purpose by any seven or more of the trustees.'

Sect. 3. enacts, 'That it shall and may be lawful for any seven or more of the trustees to appoint one president, and so many masters, fellows, professors, and scholars on the foundation, and ministers, servants and assistants of, and in the said academy, with such pensions, salaries, exhibitions, wages and allowances, as to them shall seem fit; and also to make such bye-laws, rules, regulations and statutes, for the government of the said academy, and for the education and government of all persons to be on the foundation thereof, or to be educated therein, and for the appointment and election of a president, masters, fellows, members and officers of the said academy, as to the trustees or any seven or more of them, shall seem meet; provided that the same shall not be contrary to law.'

Sect. 4. provides, 'That the bye-laws, &c., 'not affecting the exercise of the popish or Roman-catholic religion, and the religious discipline thereof,' shall be laid before the lord lieutenant, 'and shall be binding and valid,' unless disapproved by him within one month; and, by the 48th Geo. III., c. 85, s. 7, it is enacted, that all bye-laws, &c. to be hereafter made shall, in order to be valid, be approved by the Lord Lieutenant, and transcribed on parchment, signed by the president of the college and secretary of the trustees, and lodged in the office of the chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, and it is provided, that all such bye-laws *hereafter to be made* shall be valid, unless disapproved of within a month, 'and that until such disapprobation shall have been expressed, all such bye-laws, rules, regulations, and statutes *already made* shall be deemed valid and of full force.' By the 8th sect. it is enacted, that nothing in this Act is to extend to any bye-laws, &c. 'affecting the exercise of the Roman-catholic religion, or the doctrine or discipline, or worship thereof, within the said college or seminary.'

Sect. 5. enacts, that seven or more of the said trustees shall have 'the superintendance and visitatorial power over the said academy, and over all persons on the foundation, or educated therein.' But, by the 40th Geo. III., c. 85, s. 5, this power is

taken away from the trustees, and the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and their successors for the time being, in Ireland, together with the Earl of Fingall, Dr. O'Reilly and Dr. Troy are 'appointed visitors of the said college or seminary, with full visitatorial powers to superintend the same.' (s. 1.) By the 2nd sect. of the same statute, it is enacted, 'That the said visitors, or any three or more of them, shall once in every three years from the passing of this Act, visit the said college or seminary, and call before them the president, vice-president, professors, tutors, and all other members thereof, and the officers and servants of the said college or seminary, and diligently inquire into the government and management of the said college or seminary, and, if necessary, examine on oath every member thereof in all matters touching the management, government, and discipline of the same, or any violation of the statutes or ordinances which have been or shall be made for the admission of any member of the said college or seminary, or for the government and discipline of the same, and that the first visitation of the said college shall be held as aforesaid within twelve months after the passing of this Act.' The 3rd sect. enacts, that, in addition to the triennial visitations, the visitors shall make additional visitations whenever required by the warrant or order of the Lord Lieutenant; and provides 'that the authority of the said visitors shall not extend to or in any manner affect the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, or the religious doctrine or discipline thereof, within the said college or seminary, otherwise than as hereinafter is provided, and that in visiting the said college or seminary the said visitors shall judge and determine according to such bye-laws, rules, and regulations, as have been or shall be made for the government and discipline thereof, pursuant to the provisions of the said recited Act (40th Geo. III., c. 21) or of this Act respectively.' The 9th sect. enacts, 'That in all matters which relate to the exercise, doctrine, and discipline of the Roman-catholic religion, the visitatorial power over such college shall be exercised exclusively by such of the said visitors as are or shall be of the Roman-catholic religion, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the great seal, and of the three chief judges, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if they, or any of them, shall think proper to attend.' The 10th sect. enacts that, on the death of the Earl of Fingall, Dr. O'Reilly, or Dr. Troy, seven or more of the trustees shall, at their next meeting, elect a natural-born subject, being a Roman Catholic, as his successor; subject, however, to the approbation of the Lord

Lieutenant; 'so that there shall be a continual succession of these fit and proper persons professing the Roman-catholic religion, as visitors of the said college.'

The 6th sect. enacts, that the trustees shall assemble within a month after the passing of the Act, and make rules for their assembling in future; and that the acts of the majority of trustees 'so assembled at the said first meeting,' 'and of the trustees to be duly assembled at any future meeting,' 'shall be binding on, and be deemed the act of all the said trustees.'

The 7th sect. enacts, that any vacancies happening, by the death, removal, or resignation of a trustee, shall be filled up by the trustees electing a natural born subject to fill such vacancy.

The 8th sect. enacts, that no person shall act as a trustee, if he be a catholic, and that no person shall act as president, master, fellow, professor, teacher, tutor, or enjoy any place on the foundation, or be admitted into the college as a student, officer, or servant, until he shall have taken and subscribed the oath appointed by the 13th and 14th Geo. III., entitled, 'An Act to enable His Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him.'

The 9th sect. enacts, 'that it shall not be lawful to receive into, or instruct in the said academy, any person professing the protestant religion, or whose father professed the protestant religion; and that any president, master, professor, or teacher, who shall instruct any person in the said academy, professing the protestant religion, shall remain liable to such pains and penalties, as he would have been liable to, before the passing of this Act.'

The 10th sect. enacts, 'that any sum or sums of money, not exceeding *eight thousand pounds*, part of the said sum of £2,449,600 16s. 9½d. shall and may be issued and paid by the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any three or more of them, *towards establishing the said academy*.'

The 11th sect. enacts, that sums issued on the said account shall be paid to the trustees, and accounted for before the commissioners of imprest accounts.

The 6th sect. of the 40th Geo. III. c. 85, enacts, that the president of the college shall be approved by the Lord Lieutenant, and shall publicly make and subscribe an oath in the High Court of Chancery, that he will faithfully execute his office, enforce the bye-laws, &c, 'and that he will bear faithful and true allegiance, and to his utmost endeavours inculcate the duties of faithful and true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third and his successors, in every member of the said college, or seminary.'

The 11th sect. of the 40th Geo. III. c. 85, enacts, that the trustees may sue, and be sued, either at law or in equity, by and in the name of their secretary; and the 1st sect. of the 48th Geo. III. c. 145, enacts that it shall be lawful for the trustees 'to compromise and compound any suit or suits already commenced or hereafter to be commenced, relative to or concerning any property claimed by the said college or academy, or sought to be recovered from it,' on such terms as to them shall seem fit.

From this view of the law upon the subject, we think it will be evident to our readers, that the intention of the legislature was not permanently to maintain the college, but merely to legalise, and assist in its establishment. It was stated by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his place in Parliament, in the debate on the 29th of April, 1808, that '*When the Maynooth institution was first established, it was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse. The memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment prayed for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured.*'* Accordingly, the 25th Geo. III. was passed, which rendered the endowment of the institution lawful; and appointed trustees 'for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining' it. The trustees were empowered 'to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an academy,' and to purchase and acquire lands, not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds.' The entire government of the college was given up into the hands of twenty-one trustees, the majority of whom were catholic doctors in divinity, and most of them, we believe, were catholic bishops. The trustees were authorised to elect their own successors, with the single exception of the four judges; and, in the first instance, they were also the visitors of the college; whereas nothing can be more evident to our minds than that, if it had been intended that the college should be maintained at the public expense, the government would have retained the management in the hands of its own nominees. There can be no doubt that the legislature intended to assist in its establishment; and accordingly it granted in four years the sum of £35,000, to aid in the erection of the college; but as soon as a proposition was made for a grant, though only for one year, for the *maintenance* of the college, that proposition was rejected by the legislature.

We have seen already that the first grant was of the sum of eight thousand pounds '*towards establishing the said academy.*' In the succeeding year, 1797, the Irish House of

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates v. xi. p. 91.

Commons, came to the following resolution, in the committee of the whole house (See the Journals, 24th Feb.)

' Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee that a sum of £7000 be granted to the trustees appointed to carry into effect an Act passed last session for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman-catholic Religion, to enable them to build a seminary to contain two hundred persons under certain regulations.'

In the next year we find the following:—

' 25th Feb., 1797.

' Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of £10,000 be given to the trustees appointed to carry into effect an Act passed in the session of 1775, for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish, or Roman-catholic Religion, to enable them to complete the building of the catholic seminary at Maynooth, and for other purposes.'

In 1798, the resolution adopted was:—

' 1 March, 1798.

' Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of £10,302. 5s. be given to the trustees appointed to carry into effect an Act passed in the thirty-fifth year of His present Majesty's reign, for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion, to enable them to complete the building of the catholic seminary at Maynooth, and for other purposes.'

Up to the year 1799, the grants appear to have been voted with a view to assist in the establishment of the college; but in that year we find the following record in the journals of the Irish House of Commons, which we print verbatim.

' Feb. 16th 1799.

' A petition of the trustees appointed to carry into execution the Act of Parliament, entitled, ' An Act for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman-catholic Religion, ' was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that petitioners with profound gratitude acknowledge the munificent support granted them by the House, by which they have been enabled to give effect to the wise and liberal views of Parliament, in providing the necessary accommodation, and in every respect accomplishing the full establishment of the seminary, agreeably to the statements submitted to the House, that petitioners express their firm reliance on the benevolence of the House, and their strong hope that the institution entrusted to them, become now efficient, will be found to contribute to the general prosperity of the kingdom, by diffusing the blessings of morality and religion throughout a large portion of its inhabitants, among whom a more faithful attachment to government, and a more dutiful submission to the laws must be naturally looked for from the zealous exertions of instructors, who in the inculcation of these important duties must feel themselves urged by a strong impulse of gratitude to enforce and illustrate the general principles on which these duties are

founded; that petitioners have prepared an estimate of the *annual expenses of the full establishment of the seminary, amounting to the sum of £8,000*; and therefore praying the House to enable them to provide the said sum of £8,000, in order to defray the expenses of the full establishment, from the 25th of March, 1799, to the 25th of March, 1800.'

The above petition was referred to a committee, who, on the 22d of February, reported the following resolutions:

'1. *Resolved*, that it appears to this committee, that a sum of £1,383 15s. 10d. remains in the hands of the trustees unexpended of the grant of the last session.

'2. *Resolved*, that it appears to this committee, that the sum of £6,616 4s. 2d., together with the said sum of £1,383 15s. 10d., amounting in the whole to the amount of £8,000, is necessary for defraying the expenses of the said seminary for one year, to the 25th of March, 1800.

'3. *Resolved*, that it is the opinion of this committee, *that the petitioners deserve the aid of parliament*'

In Committee of Supply, on the 25th of February, 1799, the House resolved 'that a sum not exceeding £6,616 4s. 2d. be granted to His Majesty towards defraying the charge of the full establishment of the Roman-catholic Seminary for one year, to the 25th of March, 1800.'

A Bill to carry out that resolution was brought in, and passed the House of Commons, on the 5th of April; but, on being taken up to the House of Lords, *it was thrown out, on the motion for going into committee, by a majority of twenty-five to one*; and, it appears beyond a doubt, that during that year the college obtained no assistance from parliament. Thus the matter stood till the year of the Union, when the following entry occurs in the journals;

'February 25th, 1800.

'*Resolved*, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding £8,000, be granted to His Majesty towards defraying the charge of the full establishment of the Roman-catholic Seminary, for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1801.'

This is the first time the legislature made a grant for the maintenance of the college; and then only for one year. We confess, that in this vote we cannot see the solemn compact to maintain the college for ever, which has been appealed to so often. No engagement was entered into, no pledge was given, by the legislature, by which the national faith is pledged. There may have been a secret expression of the minister's intention; but even this has not been proved. An individual may pledge his faith by words or looks, and the faith so pledged is as binding, in the court of conscience, as the

most solemn compact into which man can enter. But we maintain that the legislature can be bound only by its own acts; and they must be proved, not by hear-say evidence, not by rumour, but by the indisputable evidence of facts and public documents. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech, in the debate on the address at the opening of parliament, not only assumes that an engagement had been entered into by the Irish parliament to maintain the existing college, but he asserts that, 'You are but acting in accordance with the originally implied and honourable engagement of the Irish parliament, *if you supply increased means of education for the ecclesiastics of the Romish church.*' A monstrous proposition for which there is no foundation, in fact or reason. To argue further upon this point, we hold to be superfluous; but that our readers may have the entire argument of the Prime Minister before them, we print his statement at full length:

'I will frankly state, on the first day of the session, that it is our intention to propose to parliament a liberal increase of the vote for the College of Maynooth. When, in opposition, I resisted a motion which was made for the purpose of taking from the College of Maynooth the allowance now annually granted to it, I stated then, that it appeared to me that an *engagement* was entered into by a parliament, exclusively protestant, to provide domestic education for the ecclesiastics of the Roman-catholic church. I do not think that *engagement* was necessarily fulfilled by a mere continuance of that nominal vote. I think the *engagement* was to supply the want of ecclesiastical education, by the foundation of a college for giving spiritual education in that country. And if the population be increased, or if the means of foreign education be diminished, I think you are but acting in accordance with the originally implied and honourable *engagement* of the Irish parliament, if you supply increased means of education for the ecclesiastics of the Romish church; and I beg to state, with equal distinctness, that we do not propose to accompany that increased vote by any regulations in respect to the doctrines or discipline of the church of Rome that can diminish the grace or favour of the grant.'

We are compelled to break off here, but shall continue the subject in our next number; by which time, probably, the Bill for the permanent maintenance of the college will have been laid before parliament, and the whole plan of the government relative to academical education in Ireland will have been developed. In the meantime, we earnestly implore our readers to be alive to the importance, the solemn and weighty importance, of this question. It is an unusual, an eventful crisis, at which we have arrived. The advocates of the national establishment have found that the days are gone by, when Protestant Ascendancy can be maintained in a free and

enlightened empire. In Ireland, the establishment is a system, not built upon, but opposed to, facts. It is a prodigious anomaly, like the gilded image of a despot in the temple of liberty. We assert it as our firm belief that the episcopal church of England and of Ireland, will consent to this unholy alliance with the church of Rome; and that the clergy of that united church, with comparatively a few noble exceptions, will not even protest against it. So feeble is her reliance on heaven, and so enamoured is she with the smiles and honours of earth, that she will consent, now that she can no longer maintain her exclusive possession of power, to share it with her ancient rival, whom she has frequently designated the Mother of Abominations.

In the meantime it is for dissenters to vindicate the truth, by an open, fearless and enlightened opposition to the measure contemplated. Our reliance, under God, is on them. Other auxiliaries will appear in the field, and they may possibly render some good service. But their position is so questionable, their reasonings are so inconclusive and contradictory, the view they take of the matter is so one-sided, and their whole course so palpably open to the suspicion of other motives than are compatible with a simple-hearted devotion to the truth, that we cannot regard with complacency, or take part in, many things which they say or do. Against much that was recently uttered at Exeter Hall we feel bound to protest, and marvel that any nonconforming minister could consent to be heard in that meeting, without expressing in clear and decided terms his dissent from the views which were broached. We must take our own ground, deliberately and firmly take it, eschewing on the one hand the pseudo-liberalism of our politicians, and on the other hand the factious and more than doubtful zeal of the established church. The ground to be taken is well expressed in the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the *British Anti-State Church Society*, which will be found in our advertising pages, and we earnestly exhort our readers to be prompt, vigorous and determined in their measures. We have it in our power to defeat the measure. The question is, whether that power will be duly exercised. For a reply we wait the course of events, being now reluctantly compelled to close our remarks till next month.

Brief Notice.

A Body of Divinity : wherein the Doctrines of the Christian Religion are explained and defended : being the substance of several Lectures on the Assembly's Larger Catechism. By Thomas Ridgeley, D.D. A new edition, revised, corrected, and illustrated with Notes, by the Rev. John M. Wilson. In two volumes. pp. 647, 666. Glasgow. A. Fullarton & Co.

'BODY of Divinity'—'Catechism'! We can fancy some of our readers surprised at the words, and looking up as if in expectation of the entrance of a ghost. These are things that belong rather to a past age than the present, and will be naturally left behind in the advancement of the church to her full perfection. Yet we are not prepared to condemn such things. They have their advantages as well as disadvantages. They may be used well by those who know how to use them. And to such, and while the church is in anything like its present state, we can safely and warmly recommend the volumes before us.

Dr. Ridgeley was a man of considerable note in his day. He became, in 1695, pastor of an Independent church, at the Three Cranes, near Thames Street, where he continued about forty years. In 1712, he succeeded Dr. Chauncy, who was the first tutor of the oldest Independent College in the kingdom, now known as Homerton College. He took a prominent and active part in the controversies occasioned by the revival of Arianism. To his zeal for orthodoxy, when assailed with no common vigour, we owe his 'Body of Divinity,' the substance of which was probably delivered to his theological pupils. It was well received, obtained flattering commendations, met with a rapid sale, and made its author Doctor of Divinity. We think the lectures fully entitled to the praise of Drs. Bogue and Bynnett,—'They display soundness of judgment, extensive learning, and an intimate acquaintance with the sacred oracles. That he was a Calvinist, when we have mentioned his connexions, need scarcely be told ; but he differs, in several instances, from their commonly-received opinions, and discovers a freedom of thought which shows a man determined to explain the Scriptures for himself.'

The present edition is by far the most valuable that has been published. The pains taken by the editor are beyond all praise. He might have almost written a body of divinity with less trouble than he has expended on the getting up of this edition. We have, for the first time, a short Life of the author ; more than a hundred notes, making a book of themselves, and written with judgment and shrewdness, and in a spirit of perfect independence ; and innumerable alterations of a verbal character, required by the style of his author. We have, altogether, seldom seen an old work got up by publisher and editor in a more thoroughly respectable manner ; and if, as some think, the taste for old divinity is increasing, we do not imagine the claim of Dr. Ridgeley can be denied, or will be neglected.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Biblical Cabinet. Commentary on the Psalms. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Vol. 1. Translated by the Rev. P. Fairbairn, Minister at Salton; and the Rev. J. Thompson, A. M., Minister at Leith.

The Cottager's Sabbath, and other Poems. By John Hurrey.

The Law of Christ for maintaining and extending his Church. By the Rev. David Young, D.D., of Perth.

A complete Treatise of Practical Geometry and Mensuration, with numerous Exercises. By James Elliot. Key to ditto. By James Elliott.

Studies in English Poetry, with short Biographical Sketches and Notes, explanatory and critical, intended as a Text Book for the higher classes in Schools, and as an Introduction to the Study of English Literature. By Joseph Payne.

Self Inspection. By the Rev. Denis Kelly, M. A.

Sabbath Evening Readings. First Series. By the Rev. Denis Kelly, M. A.

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Honourable Richard Hill, L.L.D., F.R.S., &c., &c., Envoy Extraordinary from the court of St. James to the Duke of Savoy, in the Reign of Queen Anne. From July 1703, to May 1706, supplemental to the History of Europe, and illustrative of the secret policy of some of the most distinguished Sovereigns and Statesmen, relative to the Spanish Succession; of the rights and liberties of the Vaudois, &c., &c. With autographs of many illustrious Individuals. Edited by the Rev. W. Blackley, B.A., Vols. 2.

Hebrew Dramas: founded on incidents of Bible History. By William Tennant, Professor of Oriental languages in the University of St. Andrews.

The Rationale of Religious Enquiry, or the question stated of reason, the bible, and the church; in six lectures. By James Martineau.

Impressions of America and the American Churches. From the Journal of the Rev. G. Lewis, one of the deputation of the Free Church of Scotland, to the United States.

The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, with a memoir of his life. By the Rev. Andrew Gunton Fuller. Parts 2 and 3.

A Family History of Christ's Universal Church. By the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D. Part 3.

The Biblical Repository, and Classical Review. Edited by John Holmes Agnew.

The Kingdom of Christ not of this World. An Introductory Discourse delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. T. Davis, of Maidenhead. By John H. Godwin.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Part V.

Knight's Books of Reference. Political Dictionary. Part IV.

The Young Ladies' Reader; or, Extracts from Modern Authors. Adapted for Educational or Family use, &c. By Mrs. Ellis.

Bible Illustrations. A description of Manners and Customs peculiar to the East; especially explanatory of the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. B. H. Draper. 4th Edition; Revised by John Kitto.

The Conchologist Text Book; embracing the arrangements of Le Marck, Linnæus, &c. 6th Edition. By Wm. Macgillivray.

Diary of Travels in France and Spain. Chiefly in the year 1844. By the Rev. Francis French. 2 Vols.

The Constitution of Apostolical Churches, or Outlines of Congregationism: with two Addresses suited to the Times. By J. Spencer Pearsall.

The Modern Orator. The Speeches of the Earl of Chatham.

Impression of Australia Felix, during four years residence on that colony. Notes of a Voyage round the World. Australian Poems, &c. By Richard Howitt.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1845.

- Art. 1. *The New Statute and Mr. Ward.* By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and Professor of English Literature, King's College, London.
2. *Thoughts on the Rule of Conscientious Subscription.* By ditto.
3. *The Proposed Degradation and Declaration.* By G. Moberly, D. C. L., Head Master of Winchester College.
4. *Heads of Consideration on the case of Mr. Ward.* By the Rev. J. Keble, late Fellow of Oriel College.
5. *Oxford: Tract 90: and Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church, a Practical Suggestion, &c.* By the Rev. W. S. Bricknell, M. A., of Worcester College, and one of the Oxford City Lecturers.
6. *Subject of Tract 90 Historically Examined.* By the Rev. F. Oakeley, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Prebendary of Lichfield, and Minister of Margaret Chapel, St. Mary-le-bone.
7. *M.D.CCC.XLV, the Month of January, Oxford.* By W. Winstanley Hull, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, late Fellow of Brasenose College.
8. *A Letter to the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford, &c.* By A. C. Tait, D.C.L., Head Master of Rugby School, late Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.
9. *Case of the Proposed Degradation and Declaration, on the Statute of Feb. 13.* Submitted to Sir J. Dodson, Knt., Queen's Advocate, and R. Bethell, Esq., Q. C.

10. *The University, the Church, and the New Test.* By the Rev. J. Garbett, Prebendary of Chichester, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.
11. *An Address to Members of Convocation, in Protest against the proposed Statute.* By the Rev. W. G. Ward, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.
12. *The Oxford Chronicle.*

THE above are but a small selection from a host of pamphlets and other productions of the press, which, as soon as the intentions of the Hebdomadal Board, in the case of Mr. Ward, were announced, entered in rapid succession the arena of controversy. Every week witnessed the arrival of new literary forces; and as the meeting of convocation drew near, the intensity of the approaching strife became more strongly apparent. Oxford was evidently to be the scene and the centre of a most unusual excitement. Within the walls of those venerable structures which, in their silent majesty seem the very personification of contemplative calmness, how many a learned head was full of anxious thought, how many a heart was palpitating with anticipation and doubt as to the result of the thirteenth of February ensuing; while the tables of the common rooms were groaning beneath the weight of Appeals, Warnings, and Considerations, addressed to the members of convocation. Even the light-hearted under-graduates ventured an excursion now and then into the regions of thought, and exchanged their sentiments with others of their order with a seriousness quite unusual. The citizens, also, forgetting that hereditary awe which university Brahminism inspires, took an unwonted interest in the ecclesiastical struggle, and not only discussed pretty freely the merits of the controversy, but chose their side, and favoured, at least with their ardent wishes, one or other of the great belligerent parties. But the interest in the proceedings against Mr. Ward was not confined to 'the city of palaces'; the pulsations of this central heart were felt more or less throughout Europe; there was not, we imagine, a zealous supporter of the papacy, nor a thoughtful protestant, between the Ganges and the Isis, whom tidings of this case had reached, who felt uninterested in its issue.

But why should the proceedings of a literary and theological body towards one of its own members create so general a sensation? What had the community at large to do with the charge of broken faith, and the loss of academical honours? So, without doubt, thought many while they were pursuing their secularities, or working out their professional vocations, and so, as certainly, thought many a German, who casually

heard of the theological disputes between the ecclesiastical authorities, and the monk of Erfurth. Were the case to which we now refer of an isolated kind, were its consequences limited to Mr. Ward, it might pass by, as do university proceedings in general, without exciting interest or inviting comment. But it is only an outward symptom of morbid action throughout a vast system, one single indication of the approaching war of elements, the extent and the consequences of which no sagacity can foresee. Mr. Ward, has, like many a knight of the olden time of high and ardent chivalry, stepped forth from the ranks, and, reckless of danger, has thrown down his gauntlet in the face of a formidable array of hostile power; but he stands not alone; besides his shield-bearer Mr. Oakeley, there is a host, many of whom may blame his temerity, and would have preferred the counsels of the πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς of Littlemore, who are nevertheless banded in the same cause, and prepared for the great conflict. It may, indeed, be regarded as an affair of advanced posts, but such partial collisions frequently are the prelude to a general engagement. We must therefore regard this demonstration, not merely as an affair personal to Mr. Ward; we must look at it not merely in this single point; to estimate its value, we must take a wider range, a more comprehensive view.

It was early in 1833 that a few Oxford divines, deeply imbued with the love of ecclesiastical antiquarianism, and seriously alarmed at the position of the English church and the aspect of the times, met to exchange their sympathies in mutual condolence, and, if possible, to concert measures to meet the present exigency. A tide of popular opinion, unfavourable to the high pretensions and the exclusive spirit of the Church of England, had set in. The Act of Catholic Emancipation had passed, which removed civil disabilities on the ground of religious opinion, from a large portion of British subjects. The Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed, and the way to civic honours was thus opened to dissenters. A liberal ministry was at the head of the government. Ten bishoprics had been taken from the overgrown hierarchy of the Irish church. The Reform Bill had been carried, and a parliament was now convened, in which the spirit of reform was more active than was desired, even by the ministry themselves. Ecclesiastical abuses were denounced. The utility of bishops in the house of peers was questioned. A revision of the liturgy was suggested. The admission of dissenters into the national universities even passed the House of Commons; and searching inquiries, with a view to further reforms both in church and state, were proposed. All these things were considered ominous by a considerable

portion of the clergy, and consternation at once alarmed and paralysed them. It was at this conjuncture that the Oxford agitation commenced, and the addresses circulated by a small, but spirited band of men, fell like a spark on combustible matter. 'One of the first results of this movement, was,' according to the statement of the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, 'the clerical address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by, (I think,) about 7000 of the clergy; and another was, the lay declaration of attachment to the church, signed by upwards of 230,000 heads of families.' (A Collection of Papers, &c., pp. 11, 12.) One of the principal doctrines which it was agreed at a meeting at Oxford to put forward with prominence and zeal, was that of the 'Apostolic succession, as a rule of practice, which is thus laid down':—

'(1.) That the participation of the body and blood of Christ is essential to the maintenance of Christian life and hope in each individual.

'(2.) That it is conveyed to individual Christians *only* by the hands of the successors of the apostles and their delegates.

'(3.) That the successors of the apostles are those who are descended in a direct line from them by the imposition of hands; and that the delegates of these are the respective presbyters whom each has commissioned.' (Collection, &c., p. 12.)

This doctrine, which had been long regarded as a mere obsolete notion, was now circulated with assiduity, and inculcated with great earnestness; it was too flattering to episcopal dignity to be frowned on by the bishops, the clergy eagerly seized it as ministering to their importance; even the evangelical clergy to a considerable extent caught the bait, and among the laity of the high church party, it was thought no small boast that *they* belonged to a church, whose ministers were descended from the apostles, and whose sacraments were the only channels of grace.

In order to further these, and other 'church principles' of the new school, a new catechism, or an addition to the old one, was drawn up, and most widely circulated, under the title of '*The Churchman's Manual; or Questions and Answers on the Church, on Protestant and Romish Dissenters, and Socinians*;' in which, while exclusive privileges are claimed for the national clergy as the only authorized teachers of religion, and the dispensers of God's grace to men, the people are cautioned against those intruders, who, whatever may be their success, may be as great impostors as Mahomet, and whatever their apparent piety, may fear the doom of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. But the most effective means employed, in addition to oral commu-

nications, which all were expected earnestly to employ, was that series of publications called Tracts for the Times. These were produced in quick succession, and gradually unfolded a system but little short of popery itself. Tradition was placed side by side with the scriptures, the right of private judgment was denounced, ascetic practices were inculcated, the sacraments administered by the clergy were the only channels of God's grace; and one after another almost all the peculiarities of Romanism came out. Some blamed unguarded expressions, while numbers, especially of the younger clergy, and the undergraduates at the Universities, became increasingly ripened towards full blown Romanism. All obsolete customs connected with 'the good old times of ghostly ignorance' were sought after, and in good measure revived. Books of devotion were printed with red lines, letters were dated according to the saint's-day or the holy feast, crosses were had in great request, fasting according to the rules of Rome, and other penances for the soul's health became general; and onwards the movement went, and its motto might have been '*crescit eundo.*' Publications in favour of church principles and tractarian theology inundated the kingdom; the press was engaged in almost every way to aid its progress; reviews, periodicals of every kind, weekly and daily journals, sermons and novels, Keble's Christian Year, and Neale's ballads, all were employed in their respective vocations as auxiliary to this movement in the direction of Rome.

It was seen after some time, and that by church and university authorities, whither all this was tending; but as one of its patrons wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, it was gone too far for a mere check; the pulpits in almost every town of England were ringing with it—the colonies of Great Britain in every part of the globe were infected with it; every succeeding generation of undergraduates was exposed to its action, and yearly did the sons of our aristocracy leave their studies impregnated with this more than semi-Romanism, and some of them from time to time joined the church of Rome. Many of the bishops saw now that things were going in a direction which created some apprehension, but it was difficult to stop the current. The Bishop of Oxford had either not perception to discover, or courage to oppose, the tendencies of the new movement. Subject as he was to the constant influences of minds stronger than his own, and disliking evangelical religion himself, he had neither the will nor the power to prevent its progress. In his charge, in 1842, he spoke indeed of some who were proceeding injudiciously and rashly, but his commendations of the party were strong and hearty,

whilst his censure was of the mildest and the most inefficient kind. So strong were the adherents of the new theology in the university, that scarcely any had the power to withstand them, or the courage to rebuke them. A very large proportion of the tutors were also more or less imbued with the same Romish theology. In such circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at, that the tractarian leaders became bolder and bolder, and approximated nearer and nearer towards Romish doctrine and Romish practice. It was openly declared that the church of England must be unprotestantized, and one who holds a fellowship at Magdalene College, since known by the name of cursing Palmer, in a pamphlet, published under the very eyes of the university, anathematized all things protestant at home and abroad, not excepting the church of England, if that must be considered protestant.

By this time many belonging to the university of Oxford became so saturated with Romanism, that they felt their position as members of the church of England very embarrassing; and especially did it appear perplexing to them how, with their Roman catholic belief, they could conscientiously sign the Thirty-nine Articles, or continue in the enjoyment of advantages and emoluments which were possessed on their presumed adherence to these Articles. To relieve the minds of such, and, as it was afterwards acknowledged by the author of Tract 90, to prevent their withdrawing from the church of England, and uniting themselves with a church the doctrines and practices of which they approved and admired, a way was ingeniously shewn how they might expound the Thirty-nine Articles, so as to make them perfectly compatible with the Tridentine decrees. This was the production of Mr. Newman, the master-spirit of the whole movement; the original expedient was that of the Jesuit Sancta Clara, but as wrought out and applied by Mr. Newman, it was perhaps as clever, as acute, and as dishonest a piece of casuistry as the world ever saw. Throughout the kingdom it produced, from all whose moral sensibilities had not been impaired by strong party feeling, one simultaneous burst of surprise and indignation.

Will nothing now be done to check the movement? Can no power be brought to bear on such dishonesty? Must this moral poison be allowed to taint the very fountains of literature and theology? Something is indeed done; but every attempted check proves feeble and ineffective. A war of pamphlets ensues, in which Mr. Ward first distinguishes himself as an avowed champion of tractarianism, ready to do battle in defence of Mr. Newman and his opinions. The bishop of the diocese and the authorities of the university are loudly called on to inter-

pose their influence; the former in a mild and gentle manner, more apparently for the sake of peace than from any strong disapprobation of the opinions advanced in the Tracts,* requests or advises his friend to discontinue them; on the part of the latter, the Hebdomadal Board, now for the first time lifting up its voice in this controversy, issues the following declaration.

After recounting the statutes requiring subscription, and referring to Tract 90,—

‘Resolved, that the modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling the subscription to them, with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.

Delegates’ Room, March 15, 1841.

P. WYNTER, Vice-chancellor.’

But the movement goes on, unobstructed by these proceedings. Dr. Hampden, the Regius Professor, almost the only man in the university who, from his station, his talents, and his learning, might have made head against it, was in a great measure crippled and paralyzed through the prejudice which the Newman and Pusey party had, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and a disingenuousness disgraceful to any cause, succeeded in raising against him, and which issued in the cruel and unjust measures which were sanctioned by convocation. An attempt has since been made by the same authorities who introduced these measures to repair the mischief, but their well-meant efforts were unsuccessful, and the stigma was not removed. Still the Regius Professor was able to make a firm stand, in the case of Macmullen, and, after a long struggle, to succeed, in establishing his right to give theses to the candidate for the degree of B. D., by which the Romanist was compelled to bring out his sentiments on the Eucharist and tradition, and so lost his degree.

The condemnation of Dr. Pusey’s sermon on the Eucharist, by the six doctors appointed by the vice-chancellor, was rather a temporary mortification than any severe check to the tractarian movement. It still gathered strength and increased

* We understand that two sons and two nephews of the Bishop of Oxford, together with the bishop’s chaplain, who is an ultra tractarian, subsequently signed the address to the proctors, thanking them for interposing their veto to prevent the condemnation of Tract 90, in the convocation of the 13th of February. The Oxford Chronicle, which has been all along a close and shrewd observer of the movements of tractarianism, observes that, “Mr. Newman rules Dr. Pusey, Dr. Pusey rules Archdeacon Clarke, and he and the bishop’s chaplain rule the bishop.”

in activity. In various parts of the kingdom, alterations were made in the decorations and services of the churches, to assimilate both as nearly as possible to the Romish pattern. A vigorous attempt was also made to prevent the election of Dr. Symons to the vice-chancellorship of the university, in consequence of the part he had taken in the condemnation of Dr. Pusey's sermon, which, though unsuccessful, produced such an exhibition of strength and determination as might well render any future vice-chancellor, till they should obtain one of their own stamp, careful how he incurred their displeasure.

By this time, such had been the progress of the Romanizing system in the university of Oxford, that at least one half of the tutors were believed to be more or less under its influence. And in these circumstances it was that Mr. Ward's book on the 'Ideal of a Christian Church' was published, which occasioned the memorable struggle to which the works at the head of this article refer, and the full effects of which none can calculate. One object of Mr. Ward in thus writing was to vindicate the highly Romanizing articles of the British Critic from the animadversions of Mr. Palmer, himself one of the earliest and most active of the Oxford agitators; but its principal design seems to have been to bring the contested point of holding the doctrines of the Roman catholic church, while subscribing the articles of the English church, to an issue. Though the heads of houses had formally expressed an opinion condemning the mode of subscription advocated by Tract 90, their decision was set at nought by the tractarian party, and the venerable board itself was spoken of in no very measured terms of indignation and contempt. The question, it was declared, was still open. The holding of Romish doctrines had not been declared incompatible with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles by any ecclesiastical or university authority, to which they were bound to defer. This work, then, was a fearless challenge, distinct and loud, sent ringing into the ears of the university, which was dared to take it up. The Reformation which made the church of England what it is, was branded with infamy, and treated with indignant scorn. The reformers in which the church had been accustomed to glory, and some of whom had as martyrs sealed their testimony against popish errors with their blood,* were represented as unprincipled innovators, the church itself was described as dishonoured, degraded, and deprived of the most valuable aids to devotion by separation from the church of Rome; and her return, with humble submission and dutiful obedience, was a consummation devoutly to be wished.

* Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were burnt in Oxford, and just in the front of Mr. Ward's college.

This was, indeed, an adventurous step, the straight forward and manly bearing of which none could question, though of its prudence and policy a considerable portion of the tractarian host had serious doubts. But a bold stroke often succeeds, where the cunning of artifice fails. Deeds of high daring, rash and reckless as they may be deemed by more cautious spirits, frequently intimidate opposition, throw confusion into the ranks of the enemy, and inspire the more feeble of their own party with an enthusiasm to follow on where bravery leads. Such was the strength of Mr. Ward's party, their spirit and energy were so well known, so little discouragement had they received from high quarters, and such was the critical state of things in the church itself, that any decisive measures against this party would be apparently attended with so much danger as to render it highly probable that the university would decline any effective interference; and should this be the case, the great point would be gained, silence would be construed as consent, whether willingly or reluctantly given, the university might be filled by those who had embraced 'the whole cycle of Roman doctrine,' who might go on unmolested with their work of un-protestantizing, till either the church of England should become a kind of minor papacy, or be reconciled to the church of Rome, and again received into her maternal bosom, as a somewhat profligate, but at length, penitent daughter. But so startling and alarming was this daring movement of the coadjutor of Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, that numerous and strong appeals were made to the vice-chancellor on the imminent danger which now threatened the protestant establishment, and the necessity of adopting some decisive measures to meet the present exigency. Accordingly the Hebdomadal Board met on the 13th of December, and announced their resolutions, which, as they have been copied in most of the journals, and our space is limited, we need not here repeat further than to say, that, after selecting several passages from his book, condemning in strong terms the English reformation, extolling the church of Rome, from which the church of England had sinfully departed, and to which it should return with deep repentance, declaring that the spirit and teaching of the Articles and the Prayer Book were 'absolutely contradictory,' that it is by divorcing the 'dry wording of the Articles from their natural spirit' that 'an orthodox believer' accepts them, and that thus 'their *primâ facie* meaning is evaded, and the artifice of their inventors thrown back in recoil on themselves; that though the 'XIIth Article is as plain as words can make it on the evangelical side, its natural meaning may be explained away,' and that he himself 'subscribes it in a non-natural sense,' rejoicing that he finds 'the

whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English churchmen,' and declaring that he said plainly three years ago, that in subscribing the Articles he renounced no one Roman doctrine.' After producing these extracts, the propositions which were now to be submitted to the house of convocation, on the 13th of February, 1845, were stated; these were to condemn Mr. Ward's sentiments, to deprive him of his degree, and to procure in future a *bond fide* subscription.

Before we proceed, a few words on the constitution and government of the University of Oxford, as far as the proceedings against Mr. Ward are concerned, may not be superfluous. This university comprises nineteen colleges and five halls, each of which, with its principal, master, warden, or provost, its vice-principal, &c., and its fellows, tutors, and other officers, has its separate jurisdiction. Everyone who enters any college or hall, has, at his matriculation, to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles. On taking a degree, he has again to subscribe these articles, and also the three articles mentioned in the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, in the presence of the proctors. The chief officer of the university is the chancellor, who, with considerable powers, is chosen for life. The vice-chancellor, however, who is head of one of the colleges, performs the principal duties of the office, and though annually elected, generally retains office for four years. The laws by which the university is governed, are a body of statutes, which the convocation may, to a certain extent, alter or amend from time to time. A weekly council is held, called the Hebdomadal Board, consisting of the vice-chancellor, the heads of houses, and the two proctors, who are annually chosen from the colleges and halls in rotation. This board alone has the initiative power in all proceedings in convocation, which is composed of the heads of colleges and halls, or their deputies; the doctors in divinity, medicine, and civil law; professors, and lecturers, with certain limitations; and masters of arts whose names have been kept on the books of some college or hall: these, when assembled together, form the House of Convocation, under the presidency of the chancellor, or his deputy, the vice-chancellor. The proceedings, except by special permission, are all in Latin. A majority of the house, or the chancellor or vice-chancellor alone, or the proctors alone, may negative any proposed decree; but no party in convocation has power to originate a measure, or to propose an alteration or amendment.

As the university authorities deemed it incumbent on them to meet the case, they proposed to deal with it in the only way which appeared fairly open to them, and to treat Mr. Ward not as a theological, but a moral delinquent. They charged him,

therefore, as one of their body, with a breach of faith, with holding his station in the university by subscribing articles which he did not believe, and openly maintaining errors which they are most evidently intended to condemn. No sooner are these resolutions of the Hebdomadal Board made public, than a storm of pamphlets rages. Week after week, and almost day after day, some new messenger of the press claims a hearing from the vice-chancellor or the members of convocation; some come forward to justify the members of the board, and to cheer them onwards in their work; but by far the greater number dissuade, threaten, denounce, and prophecy all manner of evils to church and state, if the proposed measures should be carried. There were, as we have seen, three distinct propositions to be submitted to convocation; the first, that a declaration should be made, on evidence furnished by Mr. Ward's book, that he had broken faith with the university; the second, that he should be deprived of those degrees, which it was considered he had forfeited by his violated engagement; and the third was, that the statute respecting subscription should be so amended as to give additional security for a fair and honest subscription, by rendering prevarication almost impracticable. All these measures were attacked by some, the second and third by many more, and the third by not a few who approved of the others. Among the combatants of this field were, Mr. Oakeley, determined, if possible, to save his friend or to share his danger, who endeavoured to prove historically the hypocrisy of the compilers of the Articles, by shewing that, however apparently they condemned the tenets and practices of Rome, it was intended that papists, by signing them should gain access to the church, with its honours and emoluments;—Mr. Keble, who protests against the proceedings as being 'unfair and cruel in themselves,' and 'likely to be ruinous under our present circumstances';—Dr. Moberley, head master of Winchester college, who ridicules the Hebdomadal Board as a set of noodles, incapable of writing with either sense or grammar, but in their own bungling manner determining to do what is neither legal, nor just, nor wise;—the Rev. F. D. Maurice, professor of literature in King's College, London, who, though condemning Mr. Ward's opinions and practice, deprecates his trial before a tribunal comprising 'a miscellaneous mob of gentlemen from London clubs and country parsonages';—and Mr. Winstanly Hull, barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who while admitting that 'Mr. Ward has broken faith with the university, and what is of far more consequence, broken also his ordination vow,' condemns the proposed measures, and would have the case carried before some ecclesiastical tribunal, and treated theologically. These are some of the principal, though

but a few of those who took part against the proceedings of the Hebdomadal Board. On the other hand, Mr. Garbett, professor of poetry in the university, advocates at some length, and with considerable warmth and power, the whole of the measures ;— Mr. Bricknell, one of the Oxford city lecturers, strongly urges the board to go forward ; and Dr. Tait, head master of Rugby school, in a very lucid manner, supports the first and second propositions, but dissuades from the third. In addition to these, a case, drawn up by the friends of Mr. Ward, with much ingenuity, and submitted to Sir J. Dodson, Queen's advocate, and R. Bethell, Esq., Q.C., together with the opinion of these gentlemen, is published, who decide that 'The House of Convocation has not the power of depriving Mr. Ward of his degrees in the manner or on the grounds proposed ;' that 'the court of Queen's Bench would, by mandamus, compel the university to restore Mr. Ward to his degrees ;' and that the 'new sense' which is to be annexed to subscription, 'is contrary to law, which requires the clerical subscribers to take the Articles in their literal and grammatical sense.' But other counsel having been consulted on the part of the university authorities, an opposite opinion is obtained, which decides that 'the university has the power to degrade,' in such circumstances ; and that 'the extracts set forth in the notice contain sufficient cause to justify the House of Convocation, as representing the university, in coming to a decision on the subject, with a view to the degradation of Mr. Ward.' This opinion had the sanction of Sir F. Thessiger, solicitor-general, Sir C. Wetherall, Messrs. J. Addams, and J. Cowling.

As to the points of law which have been raised respecting the competency of the tribunal appointed to decide on Mr. Ward's case, we confess we feel but very little interest ; but as lookers on, we are in a favourable position to form an opinion on the moral part of the question. The most direct and natural mode of treating such a case, would seem to be by an ecclesiastical proceeding ; Mr. Ward, being by his own confession a Roman catholic in principle, while enjoying the emoluments of a protestant establishment, and sustaining the office of minister in a protestant church, should, in all fairness and honesty, be compelled to relinquish those emoluments, and to resign that office, to say nothing of the inconsistency of his remaining a member of a community, to the founders of which, and to their principles, he professes a 'burning hatred.' But unhappily, in the church of which Mr. Ward is a member, secular and spiritual concerns are so mixed up and confounded together, that we know of no mode of proceeding which could have been adopted by any ecclesiastical authority, of which, as conscientious be-

lievers in the New Testament, we could have approved. It would have been more accordant with our sense of justice, and with the views we entertain of the qualifications which literary degrees should designate, had Mr. Ward been deprived of his fellowship, and his ministerial office, and allowed to go over to the church of his devout affection and admiration, with 'all his blushing honours thick upon him.' But the Hebdomadal Board were not at liberty to follow out their own notions of equity; they were, to a certain extent, bound by statutes; the university had been openly challenged to take up the case, or to allow judgment to go by default in favour of signing protestant articles in a popish sense; and, observes Dr. Tait, 'as the bishops of our church seemed unwilling to move in the case, the thanks of the community are due to the heads of houses in Oxford, for taking upon themselves the odium and trouble of this most painful conflict.' (Letters to the Vice-chancellor, p. 9.)

The points at issue between the university authorities and Mr. Ward, and on which the House of Convocation had to decide, were these: they aver that he has broken faith with the university, by abjuring the very doctrines, the declared belief of which was a necessary condition of his obtaining and enjoying certain academical advantages; and that therefore the representatives of the university ought to deprive him of these advantages. Mr. Ward's advocates deny the charge advanced, and denounce the punishment proposed. As to the kind of punishment, we have already stated our doubts whether it is of the most appropriate character; but considering the nature of the delinquency, we cannot pronounce it severe. The conduct of Mr. Ward and his associates appears to us to exhibit insincerity so gross and palpable, to be such a sacrifice of truth and honesty to expediency, that every upright mind not bewitched and fascinated by 'the mother of abominations,' must regard it with the deepest reprobation.

And what is it which the advocates of this tortuous policy, this jesuitical craft, this double-faced theology, plead in defence of such conduct? It is curious to know by what process these tractarian Rosicrucians propose to convert falsehood into truth, deceit into sincerity, and earthly cunning into heavenly wisdom. The following are some of the manipulations which become apparent; whether there may not be others hidden from the observation of the uninitiated in the dark recesses of mental reservation, it is not for us to say. 1. The 'natural spirit,' of an article, unfavourable to Roman catholicism, is separated from its 'dry wording,' so that the real meaning of the words, by a kind of dissolving view, strangely disappears, and something essentially different rises on the same canvass. Every proposition which is difficult to be managed, like 'the ob-

ject in the pantomime touched by the wand of harlequin, undergoes a complete and sudden transformation, to the surprise of all beholders, and thus, *mirabile dictu*, affirmations deny, censures commend, and prohibitions the most absolute give unbounded license. This wonderful art, almost sunk into desuetude, was, after the lapse of ages, revived by the far-famed monk of Littlemore, and by him taught to his disciples, and to none with more success than to the author of the Ideal of a Church. And thus adroitly does the fellow of Balliol apply it; the articles 'breathe an uniform intelligible spirit;' yet, unhappily this spirit is not different merely from an 'orthodox,' that is a Roman catholic spirit, but is 'absolutely contradictory' to it. By the admirable dexterity of the operator, however, the offensive spirit is evaporated, the '*prima facie* meaning is evaded, and all the protestantism having been extracted out of the dry words, such a spirit is infused into them that the pope himself need not hesitate to sign them.

2. By a process very similar, the difficulty connected with 'the natural meaning' of an article may be easily removed. Instead of the 'natural,' that is the true and proper 'sense,' a 'non-natural,' that is, a forced and false 'sense' may be put on it. The article is still signed '*in a sense*,' it matters not however contrary to nature and reason. For instance, 'the twelfth article,' as Mr. Ward acknowledges, is 'as plain as words can make it, on the evangelical side,' but, by his dexterity, away goes all 'its natural meaning,' '*explained away*,' and it is signed in a 'non-natural' sense; that is, in a sense exactly opposite to its meaning; Mr. Ward's conscience is satisfied, and 'Brutus is an honourable man.'

3. The reformers, and the compilers of the Articles, it is said, were willing to include within the pale of the reformed church as many as could conscientiously sign these documents, though differing with themselves in some minor points. This is a piece of logical apparatus of great potency and convenience. It is no sooner applied, than forth comes this inference; these sagacious framers and compilers of articles, so anxious for uniformity, meant the very opposite of what their articles affirmed, or at least with a cunning, worthy of the Delphic responses, so contrived the wording of them that they might equally mean either of two things which are 'absolutely contradictory.' But alas, for the ingratitude of human nature; Mr. Ward cannot forget his 'burning hatred' to the Reformation, and all which pertains to it; instead, therefore, of being thankful, he turns on these men, some of whom, with all this supposed laxity of principle, were unaccountably willing to die for their opinions, and with a sardonic grin tells them how completely their own duplicity has 'recoiled on themselves.'

4. Another expedient to which these gentlemen have recourse, the difference between 'holding' doctrines and 'teaching' them. The Articles may be subscribed, while Roman doctrines are held in all their extent, providing the liberty of 'teaching' them is not assumed. Then of course such publications as those with which the kingdom has been deluged, from the pens of Dr. Pusey, Messrs. Newman, Keble, Oakeley, Ward, and Palmer of Magdalen, pregnant as they are with Romanism of every kind, inculcated in the most zealous and plausible manner, must not be called 'teaching;' the active diffusion of anti-Protestant opinions, by professors, by college tutors, by oral communication in daily intercourse, and by extensive epistolary correspondence, will not come under the charge of 'teaching.' It is taken for granted also that a minister's faith, has no necessary connection with his public labours, that it will not influence his preaching, that his head and heart may be completely saturated with Roman doctrines, without any of them ever coming out, that a man of zeal and warmth shall constantly keep in abeyance those very doctrines which he deems the life of his spirit, and longs above all things to see prevalent in the church. It is assumed, moreover, that it is perfectly consistent with ministerial responsibility, to withhold part of what is believed to be 'the whole counsel of God,' to keep back 'that which is profitable,' and from considerations of expediency, to allow the people, so far as public teaching is concerned, to remain in ignorance of saving truth, and to 'perish for lack of knowledge!'

We confess that to read such statements, to repeat such enormous fallacies, puts our patience to no ordinary test, that we feel towards these various apologies for dishonesty, an indignation which it is difficult to repress. A man of common integrity must we conceive be strangely destitute of feeling, who can see unmoved the majesty of truth thus insulted, the interests of morality thus betrayed, and deceit and guile so openly, and so unblushingly avowed. Amidst so much wordy discussion about the latitude of interpretation which the Thirty-nine Articles admit, and the constant repetition of their compatibility with 'the whole cycle of Roman doctrine,' the mind is in danger of being misled, and of losing sight in some measure of the utter repugnance of these two opposites; it may be of advantage, therefore, to see them in juxtaposition. We hope that such an exhibition of them in a few particulars may not be considered misplaced.

'We find, Oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight; we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English churchmen.'—*The Ideal, &c.*, p. 565.

'Three years have passed since I said plainly, that in subscribing the Articles, I renounced no one Roman doctrine.'—*Ibid*, p. 567.

WHAT IS SUBSCRIBED.

ART. X. *Of Free Will*.—'The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.'

ART. XI. *Of the Justification of Man*.—'We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works and deservings.'

'Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.'*

ART. XII. Declares:—'That good works are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith.'

ART. XIII. *Of Works before Justification*.—'Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God: we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.'

ART. XXII. 'The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.'

ART. XXV. 'There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of our Lord. Those five

WHAT IS BELIEVED.

Council of Trent: On Justification.

CANON V. 'Whosoever shall affirm that the Free Will of man has been lost and extinct by the fall of Adam: let him be accursed.'

CAN. XI. *On Justification*.—'Whoever shall affirm that men are justified solely by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ: let him be accursed.'

CAN. IX. *On Justification*.—'Whoever shall affirm that the ungodly is justified by faith only: let him be accursed.'

CHAP. VII. *On Justification*: Declares, that inherent righteousness is 'the sole formal cause of justification.'

CAN. XI. States, that inherent 'grace and charity' form part of the cause of justification. And CAN. XXXII. speaks of a man as 'being justified by his good works, which are wrought by him through the grace of God and the merits of Jesus Christ.'

CAN. VII. 'Whoever shall affirm that all works done before justification, in whatever way performed, are actually sins, and deserve God's hatred: let him be accursed.'

SESSION XXV. The Council declared: 'That there is a Purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the Mass.' All 'who have the care and charge of teaching' are 'to instruct the faithful concerning the Invocation and Intercession of the Saints, the honour due to Relics, and the lawful use of Images.' And the Council pronounces the sentence of condemnation on those 'who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of the saints; and that the memorials of the saints are in vain frequented to obtain their help and assistance.'

SESSION VII. CANON I. 'Whoever shall affirm that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they are more

* Accordingly, Mr. Ward calls the doctrine of justification by faith only, 'a hateful heresy,' p. 44, note; 'a hateful and fearful type of antichrist of prodigious demerits,' p. 305.

commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, &c., are not to be counted for Sacraments of the gospel. The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.'

ART. XXXIII. 'Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of our Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance received, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.'

ART. XXXI. *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*—'The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous conceits.'

or fewer than seven, viz., &c.; or that any of these is not truly and properly a sacrament: let him be accursed.' *Session XIII.* CAN. 6. 'Whoever shall affirm that the Eucharist is not to be honoured with extraordinary festive celebration, nor solemnly carried about in processions: let him be accursed.'

SESS. XIII. CAN. 2. 'Whoever shall deny the wonderful and peculiar conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion the catholic church most fitly terms Transubstantiation: let him be accursed.'

CAN. VIII. 'Whoever shall affirm that Christ, as exhibited in the Eucharist, is eaten in a spiritual manner only: let him be accursed.'

CAN. VII. 'Whoever shall affirm that it is not lawful to preserve the holy Eucharist: let him be accursed.'

CAN. VI. 'Whoever shall affirm that the Eucharist is not to be publicly presented to the people for their adoration: let him be accursed.'

SESS. XXI. CAN. 1. 'Whoever shall affirm that a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God in the Mass: let him be accursed.'

CAN. III. 'Whoever shall affirm that the sacrifice of the Mass ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfaction, and other necessities: let him be accursed.'

Now with such an exposition before us, does it require intellectual acuteness, or literary training to determine whether an honest subscription to the one is compatible with a conscientious belief of the other? We confidently ask, whether it is possible for any man of common sense and ordinary integrity to compare the two theological systems, as thus embodied in their accredited forms, and not to perceive that they are most decidedly and irreconcilably antagonistic. Apart from all enquiry as to the amount of truth or error which each contains, every unsophisticated mind, whether protestant or catholic, christian or heathen, must at once see that each condemns the other, that if one be true the other must be false; that in fact the Articles are a strong, plain, unequivocal protest against the decrees and canons, and that no man can possibly hold them both, any more than he can serve God and mammon; or believe that to be truth,

which he knows to be falsehood. To 'evade the meaning,' to 'explain it away,' and to place an unnatural sense upon the words, is to seek shelter from difficulty in a 'refuge of lies,' and to secure certain advantages by the sacrifice of truth and honesty. To what purpose is it that Dr. Moberly assures us that he knows Mr. Ward to be a man of the most thorough and upright integrity, that he is distinguished by 'the most noble elevation of moral conscientiousness,' while we have the fact before us, that by practising evasion he signs articles which he does not believe, and that he proclaims it, and glories in it. Is not this a mode of proceeding which, in the concerns of ordinary life, would be branded with infamy, and would destroy a man's commercial credit for ever? Mr. Keble solemnly warns the members of convocation against daring to affirm the 'bad faith' of his Romanizing friend, if any think it 'but possible' that the passage cited from his book, 'may be attributed to obliquity of judgment,' or 'incautious reasoning.' But if by some mental obliquity, men can persuade themselves that it is right to practice deceit, are they therefore exonerated from the charge of bad faith? Was Saul of Tarsus the less a persecutor, because, when he 'breathed out threatenings and slaughter' against the followers of Christ, he 'verily thought he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth?' When men do wrong against their convictions, there is some hope that they may pause in their career, or be checked in their course; but when by some unhappy process both reason and conscience are made parties to delinquency, there are none of whose return to virtue so little hope is to be entertained, and against whom it is so necessary to be on our guard.

Let it not, however, be supposed that we are doing injustice to Mr. Ward, or that we take too depreciating a view of his character. We are perfectly willing to believe that, up to a certain point, he is an upright and honourable man. But the more we admire his general excellencies, the more deeply are we grieved for this lamentable exception. This is the point on his mental retina where there is no power of distinct vision, this is the monomania of his morality; and how pernicious must be that school of theology which produces such an aberration of reason, such a paralysis of the moral sense in the case of subscription, is obvious to every one who is not under the Romanizing delusion. Who can calculate the amount of mischief to the interests of morality already occasioned in and out of the university by the dissemination of the principles of Tract No. 90; and what would be the condition of society, if these were allowed to imbue the minds of one generation of students after another, and so to spread their poison through all ranks of the commu-

nity, that the same principles of interpretation should be applied to wills, deeds, and written contracts in general? Still it is a comfort to know, that, unless in those cases in which a long process of fallacious ingenuity has been employed on minds already inclined towards popery, the common sense and common honesty of the nation will reject with abhorrence such detestable duplicity.

We have noticed, before referring to the proceedings of convocation, the principal arguments employed in this case, with the exception of Mr. Ward's own defence, to which we shall presently advert, as these publications before the trial constituted in fact the only discussion of the question. The House of Convocation admits of no new proposition, no amendment, no altering of a resolution proposed; every one must, therefore, come prepared to decide on the case from a previous consideration of its merits.

As the time of convocation drew near, the abandonment of the third proposition by the Hebdomadal Board was announced. A strong opinion, it was ascertained, prevailed against its adoption among men of almost all parties; the liberal were averse to more stringent measures, and therefore objected to a new test. Mr. Ward's friends denounced it as an act of usurpation and tyranny; while many judged that no declaration could bind men who could apply such principles of interpretation, as the tractarians had adopted. Indeed Mr. Oakeley subsequently declared, that he should find no difficulty in signing the proposed test. The proposition was withdrawn by the board. A requisition numerously signed, was subsequently presented to the authorities, requesting that measures might be taken, 'for submitting to the convocation about to assemble on the 13th of February next, a resolution conveying the formal censure of the university upon the principles inculcated in the 90th number of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and a solemn repudiation of the modes of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles therein suggested.' In consequence, it was announced, by a resolution of the Hebdomadal Board, signed February 4, 1835, that, as in Tract 90, 'entitled, 'Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,' modes of interpretation were suggested, and have since been advocated in other publications purporting to be written by members of the university, by which, subscription to the said Articles might be reconciled with the adoption of Roman Catholic errors,' the following decree would be proposed to the House of Convocation, 'That modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors, which

they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes,' (mentioned in the preamble).

On the publication of this resolution, the battle of words was renewed again with fresh vigour; one publication followed another in rapid succession, and preparations were made on both sides for a desperate struggle. Men of high station, it is said, endeavoured in vain to prevail with the authorities to withdraw this last proposition; and when they failed, recourse was had to the proctors, both of tractarian principles, and one of whom so far gone in their mysteries that his college testimonials had been refused. Rumours were afloat respecting the intention of the proctors to take on themselves the heavy responsibility of placing their veto on the proceedings of convocation in relation to this last proposition; but it was scarcely believed that two men, of comparatively inferior standing in the university, would have the temerity of availing themselves of the power of their short lived office, to prevent the judgment of the university from being taken on a most important question. But it was soon known that, on Monday evening, scarcely three days preceding the convocation, the proctors had actually informed the Vice Chancellor that such was their intention.

At length the memorable 13th of February arrived, special trains by the Great Western, to and from Oxford, had been announced, and all was anticipation. Intense was the cold, and fast fell the snow; but the number of non-resident members who kept pouring in, and who were seen, despite of the inclemency of the weather, moving about in various directions, with earnestness depicted on their countenances, indicated that something of deep and unusual interest was about to happen. And seldom, if ever, had business of a university kind taken so deep a hold on the minds of the citizens. All seemed to feel, that events were pending, intimately connected with their civil and religious liberties, and anxious was the expectation as to the result. At twelve o'clock a congregation was held, in order that those Masters of Arts who had not yet taken their regencies, might be qualified according to statute for voting in the convocation. In the mean time, the great body of members had begun to assemble in the theatre, and to take their appropriate places. Measures had been adopted to prevent strangers and undergraduates from entering the quadrangle contiguous to the theatre. About one o'clock, the Vice Chancellor, the Heads of Houses, the Doctors, and the Proctors, in solemn procession approach, and enter the theatre. On the north side of this elegant and ample structure, is a raised platform or gallery, sloping forwards about eight or ten feet from the ground, in the centre the Vice Chancellor takes his place as president, on either

side of him is a chair, one for the high steward, another for the Regius professor of Divinity ; and farther in front, and somewhat lower, sit the two proctors. The whole of this gallery or platform occupying the segment of a circle, is appropriated to the Doctors. Projecting somewhat from either side, and still further in front of the Doctors, appears a rostrum or pulpit. The whole area, the ladies gallery, and part of the undergraduates gallery, are now occupied by the Masters, all in university costume. As non-resident members, there are seen now in convocation, the Bishops of Chichester and Llandaff, the Earl of Eldon, Viscount Sandon, Lord Ashley, Lord Romney, Lord Haverdale, Sir J. Mordaunt, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir W. Heathcote, Sir R. Comyn, Sir S. Glynn, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Mr. Henley, M.P., Mr. Mackinnon, M.P., Archdeacon Manning, Dr. Tait, Dr. Phillimore, Dr. Mereweather, Dr. Moberley, Dr. Russell, &c. Silence is obtained, all is breathless attention. All eyes are turned in succession from the Vice Chancellor and the other authorities, to the rostrum on the eastern side, where Mr. Ward is seen, accompanied by Mr. Oakeley, and other friends. The proceedings commence. The Vice Chancellor, speaking in Latin, states the object of the convocation, and directs the Registrar of the University, Dr. Bliss, to read these passages from Mr. Ward's, 'Ideal of a Christian Church considered,' which had previously been announced as the ground of the proceedings by the Hebdomadal Board. One or two members attempt to address the House, but are prevented, as not being in order at this stage of the proceedings. At Mr. Ward's request, to be allowed to speak in his vernacular tongue, the statute is, *pro tempore*, dispensed with, which requires the use of Latin only. Mr. Ward then enters on his defence with considerable address, in a speech which, with two pauses of a few minutes to recover his exhaustion, occupied from an hour to an hour and a half in the delivery, following pretty nearly the same line of argument as that he had pursued in his pamphlet previously published. He was heard with the deepest attention throughout. He first protested in a strong, but respectful manner, against the competency of the tribunal, and the legality of the proceedings ; he then endeavoured to impress on the minds of members the great difficulty, and yet the necessity of deciding on his case with impartiality. As the defence has been published in so many forms, it is unnecessary here to enter into it at length ; it may suffice to observe, that the drift of the whole argument was this : no man can subscribe all the formulas of the church in a natural sense ; others, liberals, high churchmen, and evangelicals, have all been obliged to put a force on some parts of the Articles or Prayer-Book, though they differ as to the particular wording which they find it necessary to evade ; it would be

unjust therefore to condemn him for what others have done, and are still doing, with impunity. During the delivery of his speech, expressions of approbation frequently burst forth, which were uniformly checked by Mr. Ward, who entreated the members of convocation to act with the calm deliberation of judges, and the seriousness of Christians. A protest in Latin is tendered by Mr. Ward. After two or three short addresses in Latin from some of the members, the Vice-Chancellor puts the question respecting the condemnation of the extracts from Mr. Ward's book, and immediately the walls of the theatre resound with the loud vociferation of 'placet,' of 'non placet,' mingling in confused hubbub. A scrutiny is demanded. The proctors take their station at the eastern and western doors to receive the votes as the members pass out, who return by the great door in front of the Vice-Chancellor. The senior proctor rises, and all is expectation. The case is decided; 'majori parti placet,' disposes of the first proposition. The numbers appear to have been—

For the Condemnation	-	-	777
Against it	-	-	386

Majority 391

The second proposition was then announced, respecting Mr. Ward's degradation. Mr. Ward alleges in his defence his willingness to serve the Church of England, if allowed, and therefore declares it harsh and severe, if while others who have joined the church of Rome are allowed to retain their degrees, he should be deprived of them. The question is again put. Mr. Ellison of Balliol College addresses the convocation in Latin. Votes are taken by the proctors, and again the placets have it, though with a much smaller majority. The numbers now are—

For the Degradation	-	-	569
Against it	-	-	511

58

Before the last question was decided, Mr. Ward left the theatre, and in Broad Street was loudly cheered by a large body of undergraduates.

The third proposition, for condemning the principles of interpretation advocated in Tract 90, was then put; on which the senior proctor rose, and at once stopped the proceedings of the whole convocation by pronouncing authoritatively, 'Nobis procuratoribus non placet.' This was succeeded by loud demonstrations of approbation and dissatisfaction, testified by cheers

and hisses ; and here the proceedings of the convocation terminated. Besides the protest, however, which Mr. Ward presented in due form, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, dated the 13th of Feb., he states his reasons why he holds that his 'position in the university is morally unaffected by what had passed,' which are briefly these. The convocation, or the university in any of its functions, is incompetent to determine authoritatively the sense in which the Articles are to be subscribed by its members. Legal authorities have determined that the university is not the 'imponens' in the matter of subscription, 'that the articles are imposed, and the sense of subscription determined by the law of the land; and that the judges of the ecclesiastical courts alone have the power authoritatively to declare that sense, while the supreme legislature alone has the power of altering or adding to it.' If, in Mr. Ward's view, convocation were the true 'imponens,' he would, without feeling 'disposed to inquire how far subscription is necessarily to be considered a continuing act,' at once relinquish his position in the university ; but, concluding his letter, he says, 'I cannot feel that any obligation is laid upon me, in consequence of the events of this day, to act for the future upon any different view of subscription to the Articles, from that on which I have hitherto acted, and which is expressed in my work and pamphlet.' Mr. Oakeley, also, without delay, writes to the Vice-Chancellor, calls his attention to a declaration which he has made in his pamphlet on Tract 90, and which he had repeated in a tract published during the previous fortnight, in these words, 'I have no wish to remain a member of the University, or a minister of the Church of England, under false colours. I claim the right which has already been asserted in another quarter, of *holding* (as distinct from teaching) *all Roman doctrine*, and that notwithstanding my subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.' 'These words,' Mr. Oakeley says, 'with the same deliberation and distinctness, I again appropriate and repeat.' With, what appears to us, a disingenuous quibbling, capable of frittering away the sense and meaning of any declaration or act, he declares that he does not view the decree of convocation as touching his case as to his mode of subscribing the Articles. But disdaining any shelter to himself on this account, he challenges the university to deal with him as it had with Mr. Ward. But 'if, on the other hand,' he continues, 'I am allowed, after this plain and public declaration of my sentiments, to retain my place in the university, I shall regard such acquiescence as equivalent to an admission on the part of the academical authorities, that my own subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is not at variance with 'good faith.' Before the non-resident members of convoca-

tion were dispersed, an address of thanks to the proctors was pretty numerously signed; among the signatures to which, were those of Mr. Gladstone, Judge Coleridge, Dr. Hook, Archdeacon Manning, and Sir W. Heathcote. A requisition to the Vice-Chancellor also received many signatures, requesting him that, as the university had, by the intervention of the proctors, been prevented from expressing an opinion on Tract 90, the matter might 'again, after the least possible delay, be submitted to convocation.'

There are some points in Mr. Ward's defence, which, on account of the light they throw on the present state of principles and parties, require a few remarks; his defence, we mean, as contained not only in his oral vindication on the memorable 13th of February, but especially as it is exhibited in a more consecutive and logical manner in his 'Address to Members of Convocation,' published some time previously. And in the outset we wish to do full justice both to the talents which it displays, and the spirit which it breathes. Mr. Ward, though he has his weak points, is assuredly not an opponent to be despised; he has much logical acumen, united with great warmth of manner and force of expression; he has both courage and address, and generally manages to convert a defence into a vigorous attack. There also appears an openness which is above suspicion, and a remarkable sincerity, even in the evasion and duplicity which he practises and acknowledges. There is also manifested a far greater disposition than might have been expected, to tolerate the opinions of others, and to remain on terms of peace with all in the church, however opposite may be their views. But what this spirit, wherever it now exists, might become, if once the Romanizing party ruled the university, is matter of some apprehension. Popery full and rank becomes apparently lamb-like when its talons are cut, its fangs extracted, and its movements restricted by a chain; but with liberty and power to work out its will, it is ever to be feared. The violence and malignity with which the yet masked tractarians assailed Dr. Hampden, and the persevering agitation *per fas et nefas* by which they succeeded in raising a storm of persecution against him—much to the present regret of many who took part in it—together with the general character of their more recent movements, in and out of the university, show, in a manner which cannot be mistaken, what may be expected, should that body, of which Mr. Newman is the general and Mr. Ward the champion, ever obtain uncontrolled ascendancy.

The groundwork of Mr. Ward's defence is this, if he has done wrong in thus forcing the articles, or, as Mr. Oakeley would say, extorting them, to speak sentiments which they do not

really mean, others are equally culpable with reference to the Prayer Book and its services. No man, he affirms, can subscribe to all the formulas in a natural sense, he has therefore done only what others do. But no recrimination, however just, can make wrong right. The moral quality of the action is the same, however many may participate in similar guilt. Such a plea may be valid against the infliction of punishment by those who are equally culpable; but it cannot give the character of rectitude to a violation of truth, nor justify a departure from honesty and good faith.

Mr. Ward, with great adroitness and force, charges those who hold evangelical doctrine especially with inconsistency in blaming him; but he has undoubtedly, in some instances, both overstated and misstated their principles. He has looked at their tenets through a medium of his own, which has presented them to his mind discoloured and distorted. He has drawn from their sentiments inferences which they who hold them deny; he has charged on all, what may have been found ultra in any, and has made no discrimination where many differences exist. It has been alleged in reply, that there is an important difference between articles of faith and forms of devotion, that it is by the former that the latter are to be interpreted, and that the expressions in the offices and services of the church, are, according to the 6th Article, to be interpreted by a reference to the scripture as the primary rule. Whatever force there may be in such a reply, certainly there is a wide difference in the position of the evangelical and the Romanist, who both subscribe. By education perhaps, by habit, and by strong predilection, those who decidedly hold evangelical truth, have become so accustomed to regard as accordant with their views, modes of expression, which to others appear quite opposed to them, that they are seldom, probably, aware of discrepancy. Romanists, in subscribing the Articles, perceive and acknowledge how decidedly they are against them, at least in their natural sense; and it was not till the publication of the jesuitical expedient proposed in Tract 90, that they knew how to reconcile their subscription to protestant articles with the belief in popish doctrines. Those who are evangelical do not professedly 'evade' the natural meaning of expressions, 'divorce the dry wording' from their spirit, and put a 'non-natural' signification on them; they do not admit, that while the obvious meaning of catechism or prayer book is 'as plain as words can make it on the (un)evangelical side,' they designedly explain it away, and put on it an unnatural sense; they do not claim the right of holding doctrines which they do not teach; they do not declare that their faith, their love, their sympathies are with another church which the articles of their own church evidently condemn; there

is no other ecclesiastical community which, while they enjoy the emoluments and advantages of the English church, they consider much nearer the scriptural truth, in which infallibility resides, from which it is a sin to separate, and to which the church of England, if she would listen to divine teaching, would return, seeking reconciliation with penitence for her long continued schism. There are then, we must, and we do cheerfully admit, notwithstanding the cleverness and ingenuity with which Mr. Ward has put the case, important particulars in which, while both make the same subscription, the evangelical portion of the church differ materially from the Romanists in their position; but still we must, in all fairness, say that Mr. Ward has pressed them with difficulties from which we see not how they can escape. We can have no wish to depreciate that portion of the established clergy with whose views of Christian doctrine we so nearly sympathize; but as parties unconnected with the litigants on either side, our verdict, given with impartiality, and after due deliberation, is, that they are not, and cannot be, entirely exonerated from the charges which Mr. Ward brings against them. If some of the 'formularies' are, as Mr. Newman acknowledges in his preface to Tract 90, 'ambiguous,' so that, while capable of another sense, each may fairly use them according to his own views, there are several parts of the church service and the catechism which cannot be taken in an evangelical sense without a very forced construction. A few instances briefly stated will be sufficient to show that we do not unadvisedly speak thus. Regeneration, according to the evangelical doctrine, is a divine change wrought in the soul, by the Holy Spirit of God, by means of the truth of the gospel, and is evermore accompanied by 'repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;' consequently, baptismal regeneration is regarded as an error unscriptural and dangerous. But to us it appears undeniable that baptismal regeneration is, in the most distinct manner, taught in the church formularies. So far Mr. Ward and the tractarians are right. The object in bringing the infant to baptism is stated to be that he may receive what 'by nature he cannot have; that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost.' The prayer requests God to 'wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost'—'that he, coming to the holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.' And after the performance of the rite, the priest declares that 'this child is regenerate,' and thanks are presented that it hath pleased God 'to regenerate' the infant 'with his Holy Spirit.' As soon as the child can repeat his catechism, he is taught that in his baptism he was made 'a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.' When the child, now grown up into

youth, receives the rite of confirmation, his regeneration is thus recognized by the high authority of the bishop: 'Almighty and everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water of the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins,' &c. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration may be denounced as unscriptural, second only to transubstantiation in its absurdity, and probably exceeding it in its mischievous tendency, but to deny that it is the teaching of the Prayer-book is to fly in the face of common sense, and to destroy the legitimate use of words.

Passing by the visitation of the sick, which in its priestly absolution is as popish as any Romanist could wish, what can be said of the burial service? The evangelical minister believes that those only who 'die in the Lord' are blessed; that, without a renewed heart and a living faith in Christ, there is no hope of salvation. But when the infidel, the drunkard, the prostitute is placed in the grave, is not the priest obliged to declare that 'it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of the dear departed brother or sister, whose body is therefore committed to the ground 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life;' and to pronounce over him or her the blessing of those 'who die in the Lord'? There cannot possibly be any ambiguity here, as, after speaking of the happiness of the souls of the faithful whose departed spirits are with the Lord, it is added, 'We give Thee hearty thanks that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother (or sister) out of the miseries of this sinful world.' How can these expressions be reconciled with evangelical belief? Must not Mr. Ward's mode of interpretation be here, to a certain extent, applied? Must not the plain meaning be 'evaded' or 'explained away,' and a sense put on the words, divorced from their spirit, altogether 'non-natural'?

And leaving those who profess evangelical truth, what party is there, of any principle or of no principle, that can entirely escape the sweeping condemnation of Mr. Ward? How can the liberal school subscribe their approbation to the damnable clauses of the Athanasian Creed? How can the Sabellians, or quasi Sabellians, and we are informed there are many—or the Arians of various shades, subscribe to its definitions? How can the numerous class of men who preach morality as the ground, in whole or in part, of our acceptance with God, sign the Article on justification by faith only? How can the rigid Calvinists of the school of Romaine, or that of Dr. Hawker, subscribe the thirty-first Article, or the decided Arminian, subscribe the seventeenth? Neither the Articles nor the Prayer-book will accord with the faith of some; and of those who feel perfect freedom in the one, many 'work in bondage' in the other. We believe Mr. Ward

was not far from the mark, when he said that the spirit of the teaching furnished by the Prayer-book is not only different from, but absolutely contradictory to that of the Articles; and that 'a great deal might be said on this point—that all heads of colleges, fellows, and clergymen of the church of England, had, as he felt sure they must have done, subscribed in a non-natural sense.'

If anything had been wanting to prove, in the most convincing manner, how completely subscription to articles and creeds has failed of its object, that deficiency has, we think, by the recent controversies, been amply supplied. Where is that 'consent touching true religion, and that avoiding of diversities of opinions,' which, in the royal 'declaration' of 'the supreme governor of the church of England,' constituted the very end for which these Articles were framed, and subscription to them demanded? In vain, by the Act of Uniformity, were two thousand of the most valuable and conscientious ministers ejected from their livings; what uniformity has been secured which is not hollow, insincere, deceptive?—a name without a thing; a sign without what is signified; a mere semblance of union externally exhibited, while, except where the apathy of spiritual death prevails, all is discord and disagreement. Opposite sentiments and irreconcilable antipathies still, as in every past period, prevail. And it is truly lamentable to consider what is the present condition of a church which has sacrificed with such profusion the property, the liberties, the lives of the holiest of men, to the idol of uniformity. Is it not now—and we speak it not with pleasure, we indulge in no unholy triumph—is it not now convulsed, divided, distracted with contentions; and besides embodying in its members and its clergy almost every form of doctrine orthodox and heterodox, with all the intermediate gradations, are there not parties of the most opposite sentiments ranged under their respective banners, waging with each other an internecine war? Are the universities, those nurseries of the clergy, and as we are told, the conservators of sound theology, harmonious in their teaching? Are the bishops, who claim to be the representatives of the apostles, agreed? Are the doctrines taught through one diocese contemporaneous? Is the same gospel generally preached in the different pulpits of the same town? Is not the church of England at the present moment a kingdom divided against itself? Among all the controversies of the different bodies of evangelical nonconformists with each other, which, with all the evils connected with the warm discussion of those points on which conscientious men differ, exhibit a large amount of life, and health, and freedom, place a check in the peculiarities of each, and keep alive a spirit of enquiry, is there anything so lamentable as the strifes and conflicts now raging in the English church?

We all remember the panic into which the universities, especially that of Oxford, were thrown, when a measure passed the House of Commons to admit dissenters to the literary advantages of the academical course. It was not proposed that they should be eligible to divinity degrees, to fellowships, to tutorships, or to any of the high offices of the university, but simply that in institutions which should be national they might enjoy literary advantages, and take literary honours without being compelled to sign any test, or to perform any act to which a conscientious dissenter might reasonably object. But the very proposition was alarming; the Spanish armada could scarcely have inspired more terror. The tocsin was sounded, the beacons were lighted: 'To arms! To arms!' was the shout raised by resident, and re-echoed by non-resident members. 'The church is in danger,' was the battle cry, her seats of learning are threatened with a deluge of sectaries; and Oxford, proud in her orthodoxy, and fierce for uniformity, raised the banner of her Thirty-nine Articles, dashed the gates of her far famed seminary in the face of all who could not conscientiously subscribe, and with indignant vociferation exclaimed, '*procul, procul, este profani.*' And what have her tests, and her subscriptions, and her bigotry done for her? Have they prevented men of no religion, or men of any religion from sharing in all her advantages, and aspiring to all her honours? Have they excluded Arians, Pelagians, Latitudinarians, or avowed Roman Catholics? Look at the members, the fellows, the tutors, the professors, and ask what uniformity has been secured; what barrier has been effectual to prevent the entrance even of popery, that great and inveterate antagonist of the English church? All whose consciences are pliable may now enter; only the conscientious are excluded. We trust that we may be permitted to say, and that with an honest pride, that we belong to a body of men who, though holding far more generally, and with greater tenacity than the majority of the English clergy, most of the leading doctrines which the Thirty-nine Articles embody, can still, and practically do say, 'It is true, we value highly the advantages enjoyed within your cloistered walls, we never gaze on your libraries, walk in your groves, or look up on those time honoured edifices, associated as they are with such inspiring recollections, without a sigh over that ungenerous and exclusive policy which forbids our entrance. But if the price of admission is the sacrifice of our honour, we throw all these advantages to the winds, and, acquiring what learning we can, and where we may, shall feel the high satisfaction of preserving our integrity unquestioned, and our conscience inviolate.'

But what is to be the next scene in this drama? Whither

will these proceedings against Mr. Ward carry the university? How can it now pause? Is not the Rubicon passed? And how will it now advance towards the only object which justifies the degradation of Mr. Ward, the securing of good faith in subscribing the Articles, and thus stopping that current of Romanism which is now rapidly flowing into the church? Unless this measure be followed up by others of an effective kind, little or nothing will have been accomplished towards cleansing the university from the leprosy which has infected it. Is the disciple to be made a victim and the master to be untouched? Is the accessory to be punished, and the principal to be allowed to go free? Is the convocation consistent in condemning 'The Ideal of a Christian Church,' and allowing the Tract 90 to pass uncensured, the very work which originated, as far as the present controversy is concerned, the principles for which Mr. Ward's book is condemned, and which now circulates so freely in the university, and is recommended so strongly to the junior members by the resident and tutorial tractarians? If nothing farther is done, the fermentation of this unholy leaven will most undoubtedly proceed, and Mr. Ward's joy will be full in beholding increasing 'numbers of English churchmen,' who embrace 'the whole cycle of Roman doctrine.' We have said that already a large body of the tutors are decided tractarians; and are the heads of houses free from Newmanism? May not the present minority, if things proceed as they have lately been going on, become a Romanizing majority? And what would be the consequence if, with such a majority, a vice-chancellor and two proctors of the same stamp should be elected to office? And does a review of the past ten years, or a consideration of the present state of the university render this improbable? But what *can* be done? Where is the remedy? The proceedings of the Hebdomadal Board have been already treated with the utmost contempt by the Puseyite party; the decision of the convocation has been set at nought as an illegal stretch of power, and a moral nullity, leaving the great question just where it stood. But the bishops, it is said, have declared most of them against the principle of subscription which Mr. Newman and others advocate. What check has this given to the heresy? Mr. Oakeley maintains in the very teeth of his own bishop, his right to hold all Roman catholic doctrines, while he continues his subscription to the Articles, and his enjoyment of church preferment. Will an appeal be made to the ecclesiastical courts? Can any decision of theirs eradicate the evil? Where does the power lie to apply a remedy? Is it in 'the three estates of the realm?' Will they venture to interfere? Is it safe to summon a convocation of the clergy? Will the illustrious Lady who is

Supreme Governor of the Church of England,' with the aid of her council, or the consent of her Parliament, take the matter in hand? What would be the end of such a beginning? We confess, and we know that many in the church participate in the same sentiment, that we see no light, no opening, no prospect of better things. All is uncertainty, confusion, dismay. Formerly the sectaries without were denounced, as placing the church in jeopardy, now her worst 'foes' are 'those of her own household.'

'O Navis referunt in mare te novi
Fluctus.'

A requisition was put forward, immediately after the convocation, requesting the Vice-Chancellor to adopt speedy measures for bringing the question of the condemnation of Tract 90 again before that house; it has, we believe, received up to the time of our writing about 500 signatures; but with such a number of signatures will the Hebdomadal Board hazard another defeat? We strongly suspect that there are influences at work which are not apparent, and which will effectually prevent the adoption of any stringent measures against tractarianism. No less than 500 names have, we understand, been appended to the address of thanks to the proctors who, on the 13th of February stopped the proceedings of the convocation on the question of Tract 90 by their veto, among which are those of high consideration both in church and state. The conflict it seems is but commencing, and the struggle will probably be desperate, before either party succumb. 'Be the result what it may,' says Mr. Garbett, 'it must be disastrous, and end in the further rending of the church.' (The University, the Church, and the New Test, p. 5.) 'God's wrath,' he continues, 'has brought upon us, in the shape of schism and faction, real danger, and possible destruction.' 'The church is bleeding her life away, and must rest or die.' Mr. Oakeley, who, with all his Romanism, professes much attachment to the church of England, thus addresses the Bishop of London, when entreating him to pause. 'If we tamper with a body of such delicate structure, and such heterogeneous materials, or enforce or enfeeble either of the powers on whose gentle and well poised sway it depends for the equability of its movements, my own deep and deliberate apprehension is that it will break up, and its dissociated parts fly away in obedience to some more powerful attraction, or wheel their restless and self-chosen course round and round the dreary regions of space. This, its brittleness and want of inward balance, *might*, indeed, be a proof that it had never been a divine work at all, at least, as to its essential frame work; but they might also tend to shew that, though a divine work, it has not been treated as

God would have it treated.' (Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, p. 38.)

There seems to be a provision in nature by which, in many cases, evils work their own remedy. The storm purifies the atmosphere; violent disturbances in the functions of animal life, not unfrequently by throwing out of the system the elements of mischief which had been gathering, lead to renovated health. And should such be the termination of the present disastrous commotions, it will be worth all the struggles and difficulties through which the church of England is now passing. The best result that we can hope for is, that they may hasten on the period of her emancipation, when delivered from the incubus of state patronage, freed from the bondage of state controul, and thrown on her own resources, she may have power to rid herself not only of her Romanizing priests who are undermining her doctrine, but also of her ambitious and worldly-minded ministers who degrade her character and destroy her usefulness; when she may have full liberty to amend her constitution, revise her liturgy, and enforce her discipline; then, retaining as many bishops as she pleased, and adopting what forms she thought most for her edification, other christian communities, no longer oppressed or insulted by her, would cheerfully extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail her as a welcome and powerful ally in the diffusion of truth and righteousness throughout the world.

Art. II. *The History of Guernsey; with occasional Notices of Jersey, Alderney, and Sark.* By Jonathan Duncan, Esq., B.A. London: Longman and Co. 8vo. pp. 654.

2. *A Letter addressed to Mr. Advocate Tupper, in Vindication of the Conduct of Major-General Napier, Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey.* By J. Bowditch. Jefferys and Co., 123, Chancery Lane.

3. *Observations of Advocate Tupper, of Guernsey, in Answer to Mr. Bowditch.* Guernsey. Brouard.

4. *Authentic Report of the Evidence taken before the Royal Court of the Island of Guernsey, relative to certain Charges of Conspiracy and Sedition. Also of the Trials instituted thereon; and of the Correspondence between the Royal Court and Her Majesty's Government, from the 4th day of June to the 10th day of August, 1844; taken chiefly from the Records of the Royal Court.* Guernsey: Brouard.

MR. DUNCAN'S volume named above, was published in the year 1841. The principal materials for it, were derived from orders in council, acts of parliament, and ordinances of the Royal Court of Guernsey. The work is highly creditable to the research and ability of the author; and is, we think, quite a model of the most useful kind of historical

composition. The writer's aim evidently was to state facts, rather than to give opinions. He has often been referred to as an authority, in the recent pleadings before the Privy Council. It may be right to add, that the book is neither a cheap, nor a popular one. Its very excellence renders it a book for the few.

Most of the readers of this journal were taught at school to name, as among the British possessions, Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark: yet till recently little more was known of these places, than of the Falkland Islands, or the Azores. Mr. Inglis's work on the Channel Islands excited much attention, and considerably increased the number of visitors to the scenes he described: but the great majority of even intelligent people in this country, are still ignorant of the history, character, and customs, of the islanders, who, dwelling within the arms of a French bay, are among the most devotedly loyal of all the subjects of Britain: and who, living under the same sceptre as ourselves, and near to our own shores, are free from the burden of debt, of heavy taxes, of a landed aristocracy, of a standing army, of an expensive administration. The simple institutions of these people well deserve the study of statesmen.

'The happiest community, which it has ever been my lot to fall in with, is to be found in the little island of Guernsey How is it that Guernsey should be so much ahead in the career of happiness? *Guernsey has superior laws — superior institutions.*'

So wrote, in 1832, Frederic Hill, Esqr., the government inspector of prisons, who had twice visited the island under circumstances favourable for becoming acquainted with its condition. Nothing has since occurred to render inapplicable his glowing eulogium.

During the past year, the island authorities have been brought, several times, into collision with the imperial government; and public attention has thus been directed to them. Some account of the islands, and the recent disputes connected with them, will not therefore be deemed unseasonable, or uninteresting.

Nearly 100 miles to the south west of Southampton is Alderney, an island about eight miles in circuit. Twenty miles further in the same direction is Guernsey, which is nine and a half miles long, and five and a half in extreme breadth; and no spot in which is more than two miles from the sea. Still twenty miles onward—or reckoning from port to port thirty—and bearing to the south-east, is Jersey, twelve miles in length, and seven in extreme breadth. Between the two last-mentioned places, is the remarkable little island of Sark; and between Sark and Guernsey are Herm and Jethou, mere rocks covered with scanty herbage, and having, the former, but a few houses upon it, the latter three

only. As seen from Guernsey, the appearance of these various islands, studding the sea, and becoming more or less distinct with every change of the atmosphere, and every alternation of light and shade, is exceedingly picturesque.

By every one, who has admired the 'tall ancestral trees' of England, the want of timber is at once felt as a great deficiency in the Channel Islands. Whether it be owing to the absence of all shelter from the winds, or to other causes, we are unable to say; but not one fine tree, like the forest trees of our own country, is any where to be seen. With this exception, however, the traveller will find little to check his admiration, and very much to awaken it. To those who wish for the mild but bracing air of the sea, it were difficult to select more agreeable places of resort. All the islands excepting Alderney—with which there is no regular steam communication—are easily accessible: and if our readers purpose to repair, for a month or so, to the vicinity of the sea, we can assure them that they will be highly gratified by a trip to the Channel Islands. At an expense, scarcely greater, perhaps less, than that incurred by a sojourn at Ramsgate or Brighton, they may combine, with saline breezes in perfection, scenery beautiful and varied, and a state of society which, to an Englishman, is novel and instructive.

The largest of these islands, Jersey, is the most populous and lively. In the interior it is well wooded, though the trees are not large; well cultivated; and pleasantly diversified. Some of its views are surpassingly beautiful. From Prince's Tower, for example, where the eye commands a considerable part of the island, and, looking across the sea, discerns a long range of the French coast, and on a clear day may distinguish the cathedral of Coutances, the stranger tears himself away with great reluctance.

Sark is a mountain three miles long and one broad, rising around its whole circumference, precipitously from the sea; and is accessible on the one side, only by the aid of a rope; on the other, by landing in a small nook, where a tunnel bored under the beetling rock, leads to the upper part of the island.

As the voyager approaches Guernsey, he sees St. Peter's Port, its only town, nestling in the bosom of a small bay. The houses come down to the beach, and cover the side and crown the summit of the rather high and steep ascent; being, on the rising ground, very generally interspersed with gardens and green-houses. The suburbs of the town surprise the visitor, by the number of genteel residences they contain, each one adorned with luxuriant evergreens and flowers. In the interior of the island are several villages; and though the population is four

times as dense as in Ireland, there is no crowding. Every cottage has its garden, which is well stored with shrubs and flowers, and very rarely neglected. Indeed, the passion for gardening, ornamental as well as useful, is among the most striking characteristics of the natives of this charming island. They are distinguished also by simplicity, honesty, enterprise, and independence. Existence among them is enjoyed, not endured; and certainly, as compared with the people of our own beloved but misgoverned country, they are a thriving, contented, and happy race.*

The coast scenery of all these islands is captivating. Here, the traveller pursues his way through a deep and winding valley, to the quiet and sandy beach. There, he climbs to the edge of the abyss, and seating himself on a huge crag, looks far down on the rock-bound coast, and finds a strange delight in the sweep and shriek of the sea-gull, and the cauldron overflowing with the foam of the wildest surges. Or yonder, with careful footsteps, he picks his way along the steep and rugged descent, till he finds himself by the water's edge, with stupendous precipices of solid rock towering behind him, a wild cavern yawning at his right hand, the beach strewn with rocky fragments of every size and form, while here and there a vast pile of rock stands bare and erect amidst the spray.

At the time of the Conquest, the Channel Islands were a part of the duchy of Normandy; and they remained so, as long as the English kings held possession of that province. When John lost his continental territory, the islanders remained faithful to him. Being thus completely severed from the seat of government at Rouen, it became necessary to give them new laws. These were framed according to Norman customs, and are to this day styled the constitutions of King John. If a Guernseyman be asked when his country became subject to England, his quick reply is, that England is the subjected country, and that the Normans were the conquerors. Many of the ancient customs and privileges still exist; and the ancient language, Norman French, still struggles, though in vain, for the precedence.

The institutions of the several islands are substantially the same. It will suffice, therefore, to explain those of Guernsey, which have recently undergone a slight reform by a bill, passed in the island legislature on the 9th of June, 1843, and the

* Barbet's Guide to Guernsey will be found a very useful handbook. Unlike the generality of books of its class, it is filled with really useful information, and without the ordinary intermixture of garish description and bad poetry. We may mention also a very usefully constructed, and cheap pocket map, published by Moss.

royal assent to which was communicated on the 26th of December last.

To render the explanation as clear as possible, we will first exhibit the judicial and legislative authorities assembled; and afterwards explain the mode of their appointment.

Will the reader imagine himself crossing the hall of a substantial building, and entering, not at either end but by the side, a moderate sized room? Fine portraits of Sir John Doyle and Lord Seaton, and full length portraits of Lord de Saumarez, and the late eminent bailiff, Daniel De Lisle Brock, Esq., adorn the walls. The room itself is plain, and yet wears an air of thorough respectability. To the left of the visitor, as he enters, there rise from the floor, seats for perhaps two hundred people. At his right there are also seats arranged for official persons. This is the court-house, where justice is administered. It is also the parliament house.

Suppose the proceedings to be judicial. At his right, the visitor observes on a raised and distinguished seat the bailiff, who is the highest civil functionary on the island, and has a salary of £300 a year. On the right and left of the bailiff are other gentlemen, not less than seven; if all are present, twelve. These are called jurats. Together with the bailiff, they act in all important civil and criminal causes, as both judge and jury: and from their decision there is no appeal excepting to the queen in council. Below the bailiff and jurats, and at their right hand, is the attorney-general, who has a salary of £200 yearly: at their left and before them, are seats for the advocates and others connected with the causes tried. Such is the court of justice. The proceedings are carried on in the French language, but witnesses are examined in English, if they speak it. The jurats listen to the pleadings and the evidence; question the witnesses if they think it necessary; and when the trial is completed, give their verdict aloud, one by one, generally assigning the reasons for it. The bailiff commonly gives a summary of the cause; and then pronounces the opinion of the majority of the jurats, which is the sentence of the court. If there be an equality of votes, the bailiff has a casting vote. There is no display in the court house. Neither counsel nor judges wear any official dress. The proceedings are marked by much less technicality, and much more common sense, than our own courts of justice. May this people ever beware of apeing the follies of their neighbours, and retain their own dignified simplicity! For it they are pre-eminent. Should they ever stoop to become imitators, they can never get beyond an humble mimicry of that which is useless and effeminate in the customs of England.

Enter the same place when the legislature, or "States of Deliberation," are assembled: and, if all the members be pre-

sent, there are the bailiff, the twelve jurats, eight rectors of parishes, the attorney-general, six deputies of St. Peter's Port, and nine deputies from the other parishes: in all thirty-seven. That is the parliament. In cases where a question is not decided by two-thirds of the members present, the president (the bailiff) may, if he think fit, submit it a second time, within one month, when it is decided by a majority of votes. By this body the general affairs of the island, *including its taxation*, are managed. Its proceedings are public by sufferance. The military governor—of whom more will be said hereafter—has a right to be present and speak, but not to vote. The relation of this local legislature to the British parliament, has given rise to some serious difficulties; and would, but for the spirit of the inhabitants, and their ancient and cherished charters, have sunk the people into thorough dependence and beggary.

It will be observed that the bailiff, jurats, and attorney-general, are functionaries both in the judicial court and in the legislature. When they sit as legislators, they are joined by eight clergymen and fifteen deputies. The bailiff and attorney-general are appointed by the crown; which appointment, however, is commonly a formal way of executing the wish of the Guernsey authorities. The clergymen sit in the parliament *ex officio*. The other members are appointed by the people as follows. The rate-payers in the parish choose persons to manage their parochial affairs. These persons elect the deputies in the several parishes. When a jurat dies, the bailiff, the surviving jurats, the attorney-general, the eight clergymen, and all the parochial authorities, form one elective body, for appointing his successor. The appointment is for life, the yearly fees are not more than £15, and the person elected must serve, under pain of imprisonment or expatriation. Every man in Guernsey is bound to serve his country when called upon to do so by the public voice. The same elective body appoints the sheriff, to whose office there is annexed a salary of uncertain amount. The entire number of electors is 222; but it will be borne in mind that they never act as a body, excepting in the choice of a jurat or sheriff.

The mode of electing the deputies requires and deserves a little further explanation. In each of the country parishes, the rate-payers choose yearly two constables. The same parties choose also other officers called *douzeniers*, the number of the latter being generally twelve. They are chosen for life: their service is compulsory and without pay. No one is qualified for the office who has not been constable. These constables and *douzeniers* regulate the parochial assessments. In the collection of such taxes as are levied on property, they occupy the place of the income-tax commissioners in England, and their task is

usually an easy one. They also attend to the streets, roads, boundaries, drainage, &c. In short, they are a sort of corporation in each parish; the senior constable being the chairman of their meetings. By the recent Reform Bill, the populous and wealthy parish of St. Peter's Port is to have five such corporate bodies; but the parochial authority is to remain almost exclusively with one of the five.

The number, then, of these corporations—so we may call them—is fourteen; namely, one for each of the country parishes, and five for the town. Of these, one sends two deputies to the legislature; the remaining thirteen return one deputy each. The election is for one session only, there being several sessions during the year.

Every man in Guernsey, unless in very special cases of exemption, is trained to arms; and is thus prepared in case of invasion, to defend his rock-bound home. The island is also protected by the dangerous navigation of the surrounding seas—the danger arising both from the rocks and the currents. None but practised and skilful seamen can venture there. If the reader should ever pass from Guernsey to Sark in the neat little cutter which runs between those places daily, he may have an opportunity of admiring the style in which she is made to thread a triangle of rocks, where but for the turn of the helm at the right instant, the vessel must inevitably strike. The English government, however, deeming the island both important and insecure from its proximity to France, has planted cannon all round it, but from their small calibre and short range they would at present prove totally inefficient. On the heights above the town there is an extensive and strong fortification, which cost, certainly more than £200,000, and, we have been told, more than half a million sterling. A military governor—now General W. F. Napier—resides on the island, and the garrison is entirely under his control. He has also the regulation of the island militia, which, during the last war, was very effective. Sir John Doyle said, that with it alone, he would undertake to defend the island against any attack of the French. The garrison expenses, including the erection of the works, are borne by that pay-master general, John Bull. The military governor is the patron of all the church livings.

The mischievous custom of primogeniture and entail, as existing in England, is, in Guernsey, unknown; and the law verges, to say the least, towards a contrary extreme. The owner of landed property may sell it at any time; but, if he have children, he cannot bequeath it. The law divides it among all his children, giving however some advantage to the eldest son. In consequence of this arrangement, there are no large

landed estates, and scarcely any tenants, but a great number of small and independent proprietors. It is delightful to witness the sturdy and dignified manhood of the little cultivators of Guernsey, as contrasted with the servility of too many of the yeomanry of England. The late bailiff, Mr. Brock—one of the most enlightened politicians of modern times—strongly recommended a similar plan of partition, as a panacea for the evils of Ireland. The testimony of such a man, whose views were founded on the experience of three quarters of a century, is weighty. His arguments are clear and conclusive; and may be seen in Mr. Duncan's volume, page 307.

The taxation of Guernsey is very light. It may be quickly explained under two heads:—first, the parochial taxation; and secondly, the taxation for the general purposes of government.

The parochial taxation is raised in each parish by the corporation already described, having been previously voted by a general meeting of the rate-payers. It is a property tax. In the country parishes no one is charged with this tax, who has not possessions worth £100. In the town, taxation commences with those who are worth £200. All kinds of property are included in the calculation, even household furniture. This tax amounts to about 3s. 4d. per cent. per annum; and by it provision is made for the poor, and for all other parochial expenses, such as lighting, public pumps, &c. It is humiliating to be compelled to add, that no inconsiderable part of this burden is imposed on the people of Guernsey by the United Kingdom. Mr. Brock, writing in 1840 to Lord Normanby, said:—

‘ Out of 261 inmates (in the town workhouse) 109 are strangers, or born of strangers, almost all of whom are English, Scotch, or Irish, whereas in all England, it would be difficult to find a single Guernsey pauper.’

The expenses of the general government are defrayed by publicans' licences, a duty of 1s. a gallon on spirits, and the harbour dues; which together suffice for the payment of salaries, for keeping in repair the excellent roads of the island without any turnpike gates, for coast defences against the inroads of the sea, for public buildings, harbours, &c. The revenue amounts to about £7,500. Should it at any time prove insufficient, the States have the power, by a vote of two-thirds of their number, of levying a small property tax, which would be collected in the same way as the parochial property tax.

The Channel Islands, it will be seen, are free from the intolerable burdens and annoyances of English taxation. There are no custom-house officers to vex the traveller, no excisemen to intrude upon the tradesman: there is no long array of tax

gatherers, no host of well paid commissioners. There are no indirect taxes stealthily filching from the purchaser a large part of every shilling he expends. Tenpence is the regular price for three pounds of good moist sugar, excellent coffee is sold for 10d. or 1s. the pound, and good tea at 2s. 5d. And even from these prices a considerable reduction is to be made. The pound weight is more than 17 oz. of our standard, making a difference of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; and English money is always at a considerable premium. These two causes reduce the tea quoted at 2s. 5d. to 2s. English, and other articles in proportion.

The islands have repeatedly been troubled by the intermeddling of the British Parliament or Ministry: and well do these parts of their history exemplify the words of Solomon: 'wisdom is a defence.' When England was attempting by the legerdemain of an act of parliament to make a pound note and a shilling worth a guinea, though, de facto, a guinea would buy a pound note and six shillings, the Guernsey-men saw no mystery in the currency question, but very wisely determined to *say* their money was worth, what every body knew it was really worth. Accordingly, in 1811, and again in 1812, the merchants under the presidency of Mr. Brock, unanimously resolved to raise the denominative value of the coin then current among them; and by this natural expedient, they prevented what would otherwise have inevitably followed, the disappearance of a metallic currency from the island. In 1836 Sir. R. Peel intimated an intention of introducing the British currency into the Channel Islands. Mr. Brock, in a letter relating to this proposal, touched the general question of the currency with the hand of a master, shewed the ruinous consequences of Sir R. Peel's measure in England, and assigned various special reasons why the contemplated change could not be made in Guernsey: and the affair dropped. In 1821 an act, of which the islanders had no notice, received the royal assent, closing the ports of the Channel Islands against wheat, when it was under 80s in England. This was quite a new thing to people accustomed to have their ports open to the productions of all the world, duty free: and the effect of the measure would have been to raise the price of wheat (as often as the price in England was under 80s) to more than double the price for which, after a good harvest, it sells in the islands: and this too among a people dependent, to a great extent, on foreign growth for their very existence. 'Is it possible,' asked Mr. Brock, 'that any intention should exist to take away the very means of our subsistence?' He came over to England together with one of the jurats, to remonstrate, and the obnoxious clause was repealed the next session. In 1834 the agriculturalists of the West of England complained that foreign corn was smuggled

into this country as the produce of the Channel Islands. A blundering report was obtained on the subject, and the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Baring, introduced a bill to deprive the islanders of their ancient right of sending their home grown corn, free of duty, into the English market. Mr. Brock again took the field, accompanied by two deputies from Jersey. They obtained a committee of the House of Commons, triumphantly disproved the allegations of the report on which the pending measure was founded, which was in consequence withdrawn. We cannot forbear extracting the conclusion of a long letter, addressed by Mr. Brock to the Right Honourable Henry Goulburn, and bearing date April 9th, 1835, as a specimen of the manly bearing of this enlightened patriot, when approaching the imperial government.

‘It is unfortunately true, that the agricultural interest is depressed. It is wrong, it is ridiculous, to ascribe any part of that depression to the Channel Islands. The four islands do not contain 25,000 acres fit for cultivation—meadows, orchards, and gardens included. How can this, with any man of reflexion, be held up as an object of jealousy to the landholders, many of whom are owners of estates to a larger extent? Our connexion with England can indeed in no way be injurious to her; her commodities, produce, and manufactures, are freely admitted, to an amount exceeding ten-fold the value of our produce which she so reluctantly takes in return. The trifling quantity of corn exported from the islands, and which the commissioners of customs cannot make to be more than 2,151 quarters of wheat, and 86½ quarters of barley, annually *from all the islands* on the average of five years, is not sufficient to feed one-half, or anything like one-half, of the persons employed in England for the supply of the islands. England trades with no part of the world so advantageously as with the islands, in proportion to their extent. The goods exported by her to the islands amount to at least £500,000, while the produce she takes back does not amount to £120,000;—must we receive all, and send nothing back? Such a system is too barbarous for the 19th century, and how it could enter into the thoughts of those specially appointed for the encouragement of trade is inconceivable. Some persons are disposed to account for it by reasons unconnected with trade, and dependant only on local and agricultural prejudices; if so, it is in vain to argue; and all I must say is, that I cannot think it possible that any statesman should be found, in this country, ready to sacrifice the rights and interests of the smallest community, for the purpose of flattering such prejudices, and should venture to do so, because the community injured is weak and helpless.

Confident in the justice of our cause, and in the honour as well as justice of his Majesty’s Government, I have, &c.’

We were one day accosted by a beggar in Guernsey, and as this is by no means a common occurrence in that part of the

Queen's dominions, it excited much curiosity. The girl (her age might be fourteen) said her father was ill in bed, and the family had no bread to eat. She gave her name and place of abode. A careful enquiry was instituted, and the following authentic information obtained. The man was in good health, and in full work, and in receipt of 15s a week. The house he lived in, with about two-fifths of an acre of land adjoining, were his own, subject to a mortgage payment of not more than one pound a year. This girl was the only beggar seen or heard of, during a month's sojourn in the Channel Islands.

The religious aspect of the islands is very like that of Great Britain. The established church is isolated, and strives to be dominant there, as here. The Methodists are very numerous, and to this active body of christians great praise is due for the diffusion of evangelical instruction throughout the islands. There are Independents, Baptists, &c., as in this country. There are a few catholics in Guernsey, who meet in a neat chapel. In Jersey they have lately built a commodious chapel. The population of St. Peter's Port, the only town in Guernsey, is between fourteen and fifteen thousand; the episcopalian places of worship supply 4602 sittings; and the various meeting-houses belonging to other bodies, 5991. In the year 1750, there were no dissenters of any kind on the island.

It remains to give some account of the disputes which have lately agitated the islands, and to which the leading journals of England have frequently referred. Both Jersey and Guernsey have been brought into collision with the Home Government, but from causes *totally distinct and unconnected*: so that the vindication of Guernsey would leave the dispute of Jersey untouched, and *vice versa*. The Guernsey controversy has called forth the pamphlet of Mr. Bowditch, which is a document of but little interest, excepting as it has elicited the crushing reply of Mr. Tupper.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey is Major-General Napier, famous both as a soldier, and an author; but apparently unfitted for civic duties, by his military habits and imperious temper. He has recklessly involved himself in a succession of disputes with the royal court; and his conduct has been petulant, overbearing, and fatuitous. The historian of the Peninsular war has certainly placed himself in a position, in which every one who admires his chivalrous character, and did admire his liberal professions, will grieve to see him.

In the month of June 1843, General Napier, having been informed that a Frenchman named Du Rocher, who had committed bigamy in Jersey, was residing in Guernsey, determined to have him arrested, with the presumed intention of sending

him out of the island. Du Rocher concealed himself in the house of a Mr. Orchard, a British resident, in whose family he was French preceptor. Mr. Orchard had a French servant named Le Conte. The police finding that this servant knew something about Du Rocher, questioned him; but he evaded their enquiries. Du Rocher, soon after, quitted Guernsey. The governor, vexed at his escape, caused Le Conte to be imprisoned, on the charge of 'having annoyed the constable in the execution of his duty;' and the following morning, commanded that he should be expelled from the islands; thus banishing not the master, but the servant, for keeping his master's secret. This act of stern authority in an island where there are hundreds of French residents, occasioned great ferment. The constable having admitted the expulsion, was asked by the royal court, whose subordinate he was, by whose authority he had acted; and he named the governor. The court (i. e. the bailiff and jurats) then sought, according to their right and custom, an explanatory interview with the governor, who appointed the 9th of October as the time, and his private residence as the place; but instead of receiving the court with the respect due to their station, or with the courtesy of a gentleman, he had the chairs removed from the room, except an elevated one for himself, declined to enter into the conference specially provided for by his oath of office, and dismissed the gentlemen who had waited on him in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, with contumely. Out of these proceedings two questions arose—the question of the governor's power of banishment, and the further question of the right of the royal court to decent treatment when they applied for a free and friendly conference.

On the 1st of January 1844, a number of soldiers met, on the public road, an Englishman named Clark, and his wife, and in a violent and cowardly way assaulted them, leaving Clark in such a state that the medical attendant declared, on oath, he could not answer for his life. A constable was sent to the Fort to claim the offenders. Three were recognised, and removed to jail, the name of one being Thomas Fossey. This man was convicted, 'on evidence as conclusive as was ever heard in a court of justice,' of a most cruel, unprovoked, and cowardly assault, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The next morning, without making the slightest enquiry of or reference to the crown lawyers, General Napier wrote to Sir James Graham, and obtained a free pardon. Nor was this all. The writ of pardon should have been, according to custom, first conveyed to the court and registered, and then executed through the sheriff. General Napier went himself to the jail, presented the document, and ordered the turnkey to release the prisoner.

That officer hesitated, and wished to consult his superior. The general immediately commanded the fort-major to bring down troops and force the jail; to avoid which catastrophe, the turnkey complied with the order. The whole island took the alarm at these unequivocal indications of military despotism. The governor was not a man to halt in his purpose. He bade the law officers prosecute the turnkey on a charge of disobedience. He was tried on the third of March, and unanimously acquitted.

The excitement continued, and was again fanned, when, on the 30th of March, the governor, without provocation, taxed by letter, one of the jurats, Sir William Collings, with having, as a judge on the bench, been guilty towards him, her Majesty's representative, of infamy, falsehood, dishonour, and the breach of his word as a gentleman: which monstrous attack induced Sir William, on the 2nd of April, to appeal to the Lord President of the Privy Council.

These various causes of difference remaining unsettled, on the 20th of May, there arrived her Majesty's steamer *Dee*, with a Queen's Messenger, and her Majesty's steamer *Blazer*, with the dépôt companies of the 23rd, 42nd, and 97th Regiments, from the Isle of Wight. They were followed, on the 21st and 22nd, by other bodies of soldiers. On the 23rd orders were issued that the island militia should not turn out on the 24th, to celebrate the Queen's birth-day, as they had been wont to do.

The landing of the soldiers took the natives by surprise. Every one was at his wits' end to know for what possible purpose they had been sent: some supposed a war was about to break out with France; others, that O'Connell was about to be imprisoned in Castle Cornet, a Guernsey fortress; a few, that General Napier had sent for the troops,—which, however, he denied. The truth soon leaked out: the six hundred soldiers had been despatched to quell a conspiracy against the life of the governor! A conception more absolutely ridiculous was never entertained. That there might be a wicked man, or a few wicked men, in Guernsey, who would be guilty of such a plot, was a possibility none could deny; but that there should be any general conspiracy, requiring a body of troops to put it down, will appear to everyone acquainted with the people, quite incredible. General Napier would not commit a more laughable blunder, if he were to charge such a plot on the 'Maternal Society.' If the natives had been told that they were angels and had wings, or demons and had tails, they could scarcely have been more astounded than when they heard they were conspirators. In due time the whole affair came to trial, and underwent a very searching and lengthened scrutiny; fifteen days being, in whole or in part,

devoted to it. The General attended the sittings of the court and frequently questioned the witnesses.

Strange to say, though an army had been sent for the governor's defence, the persons accused were only five. Two of these five had sought, some months before, to resign their commissions in the militia, on the ground of some dissatisfaction with the promotion of another officer. The General would not allow them to resign. A friend interposed: the affair was settled amicably: the letters on the subject were burnt, the General himself having given them up for that purpose, 'and with the understanding and promise that there should be no further question of their contents.'* Will it be credited that copies of these letters were produced on the trial? We do not profess to be very conversant with the soldier's code of honour, but should have expected that the author of the History of the Peninsular War would rather have been shot than allow these copies of letters to see the light, especially as they were in no way connected with the alleged conspiracy.

Of the five accused persons two were set at liberty, after an examination answering to that of a grand jury in England. The remaining three were brought to trial. The witnesses were in number eight, but three of them only gave testimony bearing on any of the accused. These were the Rev. Daniel Dobrée, and Mr. and Mrs. Waterman. Of these three, the first made himself notorious a few months ago by a letter in the 'Times,' the object of which was to prove himself of sound mind: of which sanity he gave rather strange evidence on the 13th of March. The parishioners being assembled on that day for a public purpose in the churchyard, the reverend gentleman took up his post in the church, fastened the windows with nails and gimblets, placed the union-jack over the pulpit, clothed himself in a surplice, and in that array stood at one of the windows making grimaces at his assembled neighbours.† As to his testimony on the trial, it is sufficient to say, that the counsel for the prosecution abandoned it as worthless.‡ Waterman and his wife deposed that two of the accused had talked in their shop about shooting General Napier, and that they had done this in the presence and hearing of a man of the name of Smith; who being called, declared he had never heard any such words, either there or anywhere else.

A more disgraceful cause never came before a court of justice. The whole affair is a romance, and nothing is wanting to make it complete but the production of the correspondence between General Napier and Sir James Graham, for which we trust some member will move in the present session of parliament.

* Authentic Report, p. 61. † Authentic Report, pp. 40, 43. ‡ Ibid, p. 77.

The various items which have been explained make up the case at issue between General Napier and the people of Guernsey. That case has been heard before the Privy Council. Notwithstanding the efforts made to repress enquiry by technical objections, the decision is, on the whole, favourable to the people.*

The Jersey cause is still undecided; and grievous is it to observe the ignorance and prejudice with which it has been discussed in the public journals of this country. We have no love for Jersey: it is plagued by party spirit to an extent of which, even in England, we can hardly form a conception; the moral tone of the island is far lower than in Guernsey, and it lacks the exquisite cottage-homes of the sister island. Yet there are signs of improvement, among which may be mentioned the establishment, on the 3rd of January last, of a new English newspaper, free from the low-lived asperities which have been an utter disgrace to the community tolerating them.

In May last an Englishman, Mr Charles Carus Wilson, published an insulting letter to the lieutenant-governor of Jersey, Major-General Sir Edward Gibbs. A public meeting of the native and English inhabitants of St. Helier's was convened to express indignation at this wanton attack. The chief magistrate of the town, Mr. Le Sueur, presided. Mr. Wilson sent a written apology to the government-house, and then published a libel on Mr. Le Sueur, who brought an action against him. On the trial, Wilson insulted and bullied the court; he shook his fist at the judges, brandished a brandy bottle, poured out a glass and tossed it off with an insulting gesture to the bench, told the court it was corrupt, boasted that he would galvanize the judges, &c. After long forbearance, he was sentenced to pay a fine of ten pounds to the Queen, and to apologize to the bench. He refused to do either, and was imprisoned. In prison his treatment has been as lenient as possible. He has applied in England for a writ of Habeas Corpus, which would remove the cause to Westminster. The writ has been granted. *Is it legal?* That is the sole question at issue; and it will soon be decided before the proper tribunal. All the eloquence, therefore, of the newspapers about 'a monstrous anomaly,' and 'the sovereignty of the Queen,' &c., is mere waste of words.

* In taking leave of Guernsey, we may mention the possible existence of a document which might, just now, be of no small interest, could it be discovered. The following is from Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, published in 1791:—'In the library at Kirby, the seat of Lord Hatton, is a MS. account of the island Guernsey, written by the first Lord Hatton, said to be admirably well done, and ready for the press.'—vol ii. p. 315.

The first Lord Hatton died in 1670. We have made inquiry after this MS., but without success.

In order that an act of the imperial parliament may become law in the Channel Islands, two things are said to be requisite: the islands must be named in the act, and the act must be registered in the islands, having been transmitted for that purpose by the Privy Council. The Habeas Corpus Act has the first of these requisites, but lacks the second. Nor could it be made to run into those parts of the Queen's possessions, without infringing the constitution there enjoyed. Its effect, moreover, would be to render justice complicated, expensive, and tardy. The right of the inhabitants to be tried in their own local courts is 'one of their most ancient and vital privileges.'*

In the year 1831 some paupers—children of soldiers—were sent to Guernsey, from St. Pancras, London. The island authorities denied that the paupers were chargeable on the island, and refused to allow Capes, the beadle of St. Pancras, to leave without them. Some months after, Capes and the paupers being still on the island, the parish of St. Pancras obtained from Lord Tenterden a writ of Habeas Corpus for the beadle. When his lordship's tipstaff appeared in Guernsey, the Royal Court immediately refused to make any return to the writ. Lord Tenterden then issued a warrant for the apprehension of the deputy sheriff, by whom Capes was detained. The tipstaff, who served this warrant on the 7th of May, was himself forthwith given into custody, taken before the court, and told that he had no authority in Guernsey. The Government now interfered, and an order of the Privy Council was sent, bearing date June 11, 1832, requiring the Habeas Corpus Act to be registered in the islands. The authorities in both Jersey and Guernsey, resolved to suspend such registry till they had remonstrated. Deputies repaired to London, Mr. Brock being one. The Order in Council was abandoned, the act was not registered, the beadle and paupers returned to London.

The institutions of the Channel Islands are not indeed perfect, but they are such as the people venerate for their antiquity and love for their fruits. Why should they be deprived of them? We trust that the good sense of the British public will prevent such a catastrophe. Let the institutions in question be amended where they need reform; but let them not be dealt with in ignorance or prejudice.

* The Jersey authorities have admitted the jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench. They should have declined it, and the whole case would then have been argued before the Privy Council.

Art. III.—*Le Juif Errant, the Wandering Jew.* A Tale. By Eugene Sue.

THE Eclectic is not in the habit of devoting its pages to works of fiction of a questionable character, which, whatever mental stimulus they may minister to people who read nothing else, are too frequently but the evaporations of disordered brains, and calculated only to derange the brains of others. Such is, in general, the character of French novels; and yet it is for a French novel that we depart from our rule. This renders an explanation necessary.

The minister for public instruction, the '*Grand Maître*' of the French university, Villemain, has lately been declared raving mad. Those who have long known this unprincipled and heartless sophist, may wonder that a man so utterly devoid of all kinds of affection should have been subject to such a visitation, but the fact is officially notified, and there can therefore be no doubt about it. The cause of this sudden attack of insanity is differently reported. The first version which was obtained from parties, whose means of information and accuracy are well ascertained, gives a striking exemplification of the working of constitutional government in France.

The administrative tyranny, which is the only thing secured by the constitution of the country, has, during the last fourteen years, gradually reduced to a most abject state of subserviency and helplessness all classes of the people but one, the catholic clergy, the sole organized body now left in France, in some sort independent of the governmental centralisation. It is in the nature of the catholic clergy, and indeed of every state priesthood, to aspire to absolute authority, to place the divine power, with which they pretend to be invested, above all civil power: and they only limit their pretensions to forming an independent state in the state, when circumstances will not allow them to domineer over the state.

Such is at present the condition of the clergy of France, all the members of which are besides disaffected to the government established by a revolution made against them, much more than against a dynasty; and are longing for another restoration from which they anticipate the return of the glorious days of Charles X.* All the efforts made by the citizen king and

* During an excursion recently made in the northern departments of France, we had abundant proofs of the existence of such feelings. There is not a curate who has not the portrait and autograph of Henry V. in his room.

his successive ministries, to conciliate them, have been unavailing, and the government, in its own defence it must be admitted, though not for the good of the people, was compelled to adopt measures for controlling and counteracting the increasing and threatening influence of its inveterate enemies. The principal of these measures relates to the education of the young men preparing for the church, and its object is to place all diocesan religious schools (*petits séminaires*), like all the other schools in the country, under the controul of the royal university. Villemain, as minister for public instruction, prepared and proposed a law for that purpose, which was readily assented to by the subservient Chamber of Peers, but which occasioned such a burst of indignation, on the part of the bishops and the clergy, and led to such violent controversy, that its discussion in the House of Deputies was adjourned from the last to the present session.

Previous to the opening of the Chambers, Villemain had to consult with the king about the introduction of the law into the House of Deputies. The minister, after his warfare with the bishops, considering his honour as at stake, and relying upon the king's obstinacy in his own plans, was determined to press the adoption of the measure, in the lower house, without any concession to the clerical body. Contrary to his expectations, he found the king in a different disposition, and a warm discussion ensued. The irascibility to which his majesty always was subject has, of late years, increased to such a point, that the least contradiction puts him into a passion, and, in this state, he does not minutely weigh the expressions he makes use of, unless it be to render them still more haughty and provoking. After all, this may be proper treatment for the members of his present cabinet, and especially for the one in question, who, in April, 1814, on the place Vendôme, publicly seized the stirrups and kissed the boots of the Emperor Alexander, proclaiming him at the same time the saviour of the country!

We are bound, however, to admit that the king must have carried his practice to a great extremity, since a man of the temper of Villemain, a character stamped with thirty-three years subserviency under every successive government, could not help resenting the insult, and rejoining in terms so ill-sounding to the royal ears, that the master interrupted him in these terms : '*Allons donc ! vous êtes fou.*'

Most of our readers are aware that the legitimate kings of France had the gift of curing the scurvy, by merely touching the sufferer, and saying : '*Le Roi te touche ; Dieu te guérisse !*' The king of the Barricades, it appears, has another but more awful gift ; for, no sooner had the words escaped from his mouth,

than madness had seized the minister, who, losing sight of the king, and imagining that he was '*tête à tête*' with a Jesuit, rushed upon him, seized him by the neckcloth, and was doing his best to strangle him, when, at the cries of the king, officers of his household entered and liberated him from the grasp of the madman, who, cleverly enough for a person in his situation, escaped from the palace, ran to the lunatic asylum where his wife is confined, and being led to her apartment by the doctor, fell into her arms, and said that the Jesuits had ruined him; that he had just had a personal encounter with the very worst of them, whom, had it not been for his assistants, he would have annihilated; but he was overpowered. 'What will become of you, my poor wife? what will become of our children? Jesuits never forgive! we are all undone!' &c. &c.

The doctor, a clever man, immediately saw that, instead of one patient he was likely to have two, and hesitated if he should not immediately order a private room and a strait waistcoat: but, the thought that the huge, unclean, and unintelligent mass in human form he had before him, was a minister, a '*Grand Maître*,' stopped him, and he ordered two servants to take a hackney coach, and see the madman home to his ministerial residence, which orders were instantly and respectfully obeyed. Immediately after the doctor repaired to the palace, and reported the scene which he had witnessed.

The news of such an event spread all over Paris, and its propagation soon alarmed the Thuilleries more than the event itself, and all the ministers were speedily assembled at the palace, to consider what was to be done under such circumstances. The king, already informed of all the particulars that had been circulated, in the first moments of general emotion, thought it best, in his vaunted clemency, to forget every thing except the averred madness of Villemain, and condescended to order those of his household who had witnessed the facts, to lose all recollection of them, and be silent until the official account was regularly and formally issued. There being no doubt about the lunacy of the absent colleague, a family predisposition to it was easily established. One of his youngest brothers, a scholar of the imperial Lycée, (now college Louis le Grand), hung himself in a cell where he had been placed under arrest. Another, afterwards an officer of artillery, committed so many acts of folly, that, in 1823, he was sent to the colonies, through the influence of his brother, then a legitimist, to get rid of him. Furthermore, incipient insanity, so far back as 1827, was proved against Villemain himself, by the publication of a romance, entitled, *LASCARIS*: therefore it was agreed that the fact of the lunacy should be officially admitted, with suitable expressions of regret

at the loss of the invaluable services of such a man, and of hope that his recovery would soon enable him to render new services to the state. Nay more, the better to secure and hasten the complete cure of the unfortunate *Grand Maître*, the king resolved to grant him a pension of fifteen thousand francs a year, and, with his customary liberality, ordered the council to prepare and propose a law for making this pension payable by the people.

But a most important point remained unsettled; that is to say, the immediate cause, and the circumstances which attended the outburst of madness. The witnesses of the facts, in the first impulse of wonder and indignation, had been so indiscreet as to give all the particulars, which had soon spread over Paris, on such authority, and with such effect, that an official denial was considered as likely to be unsuccessful, and even to be more injurious than the report itself. Thanks to the wisdom evinced by the king, in ordering his attendants to forget all that occurred in their presence, as he himself had resolved to do, though they were not required to be silent, the constitutional government was extricated from this embarrassing situation. On the day after the event, twenty different and contradictory versions were so industriously circulated, that even the best knowing began to doubt, not merely the accuracy of the reports, but also the truth of the fact itself, of Villemain being mad. This disposition of the public was another difficulty for the ministers, particularly at the opening of the legislative session; but fortunately, Villemain came to their assistance, and set the matter at rest, by jumping out of a window, without in the least injuring himself, in an attempt to escape from his ministerial residence, where, he declared, that Jesuits were threatening to poison or murder him.

This last act of decided lunacy was at once made known everywhere; and as it established that the predominant, if not the only character of the mental disease, was hatred and fear of Jesuits, every one naturally was anxious to ascertain what could have occasioned that hatred and fear, on the part of a minister of state, who had at his disposal the police, the gendarmes, the king's attorneys, the general attorneys, the judges and the juries of the land. This anxiety was soon relieved; and the good people of Paris, and of the rest of France, were gravely and *almost officially* told, that the reading of the 'Wandering Jew' had done all the mischief. The moment this wonderful piece of news was promulgated, all the previous reports and rumours were obliterated from the public mind. Villemain himself would have been completely lost sight of, were it not that his madness was connected with the all-absorbing subject, 'Le Juif Errant.' Nothing else was spoken of. 'Have you read the

'Juif Errant,' which disorganized the mind of our Grand Maître?' 'You must read the 'Juif Errant,'—'all must read the 'Juif Errant,'—for a while supplanted the customary greeting of every one, on meeting with an acquaintance: Good morning—how do you do? Such being the case among our neighbours, it is clear that we could not avoid remarking on the 'Juif Errant' to the readers of the '*Eclectic*.'

If our limits allowed us so to do, we should here claim attention to some new political questions arising from the facts admitted in Paris, and which, for aught we know, may soon occur here also, and endanger, if not the person of her most gracious Majesty, at least, the existence of her government. We must content ourselves with merely propounding them, in the hope that they may be taken up by some of our political philosophers, in want of a subject; nay, even by the author of '*Coningsby*,' so well qualified to elucidate the following points:

1st. The superiority of romances, novels, and tales over history, in exhibiting the events and characters of our times.

2nd. Romances, novels, and tales, considered as a medium of government.

3rd. Romances, novels, and tales, considered as engines of opposition and of ministerial revolutions.

4th, and last, The superior fitness of romance and novel writers for the government of our own or any other country, on the now generally-admitted principle of expediency; that is to say, of finding out expedients in any given circumstances.

There is no inconsistency between this last proposition, and the fact stated in a preceding page, of incipient insanity being proved against Villemain, by his writing and publishing '*Lascaris*;' for, notwithstanding the title and the matter of the book, and the evident intention of rivaling the travels of Anacharsis, by Barthelemy, and the journey of Anténor in Greece, by Lantier, the few persons who ever read the book, could never range it under any category, except that of '*Livres ennuyeux*;' while the publisher, Ladvocat, placed it on the pile of '*unsaleable books*,' where almost the whole edition was found by the assignees of his bankruptcy, two or three years afterwards; and sold as waste paper, with half the edition of the *Life of Cromwell*, by the same author.

Villemain himself, conscious of his failure, admitted that he was a bad hand at novel writing; and, not only never thought of again attempting it, but even began to feel and to express contempt and aversion for that special kind of literature; so much so, that, being asked one day by a lady, his opinion of *Notre Dame de Paris*, he answered, '*Je ne lis pas ces ordures*!' (I do not read those dirty books.) How, then, did it occur that

the despiser of Victor Hugo should have made an exception in favour of Eugene Sue, and should have read the 'Juif Errant,' after his unqualified reprobation of 'Notre Dame'? This must be explained.

Our readers are not aware of the discredit into which the daily press of Paris has fallen. The inconsistency, the party prejudices, the unblushing corruption of all the newspapers, their neglect of general interests for coterie quarrels, have so disgusted the public, that very few care about them, except for the scanty news which they occasionally contain. A glance at this part of the paper is all they condescend to give; and as they can see all the newspapers for nothing at the coffee-houses, or for one penny, at the 'cabinets de lecture,' (reading-rooms,) established in almost every street in Paris, very few persons regularly take in a paper, as annual or even quarterly subscribers, except coffee-house or reading-room keepers. The consequence naturally has been a considerable decrease in the circulation of all the newspapers, an idea of which may be formed from the fact, that the twenty-eight thousand annual subscribers to the 'Constitutionnel,' in 1829, had dropped down to three thousand, a few years ago; * whilst, at the same time, the circulation of other newspapers did not increase.

All the efforts of newspaper proprietors to raise the general circulation of their journals, literary critiques, verses, police and law reports, and even a considerable reduction in price, were of no avail. At last, one of the proprietors imagined that tales and novels might be more acceptable than his politics; that, if gentlemen were disinclined to waste their time on such reading, ladies would probably be less fastidious; and that, as they could not, without impropriety, frequent the coffee-houses or reading-rooms, to gratify their desire for startling emotions, they would induce their husbands or their parents to take an *abonnement* to the paper. This plan succeeded well enough with one (we think) *la Presse*, to induce other newspaper proprietors to follow the example; and, finally, the old 'Constitutionnel' itself adopted the same course; taking care, in the mean while, to announce that the services of M. Eugene Sue had been engaged, at the price of one hundred thousand francs for a novel which he was then writing, and which would regularly appear in the *Feuilleton*. On the faith of this report, and judging of the value of the work, by the enormous sum said to have been paid for it, every reader of romances subscribed to the 'Consti-

* In 1828, Lafitte bought one of the fifteen shares of the 'Constitutionnel,' for Messrs. Cauchois-Lemaire, and Thiers, for which he paid 100,000 francs, (£4000,) and three years ago the whole paper was bought for £5000 sterling, by Veron, a compeer of Thiers.

tutionnel,' whose circulation was increased, it is said, by nine or ten thousand copies a day.

Thus it is that the 'Wandering Jew' was introduced to the Grand Maître, who, as well as all the other ministers, subscribed to all the newspapers; sometimes condescending to look at them. After the quasi-official announcement that Villemain used to read, with deep interest, all the numbers of the Constitutionnel which contained a portion of the new novel, we know French ministerial veracity too well to express a doubt with regard to the truth of the statement, and, therefore, our readers will, if they please, take for granted that the minister studiously perused the work, and that the work upset the understanding of the minister. We should think that many other brains have been similarly affected, by the same cause, and perhaps all the cases will soon be publicly reported, to add to the triumph of the author, and to the circulation of the Constitutionnel.

Eugene Sue is one of the most prolific of French novel writers. 'The Female Bluebeard,' 'the Godolphin Arab,' 'Mathilde,' 'the Mysteries of Paris,' and, we believe, three or four other works of the same sort, in three, four, or five volumes each, had prepared the public for the present performance, which reproduces, in their worst features, the extravagance, the licentiousness, the ignorance, the absurdity, and the horrors of the thirty or forty preceding volumes, from the same pen, and of twenty times as many volumes from other purveyors for the depraved appetites of French readers, who, we regret to say, are principally women of the upper classes, and milliners, known as *grisettes*.

We cannot describe the plan of the author, for now-a-days, particularly in France, authors dispense with plans. 'Plans have lasted their time.' (*Les plans ont fait leur temps*), as the high priest of the Doctrine says of all the moral, political and religious principles, which are incompatible with doctrinarian science. Plans are obsolete, ridiculous, *rococo*. Without plan, one is free to write what he pleases, and as he pleases. Imagination may run wild, instead of being shut up in the narrow limits of order and taste, of the *methodus ordo*. For the same reason there is not merely a plot, there are as many plots as may be suggested to the author, in the course of his performance, by any new object, fact, or impression which may affect his mind. Thus every thing can be made available for the purpose of diversity. The whole world, and every part of it successively, may be made the theatre of one scene, and all without connection or dependence. Coherence would be a damning defect in modern works of fiction. Modern genius, in one word, con-

sists in making, if we can use the expression, literary kaleidoscopes, in which epochs, events, countries, institutions, manners, and personages are so congregated, confused, distorted and wheeled round, that nobody can say of what he sees, either what it is, or what it is not. Such is preeminently the character of the 'Wandering Jew.'

The real beginning of the work takes place in the third volume, chap. lxxviii. and lxxvii. In 1682, a certain Marius de Rennepont, a French nobleman, one of the most active and determined leaders of the reformed religion, pretended to abjure protestantism, in order to preserve his immense property, and so leave it to his only son, then a young man of eighteen years of age, who however remained faithful to his creed, and 'died a victim to a mysterious crime.' The father could no longer submit to a deception repugnant to his religious feelings; he was watched, accused, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; he was sentenced to the galleys. Rather than submit to this degradation, slavery and wretchedness, he resolved to put an end to his own existence, and, before accomplishing his design, made his will. A sum of fifty thousand crowns, which he had entrusted to a friend, was all that remained of his fortune. These fifty thousand crowns, divided amongst his relatives, then exiled and dispersed throughout Europe, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, would have been very little for each, he therefore determined to dispose of his property in a different way. The man to whom the money had been entrusted, Isaac Samuel, and after him his descendants, were requested to undertake the management of this sum, and of the capitalised interest, until the expiration of the one hundred and fiftieth year, commencing from the day of the nobleman's death. At that period, that is to say, on the 13th of February, 1832, before noon, the existing members of his family were to appear in person at a certain house, Rue St. Francis, to witness the opening of the will; and those who should be present were to share equally in the accumulated treasure.

The object of M. de Rennepont, whose family had been so cruelly persecuted by the Jesuits, is explained in the will in the following terms: 'If an evil association, based on human degradation, fear, and despotism, and followed by the curses of mankind, has survived for ages, and frequently governed the world by fraud and terror, what might not be expected from one proceeding on brotherly affection, or evangelical love, and having no other end than to free both man and woman from every degrading bondage; administering here below to the

happiness of those who have never known aught but grief and misery : ennobling and enriching wholesome labour ; enlightening those who are in the darkness of ignorance ; promoting the free expansion of all those feelings which God, in his infinite wisdom, in his inexhaustible bounty has bestowed on man, as so many powerful lovers, to sanctify all that emanates from the Almighty,—love as well as maternal solicitude,—power as well as knowledge,—beauty as well as wisdom ;—rendering, in short, all men truly pious and profoundly grateful to their Creator, for giving them a knowledge of the splendours of nature, and their merited share of the treasures which he has showered down upon us ? Oh ! that it would please heaven, in a century and a half, that the descendants of my family, faithful to the last wishes of one who is a friend to humanity, may thus be gathered together in one holy community ! If Heaven grants that among those who may then meet, there be charitable spirits overflowing with pity for those who are suffering—generous souls who are friendly to freedom—warm and eloquent hearts—firm characters—women uniting wisdom and freedom with beauty—how fruitful and powerful would be the harmonious junction of all these ideas, of all these influences, of all these powers, of all these attractions, grouped around this regal fortune, which, concentrated by union and wisely governed, might render practicable the most utopian schemes ! What a wonderful concentration of generous and fertile thoughts ; what salutary and vivifying rays would constantly go forth from such a centre of charity, of freedom, and of love ! What grand things might be attempted ; what magnificent ———— ;’ but we must stop, though we have hardly arrived at the middle of the paragraph, which is followed by many others equally magniloquent.

In this literal translation our object is to give, as much as is in our power, an accurate idea of the mind of Eugène Sue, and of his style ; we confess that we are much beneath our original ; perhaps the British language does not lend itself to the reproduction of the beauties of French romanticism.

In 1832, the capital and accumulated interests of the fifty thousand crowns, according to the accounts regularly kept, balanced and given by M. Sue, in the seventy-second chapter, entitled, *Debit and Credit*, amounted to two hundred and twelve millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand francs. The grandson of the first depositor, now an old man of eighty-two, had for above fifty years continued and extended the operations begun by his father and grandfather, while at the same time he fulfilled the humble functions of *conciërge* of the old house in St. Francis-street, where all the documents and the will were

deposited. Samuel, the good old man, and his wife Bathsheba, anxiously awaited the coming of the 13th of February, and of the legitimate claimants to the property, who were dispersed all over the world.

But the Jesuits, who are everywhere, and know everything, not only had discovered that an enormous amount of property was on the point of being divided among the descendants of the relatives of their victims, but also had resolved to become possessors of it. They were acquainted with all the particulars of the will of M. Marius de Rennepont; nay, even more, they had traced out all the parties having a claim to the property, notwithstanding the long time that had elapsed, and the perigrinations and vicissitudes they had been subjected to. Thus we find (chap. xvi) the superior agent of the Jesuits in Paris, receiving the following communication:—

‘A hundred and fifty years ago, a French protestant family, foreseeing the speedy revocation of the edict of Nantes, went into voluntary exile, in order to avoid the rigorous and just decrees already issued against the members of the reformed church, those indomitable foes of our holy religion.

‘Some members of this family sought refuge in Holland, and afterwards in the Dutch colonies; others in Poland and Germany; some in England, and some in America. It is supposed that only seven descendants remain of this family, who have undergone strange vicissitudes. Its present representatives are found in all ranks of society, from the sovereign to the mechanic. These descendants, direct or indirect, are: on the mother’s side:

‘Rose and Blanch Simon; under age. (General Simon married at Warsaw a descendant of the said family.)

‘M. Francis Hardy, manufacturer at Plessis, near Paris.

‘Prince Djalma, son of Kadja Sing, King of Mondî. (Kadja Sing married, in 1802, a descendant of the aforesaid family, then settled at Batavia, in the island of Java, a Dutch colony.

‘On the father’s side:

‘James Rennepont, mechanic.

‘Adrienne de Cardoville, daughter of Count Rennepont, Duke of Cardoville.

‘Gabriel Rennepont, priest of the foreign missions.

‘All the members of the family possess, or should possess, a bronze medal, bearing the following inscriptions:

‘On one side:

‘Victim

of

L. C. D. I.

Pray for me.

Paris,

13th February, 1682.’

' On the other side :

' At Paris,
No. 3, Francis street,
In a century and a half,
You must be.
' The 13th February, 1832.
Pray for me.'

' These words and dates show that all of them have a great interest to be in Paris on the 13th of February, 1832, and not by proxy, but in person, whether they be of age or minors, married or single ; but other persons have an equal interest that none of the descendants of the family be at Paris on that day, except Gabriel Rennepont, priest of the foreign missions. At all hazards, therefore, Gabriel must be the only person present at the rendezvous appointed to the descendants of the family, a century and a half ago. To prevent the six other persons from reaching Paris on that day, or to render their presence of no effect, much has been already done ; but much more remains to be done to ensure the success of the affair, which is considered as the most vital and most important of the age, on account of its probable results.'

Our readers will conceive the importance of Gabriel being the only one of the claimants present at the appointed place, on the 13th of February, when they are apprised that the young priest has been admitted into the society of Jesuits ; and that, according to the rules of the Order, no member of the society can possess any private fortune ; and that any property which may, by succession or otherwise, accrue to him, immediately becomes the property of the Order.

Much had been done, as we see in the novel, to prevent all the other claimants from being in Paris, to dispute with the reverend fathers their respective shares in the accumulated capital. At the time when the communication above quoted was received by the director-general (at the beginning of October), Rose and Blanche Simon were with their mother, captives in Siberia. Prince Djalma was either fighting against the 'cruel' English, to defend the kingdom of his father, with the assistance of General Simon ; or, defeated, a fugitive, or prisoner. Gabriel himself was in America, and had been ordered home. James Rennepont, the mechanic, was ignorant of his claims ; and Mr. Hardy, the manufacturer, as well as Mademoiselle Adrienne de Cardoville, were supposed to know no more of theirs. So that, in all probability, the treasures would soon pass into the Jesuits' coffers.

The covetous fathers, however, were doomed to disappointment. Some days before the 13th of February two ships—one

coming from America, the other from Hamburgh—assailed by a tremendous storm, were thrown on the rocky shores of Picardy, completely wrecked. Most of the passengers were drowned, some few only being saved, and hospitably received by the bailiff of the castle of Cardoville. Among these few, however, were Rose and Blanche Simon, Gabriel, and Prince Djalma; with an old horse-grenadier of the Imperial Guard, and a Malay ruffian who accompanied the prince, to betray or serve him, as might best suit his momentary interests. All of them were in Paris on the 11th or 12th of February, ready to appear on the 13th at the appointed place; whilst, on the other side, Mademoiselle Adrienne de Cardoville let some few words escape which indicated a certain knowledge of the mysterious secret: so that years of Jesuitical toil to obtain the golden prize were completely lost.

In these unfavorable circumstances, the reverend fathers were not discouraged; on the contrary, they resolved to resort to extreme measures in order that their own claimant should alone be present at the rendezvous. On the fatal 13th of February, Rose and Blanche Simon had been carried away from the lodgings of their humble protector, and shut up in a convent. Mademoiselle Adrienne de Cardoville was confined in a mad-house, where she had been driven in the carriage of her medical doctor, under pretence of conducting her to the residence of the minister. James Rennepont, the mechanic, had been arrested in the middle of a most disgusting orgie, and led to the debtor's prison. Mr. Hardy, the manufacturer, had been sent to Lyons, by a forged letter of a friend in that city, claiming his assistance; and Prince Djalma, having drunk a draught given to him by his Malay attendant, was kept in a profound sleep in his apartment at the hotel.

Having disposed, in this summary way, of all the claimants except their own, the Jesuits were masters of the field; and, on the 13th of February, before noon, the provincial, Father d'Aigrigny, with his secretary, Rodin, were at the house Rue St. Francis, with the Abbé Gabriel, to assist at the opening of the walled up mansion, to hear the reading of the will, to pass the accounts of old Samuel, in presence of a notary, and to take possession of all the property. Every thing went on as they could wish; and all the formalities having been fulfilled, a clock placed in an adjoining room to that in which they were, though it had not been wound up for one century and a half, began striking twelve. No sooner was the last stroke heard, than the secretary, Rodin, exclaimed 'Twelve o'clock!' and the notary said, 'No other descendant of M. Marius de Rennepont having presented himself before noon, I proceed to execute the will of the testator, and declare, in the name of justice and the law, M. Francis

Marie Gabriel de Rennepont, here present, the sole and only heir and possessor of the estates, personal and real property, and valuables of whatever kind arising from the succession of the testator,—which property the said Gabriel de Rennepont, priest, has freely, and on his own accord, given by notorial act, to Frederic Emanuel de Bordeville, Marquis d'Aigrigny, priest, who, by the same deed, has accepted it, and thereby becomes the legitimate possessor, in the room and place of the aforesaid Gabriel de Rennepont, by a deed of gift between living persons, which has been, this morning, engrossed by me, and signed, Gabriel de Rennepont, and Frederic d'Aigrigny, priests.' The notary, then, after having ascertained the amount of the property, which was deposited in a cedar casket, said to Father d'Aigrigny, 'Sir, take possession of this casket.'

Thus far the success of the Jesuits was complete, and both Father d'Aigrigny and Rodin, the secretary, were exulting in their triumph; but when just on the point of departing, the latter holding under his arm the cedar casket, containing the property—at that very moment, the door of the room wherein the clock was heard to strike, was suddenly thrown open, and a woman appeared upon the threshold. After pausing some little time, without speaking a word, she advanced slowly, approached one of the pieces of antique furniture, touched a secret spring and opened the top drawer, from which she took a parcel of sealed parchment, and approaching the table, she placed the parcel before the notary, who took it up mechanically, having till that moment been both mute and motionless. After having bestowed on Gabriel, who seemed fascinated by her presence, a look of melancholy sweetness, she directed her steps towards the door of the vestibule. In passing old Samuel and Bathsheba, who had fallen on their knees, she stopped a moment, and bending her beautiful head towards the elderly couple, she contemplated them with tender solicitude, and after having given them her hand to kiss, she retreated as slowly as she had entered, but not without casting a parting look on Gabriel.'

Of course all the witnesses of this extraordinary apparition of a woman, in a house uninhabited and walled up for a hundred and fifty years, had been thrown into a sort of stupefaction. D'Aigrigny and Rodin, however, soon sufficiently recovered their self possession, to seize the opportunity which the amazement of all the parties present offered, of making a hasty retreat with their treasure, without waiting for the opening of the parcel delivered by the mysterious lady, which had begun to excite their apprehension. Their exit, however, was observed and prevented by old Samuel, who insisted upon their remaining in the room, until the notary had examined the parchment which had just been put into his hands. The notary being of the same

opinion with the faithful trustee, Father d'Aigrigny and the secretary were obliged to comply with the request. The parcel was opened in their presence, and the notary read the following codicil:—

‘This is a codicil, which, for reasons which will be explained in the papers under this cover, adjourn and prorogue to the 1st of June 1832, but without altering in any other respect, the disposition contained in the will made by me this day, at one o'clock in the afternoon. The house must be shut up and walled up again, and the property must remain in charge of the person who may, at that time, be in possession of it, to be, on the 1st of June, distributed to those who are entitled to it. Villeteuse, the 13th February, 1682, eleven o'clock at night. Marius de Rennepont.’

In conformity with the dispositions of this codicil, the notary, in spite of the protests of the two Jesuits, postponed for three months and a-half the liquidation of the succession, and all the parties left the house. Father d'Aigrigny, with his assistant, repaired to the residence of the Princess St. Dizier, a leader of the female Jesuits in Paris, to report their misadventure. D'Aigrigny, in a state of hopeless despondency, after relating all the particulars of this eventful morning, to the princess, thought it necessary to write, without delay, to the General of the Jesuits at Rome. He ordered his secretary to take his seat at the table, and to write what he was going to dictate. Rodin obeyed, and the reverend Father began in these terms:

‘All our hopes, recently amounting to almost a certainty, have been blasted. The Rennepont affair, notwithstanding all the care and ability with which it had hitherto been managed, has completely failed, and without a chance of recovery. As matters are at present, it has unfortunately been worse than unsuccessful. It is a most disastrous circumstance for the society, to whom this wealth morally belonged, by the confiscation decreed in its favour, and from which it was fraudulently withheld. I have, however, the satisfaction of having done every thing up to the latest moment, to defend and secure our rights. But, I repeat, we must consider this important affair as absolutely and for ever at an end, and give no further thought to it.’

These last words were hardly spoken when the secretary rose from his chair, and throwing his pen upon the table, refused to continue writing such a letter, notwithstanding the repeated commands of the reverend father, and the entreaties of the princess. Rodin, the hitherto humble and submissive secretary, on a sudden assumed such an air of superiority that though he did not speak a word, d'Aigrigny and the princess felt unaccountably subdued. The fact is that, this subordinate agent had been given

to him, to act as a spy as much and more than as an auxiliary, with power and authority, in certain urgent cases, and according to the constitution of the Order, of superseding and replacing him. D'Aigrigny began to suspect this, and said to Rodin: 'No doubt you have a right to command me, as I have hitherto commanded you?' Rodin, without answering, drew from his pocket-book a slip of paper which he presented to his ex-master, who, having read it, returned it with a profound obeisance. The first use that Rodin made of his authority, was to order d'Aigrigny to take the seat which he himself had just left; and to write the following letter to the General of the Jesuits.

'From want of tact, in reverend father d'Aigrigny, the affair of Rennepont has been to-day placed in great jeopardy. The property amounts to two hundred and twelve millions of francs. Notwithstanding this check, we think that we may yet be enabled, not only to prevent the Rennepont family from wronging the society, but also to compel that family to restore to the society the two hundred and twelve millions which legitimately belong to us. To effect this we must immediately be provided with the most ample and complete powers.'

Such is the outline of M. Eugene Sue's novel, the continuation of which, in the *Constitutionnel*, has been discontinued for a time, since the opening of the legislative session; the eloquence of liberal members, in behalf of M. Thiers's policy, claiming the space hitherto reserved to the chapters of the Novelist. But, in all probability, the fair subscribers will soon be dissatisfied with the substitute, and our author will resume his work, and add as many chapters as have already been printed.

As to the incidents, which, mixing one with another, or crossing one another, produce a most ludicrous confusion, they are all brought about by the influence of the Jesuits, in order to prevent the members of the Rennepont family from being present, to sustain their claim to the succession of Marius de Rennepont, at the time fixed for the division of the property. We therefore have, in succession, all the adventures of all the members of the family, detailed with all the minuteness and prolixity which characterize penny-liners, without their regard for accuracy or probability.

The first personages introduced are Rose and Blanche Simon. No romance, in France, is acceptable, unless the soldiers of the empire are introduced, and play a principal part. General Simon was, according to our author, one of the bravest followers of Napoleon; and for the courage and military skill he displayed in the combat which preceded the battle of Waterloo, he had been made a field-marshal and Duke of Ligny. After the second restoration of the Bourbons, who refused to confirm his titles,

General Simon left the service, and repaired to Poland, where he married. But, being soon after implicated in a conspiracy, the object of which was the liberation of Poland from the Russian tyranny, the general was ordered out of the country, in which he left his wife, advanced in her pregnancy. The Jesuits, who were already aware of the claims of the lady to a share in the succession of Rennepont, contrived to have her exiled to Siberia, where she gave birth to the twin-sisters, and died towards the end of 1830, leaving them under the protection of an old mounted grenadier of the imperial guard, who, at the demand of his general, had sworn never to desert his wife, and was faithful to his oath. After the death of Madame Simon, the old soldier, who had been made acquainted with the rights of the young girls, and who knew how important it was for them to be in Paris on the 13th of February, immediately set off with the orphans, and, with the assistance of an old horse, also of the imperial guard (a clever addition to the requisite imperialism), he succeeded in reaching Leipsic, where we find them all in the third chapter.

The Jesuits who, by a singular oversight, had not prevented their departure from Siberia, hastened to take proper measures to arrest their progress; and, for this purpose, had sent to Leipsic one of their agents, a wild beast tamer, like Carter or Van Amburg, to whom proper directions were given. This man, Morock, an Indian savage, converted by the Jesuits, was at the Falcon Inn, with his assistants, and a tiger, a lion, and a panther, respectively named Cain, Judas, and Death, when the old soldier, Dagobert, arrived. The plans of the beast tamer to hinder the wanderers from pursuing their journey were carried into execution, in the same night. The old horse was taken from its stable, and brought to the panther, who having been deprived of her supper, soon devoured the poor animal; the passports of Dagobert were stolen from his bag; and he was arrested, and led to a prison, where we lose sight of him, as well as of his interesting wards, until we find them, with him, on board the ship from Hamburg, wrecked on the rocks of the coast of Picardy:—rocks created for the purpose, by the author, who takes the greatest liberties with geography and topography, as well as with contemporary history.

As we have before stated, the two sisters who had been brought to Paris by Dagobert, and placed under the care of his wife, a simple and bigotted woman, were carried away and secluded in a convent. The place of their confinement was, however, soon discovered, thanks to the fidelity and sagacity of Dagobert's Siberian dog, who, after strangling the dog of the lady who had taken the young girls from M. Dagobert, had

followed the carriage, and afterwards had conducted his master to the convent. The old soldier resolved to storm the convent that very night, and to rescue the daughters of Marshal Simon. The author gives a long account of this midnight expedition, but interrupts his narration in the middle, without any cause, only leaving us reason to think that the attempt was unsuccessful.

Then follows the history of General Simon, after his expulsion from Poland. Hatred of the English, is also, as it appears, a requisite in novels, as well as in parliamentary harangues, and in the leading articles of the newspapers. General Simon labours under an incurable Anglophobia, ever since the battle of Waterloo; and, in order to take his revenge, he repairs to India, and offers his services to the king of Mondri (a kingdom of the creation of M. Eugene Sue), against the British invaders. Of course, his services are accepted, and the general has the gratification of exhibiting his courage and military genius, on many occasions. We have room only for the beginning of one of his bulletins addressed to his wife:—‘I have already mentioned the two good days we have had this month. The troops of my old friend, the Indian prince, under European discipline, have effected wonders. We routed the English, and they were obliged to abandon a part of the unfortunate country invaded by them, without law and justice, which they continue to ravage without pity, *for this is English warfare.*’ A few days after this success, however, the English, in their turn, routed the army, so well disciplined; the old king was made a prisoner, and deprived of his crown. His son, Djalma, and the general, both badly wounded, succeeded, however, in making their escape, and in reaching Batavia.

Djalma, as we have already seen, was one of the Rennepont family, and the Jesuits determined to prevent his being present in Paris, had beforehand commissioned their agents in the Dutch colony, to get rid of this obnoxious claimant. They found no other means than to apply to some Thugs (stranglers), who had taken refuge in the island, and whose operations are related at length. One of them succeeded in tattooing on the arm of the young prince, while he was in a profound sleep, the signs, which, according to our author, distinguish the Indian murderers. He afterwards enticed him into a cave, where three or four of them had fixed their residence, and where he was arrested with them, and, as evidently one of them, by orders from the governor, and put into a dungeon, where our author leaves him, until, on a sudden, we find him on board the second ship, the Black Eagle, wrecked on the coast of Picardy, which ship ‘sailing from Alexandria to Portsmouth, through the straits of Gibraltar, had touched the Azores!’

Gabriel, the young priest, was on board the same vessel, on his return from America. His doings in the new world are not related in the novel. The only thing we find concerning his career as a missionary, is, that some of the savages he endeavoured to convert to Christianity, had crucified him. How his life was preserved, we have no means of ascertaining; but he not only was saved, but also, in the shipwreck on the coast of France, succeeded in saving Blanche and Rose from a watery grave. This young priest, though the Jesuits had discovered his lineage, was a sort of foundling, whom the wife of the old soldier Dagobert, although very poor, and having a son of her own, had reared up from his infancy, until her confessor placed him in a clerical school, to make a priest of him, in spite of himself, and a Jesuit beside. In the last chapters of the published part of the work, Gabriel, disgusted with the doings of his superiors, and convinced of their treachery, determines to leave the society; and, in order to obtain his release from the obligations of his vows, transfers on the provincial, d'Aigrigny, all his rights to the property of Rennepont, without knowing its amount; which inconsiderate bargain he, of course, deeply regrets, when he hears from Dagobert, and his adoptive mother, that, by it, he had deprived Rose and Blanche, and some other claimants, of their legitimate share in the property.

Mademoiselle Adrienne de Rennepont de Cârdoville's history is, in some sort, the most curious of all. This young lady, of an eccentric and fanciful character, is the realization of the *femme libre* of the St. Simonists. Endowed with a supreme contempt for superannuated notions of propriety, and for public opinion, she does what she pleases, and in what manner soever she pleases; taking care, however, to do nothing as any body else. Her dress, her habits, her tastes, are all complacently portrayed; and probably, at this present moment, many musical French ladies of fashion, in imitation of this heroine, *blow the French-horn on a golden instrument*. Adrienne, though not of age, yet having lost both her father and mother, is allowed by her aunt, the Princess of St. Dizier, to live as she likes, and to expend her income as she chooses; so that she might, in the shortest time possible, qualify herself for a residence in a mad-house, or at the least, afford a pretence for inflicting that seclusion upon the thoughtless girl. Her lost lap-dog is found by Agricola, a blacksmith, the son of Dagobert, who, seeing the name of the owner on the collar, takes the spaniel to her mistress. She immediately offers a handsome reward in money, which is unhesitatingly refused with an air of such dignity, that the young lady, begging his pardon, presents him with a most beautiful and odoriferous camelia, lying upon the table, promising at the

same time that, in any circumstance, he might apply to her, and rely upon her best services. The very next day Agricola was in need of her good offices. Our blacksmith was at the same time a poet, and composed popular songs. France is not now governed by Mazarin, who used to say of the satiric songs composed against himself: 'It matters little if they sing and laugh, since they pay.' At present the French people pay, they do not laugh; and if they sing, it is at great peril to themselves. Such was the case with Agricola. One of his songs was seized by the police, in the room of another mechanic implicated in some plots against the government, concocted by a secret association. The songster was immediately made an accomplice, and orders to arrest him were issued. Under such circumstances, and aware of the impending danger, Agricola repaired to the hotel of Miss Adrienne, who secreted him in a closet near her apartment, until she could obtain the revocation of the warrant. Unfortunately the blacksmith had been followed by the officers, who discovered his place of retreat, from whence they took him to a prison, while his fair protectress was driven to a private lunatic asylum, by the false friend whom she had requested to accompany her to the residence of a minister, to whom she intended to apply in favour of the mechanic.

In connection with the history of Adrienne, we have that of the Princess of St. Dizier, and of the Marquis-Abbé d'Aigrigny. We cannot pollute our pages with even an outline of the scenes of depravity which are exhibited in this portion of the work, and, for the same reason, we forbear from entering into the particulars of the reckless career of James Rennepont the mechanic, and another claimant to the property. Numerous chapters are devoted to the illustration of the abandoned life of this man, and of his 'queen of the revels,' and we confess that disgust compelled us to turn over many pages.

There is scarcely anything concerning M. Hardy the manufacturer, and the last of the claimants, with the exception of some hints, on the part of the Jesuits, to get him out of their way, on the 13th of February, and to undermine his credit and reduce him to insolvency, by any means in their power, as the only commensurate atonement for the uprightness of his principles and of his conduct, for his patriotism, and his hatred of their society, as much as on account of his being entitled to the property which they coveted.

Around all these personages group many others, too numerous to be mentioned, whose history and doings are equally recorded, so that the principals are generally lost sight of. Such, however, is the poverty of the author's imagination, wild and mad as it is, that the already bulky volumes he has pub-

lished of this novel, would be reduced to a common sized octavo of three hundred pages, if he had not, in the catch-penny fashion, swollen the matter by the description of every one of his personages, of the localities, and of the most insignificant circumstances. Sun risings and sun settings are in abundance. Moonlights and stormy nights occur every two or three chapters, without much variety in their characteristics, however different the climate. Every room, every part of the furniture is described, as well as the posture of the actors in the scenes. When we say described, we do not use the proper word, for the description of the author generally does not resemble anything that has ever been seen. Countries, localities, national manners, history, natural phenomena; in one word, every thing is boldly set at defiance, by the descriptive system of Eugène Sue.

In order to enable our English readers to form an opinion of the merits of Eugène Sue, in this respect, we beg leave to say a few words of another of his novels, in which he describes the manners of England. In his 'Godolphin Arabian' the principal events take place in England. It is no longer the old soldier, with his horse of the imperial guard, and his dog, but a mute Arab, Agba, with his horse Sham, and his cat Grimalkin, (animals always play a great part in Eugène Sue's novels). A rich quaker had picked them all up in some street in Paris, and brought them all home, to his country residence, 'Buryhall, on the banks of the Thames,' for the only purpose of making them comfortable and happy. The good-natured quaker was baffled in his designs, by the obstinacy of the horse, which would allow nobody to ride him, except his master and friend, Agba. The quaker tried, and was thrown; which misdemeanor on the part of the animal he generously overlooked. All his servants were treated in the same manner, and did not shew the same forgiving disposition, but they dared not manifest their resentment too openly. Unfortunately, *a reverend clergyman, Dr. Harrison, who had married the only daughter of the kind-hearted quaker!* —and who was proud of his own equestrian abilities, attempted to ride the insubordinate beast, and with no better success than his predecessors. The quaker could no longer bear with the restive spirit of the arabian stallion, and summoned Agba before a sort of court martial, composed of himself, his daughter, Dr. Harrison, and his friend *the landlord of the Crowned Lion, the principal public-house of the village.* The sentence passed unanimously was, that 'Sham should be sold;' and it was carried into execution. As the companionship of Agba with his horse was considered the principal cause of the stubbornness of the animal, it was determined that they should be parted, and the horse was taken to London, where every means were employed to tame it.

But Agba, who could not live happy without his friend, went to town to see it, and being constantly refused admittance, resolved to escalade the house and the stables, during the night, just as Dagobert, in the 'Wandering Jew,' escaladed the convent to rescue Rose and Blanche, but with no better success. Nay, even more, his failure was attended with worse consequences; for he was taken as a burglar, and sent to Newgate, where, two or three days after his imprisonment, in a fit of despair, he was going to hang himself, when he was providentially saved by the visit paid at the prison by Lady Sarah Jennings, the widow of the great Duke of Marlborough, attended by her eldest son, Lord Godolphin!! The doings of the lady, and the gross language of her son, are in keeping with the strange notions just exhibited of the English manners, and of our aristocratic families. Is it with the same knowledge and the same accuracy that our author describes, in the 'Wandering Jew,' the habits and manners of the several countries to which he chooses to transport his personages.

On reaching the end of the published part of this equally disgusting and absurd publication, we entertained some hope that the author had exhausted his store of filthy reminiscences, and that the continuation of the work would be comparatively free from the demoralising pictures which fill the first part; but we were soon disappointed. Eugene Sue takes great care to stimulate the depraved appetite of his readers, by promising something still more abominable than that on which he had hitherto fed them. All the events related in the first part were the produce of the combinations of the profligate Marquess Abbé d'Aigrigny, and as they had not succeeded in obtaining the desired results, his successor in the management of the plot, Rodin, convinced that the failure is owing only to the scruples of his late unprincipled master, reproaches him for his want of skill and determination, and expounds his own plans in the following terms:

'You have had recourse to rough and physical measures, instead of acting upon noble, generous, and elevated feelings, which, when united, offer an invincible phalanx; but divided, may successively be overcome by surprise, seduction, artifice, or by any other common mode of attack. Now do you understand me? . . . Did any one ever die from despair? Will not gratitude and happy love lead to the very limits of insane generosity? Are there not some deceptions so horrible, that suicide is the only refuge against these dreadful realities? May not an excess of sensuality lead to the tomb, by a slow and voluptuous agony? Are there, in human life, some circumstances so terrible, as to bring the most worldly, the most strong-minded, nay, even the most impious characters, blindly to throw

themselves, heart-broken and humbled, into the arms of religion, abandoning all their worldly wealth, for sackcloth, prayer, and mystic raptures? Are there not, in fact, a thousand circumstances in which the reaction of the passions produce the most extraordinary transformations, and the most tragical events, in the lives of both men and women? But you are ignorant of the immense resources produced by partial or mutual annihilation, which, playing on the human passions, if skilfully managed, either by combining, opposing, subduing, or exciting them, more especially when, perhaps, thanks to a powerful auxiliary, those passions become redoubled in their ardour and in their violence.'

Such is the bill of fare of the forthcoming volumes; which, we sincerely hope, we shall not be under the necessity of perusing.

All our readers will naturally say, after reading this faithful analysis of the work, 'Hitherto we have seen nothing but the Jesuits; where is the Wandering Jew, who gives its title to the work?' We cannot answer the question, except by a supposition, a surmise; for the Wandering Jew appears but once in his real character, without acting, and in the few events in which, we imagine, he acts a part, it is under a sort of incognito. But then we find, not only a wandering Jew, but also a wandering Jewess; not, indeed, pursuing together, so as to alleviate their mutual fatigues and hardships, their endless journey; but always marching in opposite directions, without ever meeting; and only once casting a glance at one another, at the beginning of the work, in the '*Prologue*,' from which we now give some extracts, to make our readers acquainted with the descriptive and imaginative genius of our author.

'The polar sea surrounds with a circle of eternal ice the inhospitable shores of Siberia and North America; the extreme limits of Asia and America are separated by Behring Straits. September is now at its close; and the shortening gloomy days are succeeded by long stormy nights. The dark blue sky, intersected by lines of violet, is hardly illumined by the sun, whose disk level with the horizon feebly shines on the dazzling gleam of the snow, which extends over immense steppes. To the westward, this inhospitable desert is bounded by a rocky coast, of rugged and gigantic description; at the foot of which lies the frozen ocean. . . . No human being seems able to explore the solitude of these regions of frosts and tempests, famine and death;—yet strange, the snow which constantly covers the deserts at the extremities of the two continents, is marked by footsteps of human beings! On the American shore, the marks of footsteps, small and light, clearly bespeak the traces of a woman, who has bent her course towards the rocks just described as overlooking the snowy steppes of Siberia, while on the Asiatic side, the same impression, but larger and deeper, betrays the heavy march

of a man, who has also directed his journey towards the Straits. One would suppose that this man and woman, thus arriving from opposite quarters, at the extreme points of the two continents, had a hope of gaining a glance at one another, across the narrow sea which separates them.'

Eugene Sue is too good-natured to disappoint them, though he seems not to know them ; and repeatedly asks, who they are ? He immediately produces an *aurora borealis*, much superior to any that ever was seen ; and at the same time, in spite of the Alpine mountains of ice, he creates a mirage, which has the desired effect. 'On the Siberian cape, a man, on his knees, was extending his arms towards America, with an expression of deep despair ; while, on the American promontory, a young and beautiful woman replied to the despondent attitude of the man, by pointing to heaven.' Then, again, our author asks, Whence came, and who are these two creatures ? and he closes his prologue, discarding them altogether, until in the epilogue, at the end of the first volume, the man alone is re-introduced in the character of Wandering Jew, to make a speech.

We greatly suspect that, though he is not mentioned, it is the same personage who seeks, all over the world, the members of Rennepont family, and delivers them their medals ;—who, when General Simon, being ordered, at the battle of Waterloo, to carry a battery with his cuirassiers, just when the artilleryman was applying the match to a cannon, in front of which stood the general, placed himself at the mouth of the cannon, and after the discharge was not a bit the worse for it ;—who, having been strangled and buried by the 'Thugs, in India, some time afterwards crosses the path of his murderers, to their utter consternation ;—who, in fine, is the invisible promoter of the supernatural incidents crowded in the work. As to the woman, the wandering Jewess, there is little doubt that she is the identical beautiful lady who brought the codicil at the meeting in the house, in Francis's street.

It is time to conclude our observation ; and we cannot dismiss the work without expressing our concern at seeing, every day, advertised in the newspapers, translations, not only of this insane publication, but also of the other works of the same author,—works of an equally, and perhaps still more objectionable character. We were in hope that the morbid appetites of our neighbours would not find any one, in our country, disposed to a deplorable rivalry. In this we have been disappointed ; and, as public journalists, we feel bound to caution our readers against the poison, both moral and intellectual, of which they are so urgently invited to partake. Were not the works in question obtaining a wide circulation amongst us, we should not have so

far deviated from our ordinary practice, as to notice them. It is certainly discreditable to our modern literature, that such publications should be reproduced, at a time when we boast of the progress of reason, and of the advance of religion among us.*

Art. IV.—*The Philosophy of Christian Morals.* By Samuel Spalding, M.A., formerly Student of the University College. London: Longman. pp. 430.

WHEREVER civilization has supplied materials of history, we learn that man's inward nature has not failed to be an object of his curious and inquiring thought. This nature, as developed in consciousness and in outward act, is capable of being an index to his destiny on earth, and beyond the present scene. Man has a glimpse of his destiny even in the savage state. The most barbarous tribes have not confounded all sense of moral distinctions. Even to them there is a right and a wrong. Among the most degraded of the Africans, who to cursory observation might hardly seem to show any consciousness of a moral nature, we still find a certain dread of supernatural power, though it may be expressed wholly in such superstitious fears as that of offending the *rain-maker*; and we see a lingering gleam of the doctrine of immortality in their custom of calling over the dead.

With the progress of civilization, the grand problem of man's moral nature and destiny becomes a necessity of his intellectual life. Its solution is perpetually attempted, never lost sight of, ever renewed in various forms. In the absence of revelation, we find this problem, in some of its cases, forming the main element of the speculative philosophy which marked the development of mind in the great historic nations. We see it attending the civilization of the East, the Grecian, the Roman. It is successively reproduced in every one of the systems of philosophy which were the only sources of a rational religion then within the reach of mankind, with the exception of the Hebrews alone. It appears floating on the surface of each system, and is found in their inmost and most mystic depths. It may

* The foregoing article was written for our March number; and, since its reception, Eugene Sue has resumed the publication of his work, and realised our anticipations. It is an abominable, and, at the same time, stupid production; but it seems that nothing else can, at present, gratify the taste of French readers. All the daily papers imitate and emulate the '*Constitutionnel*.' The principal organ of the government, the '*Journal des Débats*,' is now publishing, in its *feuilletons*, a novel, equally immoral and disgusting; and one of the proprietors has just been rewarded with a peerage, in addition to the £480, allowed by the government monthly to the other proprietors. In the doctrinarian system, to govern a people, it is to enslave and to corrupt them.

be traced through the Zend-avesta, the school of Plato, of Aristotle, of Zeno, of Epicurus, of the Eclectics. From the precious remains of antiquity which preserve to us the attempts of man to solve the vast and mysterious problem of his destiny, we might frame a catalogue of all the questions most interesting to our race. What is man? What is the moral economy of the world in which he dwells? What estimate are we to form of his present condition? of the strange moral anomalies which he presents to our contemplation? What are man's duties on earth? Is that which is visible the whole of man? When death has changed his countenance, and all consciousness seems fled—when the body is dissolved, and nothing remains of it but 'ashes to ashes and dust to dust,' what views are we to entertain of man? Has the thinking conscious principle really perished in the wreck of the material frame, or does it survive the ruin, and retain its noblest faculties in some new mode of existence? What is that existence? Is it a more immediate contact with the Power that made the universe? What is the nature of the unseen world? Is it a state of retribution? What are the destinies of the beings who inhabit it? How shall man be assured of finding, on that unknown shore, the elysium of bliss on which all minds but the most debased and grovelling have, in moments the most free from earthly passions, loved to dwell?

Of these momentous questions, Christianity offers the only authoritative solution. It is true, indeed, that before the Christian era, and where the Jewish scriptures were unknown, man's inward nature had already borne testimony in favour of a morality in its main substance harmonizing with that of revealed religion; and the one power that formed all and upholds all, had not wholly escaped the eye of reason penetrating through the dark veil of polytheism: nor was immortality, as a fond and pleasing dream of the spirit, unknown to man. But as there was no adequate and unappealable authority to give weight to the more spiritual and elevated speculations of philosophy, she had nothing to encourage her to aim, on the grand scale, to be the regenerator of mankind. Either from policy, or a lingering and sincere vassalage to opinion, she was compelled to descend too much to established prejudices and existing superstitions to prove an effective reformer of ideas and of morals. Socrates, who talked so sublimely of the Deity, ordered a sacrifice to Æsculapius. Philosophy could not establish Theism, nor fix in the popular mind any practical conviction of an hereafter, nor stem that flood of atheistic licentiousness which came in with the last ages of the Roman civilization.

Since Christianity, then, has set at rest the most practical part of all the great questions relating to man's destiny, may we not

conclude that, in reference to these subjects, the vocation of philosophy has long since wholly ceased? We have, now, a religion which no progress of civilization, no advancement of the human mind, no political or ecclesiastical revolutions, have been able to dislodge from the basis of evidence on which it stands, and it appears gradually tending, by visible advances, to the final occupation of the whole earth. For, to use the language of Jouffroi, the great ornament of the school which is regenerating philosophy in France: 'Christianity has too strong a foundation in truth ever to disappear as paganism did: its destruction was but a dream of the eighteenth century, which never will be realized.' We have a religion which, various as are the opinions respecting its relation to the civil power, its modes and forms, and certain parts of the grand whole, presents to the vast and overwhelming bulk of the millions who acknowledge it as their faith, (if we may judge from their public Confessions,) to Catholic, Greek, and Protestant, one and the same broad outline, one and the same general scheme, one substantial response to the questions of deepest interest to mankind. Ought we not, then, at once to discard altogether, for the future, the attempt to throw any light upon the subject of man's moral nature and destiny by the aid of philosophy?

There are those who would reply in the affirmative; and no doubt from the best intention, that of enhancing the value of Christianity. Men are to be met with of acknowledged personal excellence, and not destitute of education, who do not see the importance of philosophical inquiries into the fundamental laws of man's moral nature, with a view to general ethical principles and system. Such men, however, are seldom of an order of mind greatly to influence opinion. To persons of a more reflective cast, it becomes something more than a mere luxury of the intellect—it is a kind of necessity, to ponder and revolve in thought those moral phenomena which have, for so many ages, occupied the attention of the master-spirits of the earth. While Christianity has given to us, with a voice of authority, practical rules of life adapted to every degree of civilization, the task is still left to human reason to inquire, as it may be able, into the *rationale* of the relations which subsist between those rules and the nature of man. There must be fundamental laws of man's moral being, as of his physical constitution; and these laws cannot but be in real harmony with the testimony of a revelation from heaven, correctly understood. Moral philosophy may be defined, an attempt to trace to general principles what is described in scripture as 'the work of the law written on the heart.' This law, it will be remembered, is there spoken of as the proper guide of pagans; 'their conscience bearing witness, and their thoughts in the mean while accusing or else

excusing' them.* There is, then, an inscription, by the finger of God, on man's inward nature; which, however obscured and defaced through the working of selfishness and passion, may still be traced by diligent and painstaking observation. There is a moral constitution, the natural powers and principles of which, notwithstanding the perversion which has been made of them in practice, still indicate significantly man's destiny as an accountable being, and point to the general duties which he ought to discharge.

There are two extremes on this subject against which those who would arrive at truth should endeavour carefully to guard. The one is that of considering ethics, pursued exclusively on the principle of reasoning from the actual phenomena of the moral world, as a *final science*, a science wholly complete in itself for all purposes. Wherever a revelation from heaven is acknowledged to exist, an inductive philosophy of man's moral nature, or, in other words, a reply uttered by the voice of reason, *alone*, to the momentous questions which concern the entire range of duty and happiness, should obviously stand as but a fragment, though a very important fragment, of the whole truth respecting man as a moral being. The remarks of Dr. Chalmers in his *Bridgewater Treatise* are applicable both to natural theology and natural ethics. 'The theology of nature and of the schools, the theology of the ethical class, though most unsatisfactory when treated as a terminating science, is most important when treated as a rudimentary one. The great error of our academic theism, as commonly treated, is that it expresses no want; that it reposes on its own fancied sufficiency. It is no reproach against our philosophical moralists that they have not stepped beyond the threshold of that peculium which is strictly and appropriately theirs; or not made incursions into another department than their own. The legitimate complaint is, that on taking leave of their disciples, they warn them not of their being only yet at the outset, or in the prosecution of a journey, instead of having reached the termination of it. Moral philosophy, even in its most finished state, is not what may be called a terminating science. It is at best but a science *in transitu*, and its lessons are those of a preparatory school. It contains the rudiments of a nobler acquirement.'

We are strongly reminded by some of these appropriate remarks of the contrast subsisting between the self-satisfied tone of some modern ethical systems, which are well described as '*expressing no want*;' and the conscious want of something beyond themselves which is expressed in the speculations of some of the great moralists of antiquity. We must content

* Rom. ii. 15.

ourselves with referring, at the foot of the page, to several passages of Plato by way of illustration.* It is a singular fact (and it *is* a fact) that after Christianity had been shedding its light on the moral nature of man for sixteen or seventeen centuries, we have seen the rise of successive systems of ethical philosophy possessing far less of moral elevation, systems far more cold and heartless, far less animated with an humble and reverent spirit, than we may find among those who lived in the dark depths of paganism, centuries before that light arose. Can we, then, wonder that the Christian moralist should feel jealous of much that has styled itself ethics, in modern times? that he should maintain that ethics, if based on reason alone, is then, only legitimate when avowedly not a final and 'terminating' science? and that he should express dissatisfaction with any system which comes forth in such a manner as to overlook the fact that it is not a full and perfect response to all the moral necessities of man? Natural ethics may furnish a true theory of morals; but how to remedy the want of conformity which there is wont to be in man with the rule of his own nature—how to harmonize man with himself? is 'a question to which our human reason can return no certain and satisfactory reply.'†

But if modern philosophers have often erred on the side of excess, by propounding inductive ethics, or ethics as derived solely from observation and reason, as though it were in itself a final and complete science of man regarded as a moral, accountable, and immortal being—a science self-contained, and adequately meeting the moral wants of our nature as it now is; on the other hand, there are those, who, as it seems to us, fall into the opposite extreme, and err by defect, in wishing to shut up all inquiries respecting man's moral nature within the covers of the sacred volume. It is surely interesting, and it is important to the general cause of truth, to seek in a natural morality materials which may exhibit the harmony of the voice of man's nature with the voice of inspiration. Truth cannot but be always consonant with truth. Its evidence may flow from different sources, but all its lines must ultimately converge to the same point. We might as well propose to find a circle whose radii should meet in two centres, as to imagine that what is true as attested by a clear consciousness, or by a just observation of nature, is not true as connected with religion. No one, surely, excepting in burlesque, would now think of maintaining the assertion of Hoffman, once divinity professor at Helmstadt, that 'what is true in philosophy is false in theo-

* Phæd. § 78. Epinom. § 8, § 11. De Repub. iv. § 5. De Legib. i. § 11. Apolog. Socrat. § 18. Alcib. ii. § 22.

† Whewell's *Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge*, November, 1837. Vid. p. 50.

logy!' A keener irony against truth could not have been spoken in jest; nor a doctrine more self-contradictory have been uttered by a sceptical philosopher! Some there are, however, sincere believers in Christianity, who are satisfied to neglect any light which speculative philosophy might throw on the principles of ethics. This is to forget that philosophy and theology are, so far as they proceed in the same career, but two distinct replies to the grand question of man's destiny. It is true that Christianity advances far beyond the point where philosophy halts in her course; but so far as that course continues, it is mutual; they run on in parallel lines. For if we find that there are, in any system, elements hopelessly irreconcilable with Christianity, we are able to pronounce that system, even when examined by the light of our own minds, a 'philosophy falsely so called.' Such is that ethical theory, for example, which would identify morality, in all cases, with human legislation, or social custom: a principle which is fatal to the very idea of a real moral law; and on which, also, the Christian axiom that we 'ought to obey God rather than men,' has obviously no meaning whatever, and therefore no obligation.

None will deny the assertion that man's highest destiny on earth is not, to follow passion or self-interest, but *duty*. Hence arise two questions, the one objective, the other subjective:—what is virtue? and, by what faculties of man's nature does he distinguish between right and wrong? To these questions, and they are compendious of all others on the general subject of morals, philosophy aims to give an answer. The solutions which are within her reach are the product of the mind by means of a self-review, combined with the observation and the history of man in general. There are, it is beyond doubt, fundamental laws of thought and feeling, a constitution of our intellectual and moral nature which, so far as its province extends, is decisive and final in impressing us with the conviction of truth. Should any one refuse to admit certain primary and intuitive elements in our mental structure—if he were to deny, for example, that his mind is cognizant of a universal and necessary truth in such a proposition, as that *two magnitudes are equal to each other when each is equal to a third*, or that *every change must have a cause*, all argument with such an individual would be at an end: there is no common ground on which to reason. It is by means of confidence in the connate laws of our mental constitution that we believe in Revelation itself. Even its evidence respecting the moral attributes of the Deity becomes convincing by its harmony with the general ideas of goodness which nature teaches us to form. Why do we appeal to a revelation from God as decisive of all the questions of which it treats? Is it because we are told in the Scriptures that 'God

is truth?' On what principle do we then believe this declaration? If it should be replied that we do so ultimately on the authority of God himself; we must then believe already that God is true, in order to have a ground for receiving the Scripture declaration of his truth. We cannot, therefore, escape from a natural theology, and a natural ethical philosophy, even if we would.

It is likely that one main cause why philosophical inquiries into morals have failed, in this country, to inspire more confidence, is that much of the ethical philosophy which has been taught by authority, has been of a character so defective and unsatisfactory. It has in fact been far less elevated in its general principles than the teaching of Plato, or of the Stoics; and it has been, in some respects, below the current moral sentiments of mankind. Especially have the ideas of moral obligation which have been derived from religious sources, always and justly prevented Paley's views from being generally received; though his work has long formed an element in our ancient university-system. Surely that is far from being a lofty view of human virtue which recognizes the impelling motive to it as centering in self; and which represents that good is to be done to man, and obedience rendered to God, 'for the sake' of happiness. What is virtue, on this principle, but the enlightened pursuit of gratification, instead of being something which is pursued for its own sake? * A great name will not atone for the reduction of moral principle to a kind of expediency, nor for the lax morality discovered in some of its practical applications. We are not surprised that there has been of late a re-action in some influential minds at Cambridge against this text-book; and we think that the University of London has done wisely in so far neutralizing its tendency on the minds of students, as to introduce Butler's *Three Sermons on Human Nature* into the examination for the Bachelor's degree.

The prevalence of systems of moral philosophy which are not true to man's better judgment and feelings, (that is not true to nature,) or which appear on the face of them alien from the spirit which pervades the ethics of Christianity, has no doubt tended to create, in some earnestly Christian minds, a jealousy of all attempts to construct an ethical system out of the elements of man's nature, viewed in connection with its actual moral phenomena. Some object to these attempts, one and all; mainly on the alleged ground that the present state of man is such as to preclude the deduction of any true moral system from the observation of nature. As man is both the observer and the observed, it is alleged that his conclusions must be doubly affected by the moral evil which attaches to his present con-

* See Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, Bk. i. ch. 6.

dition ; hence the moral constitution of man, as he now is, cannot present a fair exhibition of what God wills, or afford any correct index to the principles of moral rectitude. 'This is the argument of Dr. Wardlaw, in his popular and excellent work, entitled 'Christian Ethics.' We confess, however, that notwithstanding our high respect for its venerable and truly christian author, we have not been able, after carefully perusing it, to avoid the conclusion that it is one of those books which err by a unilateral and partial view of the subject. If philosophers have too frequently appeared to supersede christianity by treating natural ethics as though it were a 'terminating' science, a perfect and complete guide to man ; we think that the respected writer we have named has fallen into the opposite extreme of attributing too little to human nature, as a source of theoretic morals. On his principles it becomes necessary to limit and qualify, in a greater degree than seems to us admissible, the scriptural representation above alluded to respecting the Gentiles doing 'by nature the things contained in the law,' and being 'a law unto themselves,' shewing 'the work of the law written on the heart.' To us there appears no satisfactory sense of these words which does not admit that man has *moral faculties* which are sufficient, even in a state of paganism, to guide him to a certain degree of virtue, provided only that he were inclined to pay suitable attention to their dictates, and to endeavour after the knowledge and the fulfilment of duty, with the same pains which he has been willing to devote to the acquisition of wealth, power, learning, or fame. For how else, we may ask, can there be any consistent meaning in the language : '*so that they are without excuse?*' To suppose that the present state of human nature renders void all attempts to frame a theory of morals, true as far as it goes, from an examination of the human mind, is, as it seems to us, to confound the perversion of man's faculties in use and act, with their essential native tendency and design. When it is said that 'they (the pagans of antiquity) did not like to retain God in their knowledge,' it is evident that all the awful evils which are spoken of in connection with this state of mind are referred to a voluntary source. It was not the intellect, but the *will* that was at fault. Had they chosen carefully to trace the path to which the voice of reason and moral feeling called them, had they anxiously sought to follow up the hints and indications of conscience, though they might still not have been exempt from all error as to duty, (and even christians are not exempt,) they would never have deviated so lamentably as they did from this 'law written on the heart.'

Those who hold the views to which we have above referred as

to the sources of ethics, may congratulate themselves on having so competent and distinguished a representative of their sentiments as the excellent person to whose work we have just referred: but considering the weight which his name and well-merited reputation are likely to give to his opinions, we cannot help regretting that he should, incidentally, and unintentionally, have contributed, as we think, to depreciate one important source of the internal evidence of revelation, the harmony of its utterances with the voice of man's intellectual and moral nature, as heard audibly in the midst of all the din and uproar of the passions. Some of Dr. Wardlaw's statements might lead his readers to imagine that a theory of natural ethics must necessarily be framed on the principle that the average practical morality of mankind must be made the standard of morals. This, however, is by no means the case. The various and conflicting moral phenomena of human nature are one thing, the conclusions which may be deduced from them another. Hence we find very many ethical systems, both in their principles and rules of conduct, rising far above the sensuality, the selfishness, the pride, the injustice, and the malevolence, which are too commonly to be found in the actual practice of men. Whence then comes the superiority of the esoteric doctrines and precepts, to the exoteric manifestations? *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. Such moral systems as we speak of have existed, it will be remembered, before the date of christianity. Will it be said that they were made up of remnants of tradition, handed down from man's creation, or diffused over the earth from Judea? The supposition requires to be confirmed; and even were it proved, it would be most interesting to endeavour to gather together and contemplate these *disjecta membra* of man's original moral nature. But when it is considered that there were materials for the tradition of evil, as well as of good, that there have always been many evil maxims current in society, and many more evil examples, why do we find that, in the moral systems alluded to, the good has been so much selected in preference to the evil?—the very same good, to a remarkable extent, which we find in the precepts of christianity itself? Surely it was because the good, however disaffected man's *will* might be towards it, still found a response within him which the evil did not, an echo from his reason and his conscience, which amounts to the voice of a 'law written on the heart.'

It will hardly, we suppose, be questioned that there has always been a greater difference between men's characters than between the moral rules which they might on deliberation be brought to acknowledge. If passion and self-interest had been

tainly it is not in those countries alone, but in countries also where even a perfect rule of conduct is known and admitted, that we find evil perpetrated in the name of good, or even without this excuse. Ingratitude is no very rare phenomenon in society, pagan or christian; but where was it ever contended that ingratitude was a virtue? or that children ought not, as a general duty, to honour their parents? The want of a due sense of religious obligation is surely not uncommon among men; but in what community was it denied that reverence was due to acknowledged deity, believed to take cognizance of human affairs? What moralist ever condemned the principles of generous forgiveness exercised towards a personal enemy, or inculcated private revenge as a virtue? Where did benevolence and cruelty, as such, change places, or stand on an equal footing of indifference in the moral estimation of mankind?

Awful as are the perversions of elementary moral principle and the examples of degeneracy which are to be found in the moral history of our race, it would not, perhaps, be a difficult task, in all cases of moral agency, to detect an original element, often deeply disguised, and strangely warped from its destined purpose, but still in itself good, or at least not evil. A convex mirror grotesquely distorts and caricatures the features, but we can still discern the traces of nature. Appetites and passions, and self-interest, may, we know, outrage all morality: but this does not prove that appetites and passions, and a rational self-love, are not original parts of the human constitution; or that there is no inward principle whose proper office it is to testify against crime and to reward virtue. It only proves that, by some disorder and derangement in the action of the moral powers, the inferior impulses have gained the ascendancy, which we are too aware may take place even where reason and conscience are informed by revelation—where christianity is perpetually pointing to duty, and lifting her voice against evil. The dormant testimony of the inner man to virtue, is often revived even in the most unfavourable circumstances. We learn from christian missionaries that even pagans may be induced, by reasoning with them, to admit the evil of the most flagrant disorders of appetite and passion, and of the more deliberate courses of conduct which, in the form of superstition, are opposed to objective morality. Before we deny that there remain in man the elementary principles of a natural morality, we must take into the account the morbid growth of these organic elements, besides the revolt of the will against reason and conscience. If the Hindoo mother sacrifices her infant to the god of the Ganges, what do we here see but a melancholy perversion of the sentiment of religion? We have an example in the

Mosaic history of a divine command overcoming the parental instinct, and all previous moral considerations, in the case of Abraham, who in consequence prepared to sacrifice his son; and we shall not be misunderstood to palliate infanticide in admitting the fact that superstition may produce the same outward action as a genuine call of religious duty, intended as a trial of faith. Locke speaks of a practice, in some countries, of putting to death children who have lost their mothers, or who are pronounced by the astrologer to have 'unhappy stars:' but may we not discern in cases of this kind a sentiment, however spurious, of benevolence? If we are compelled, in some of the examples adduced by the above distinguished writer, granting their authenticity, to admit the operation of a gross selfishness, as in the case of the neglect of aged and infirm parents; we may again remark that it will hardly be denied that examples of intense selfishness, amounting almost to the extinction of natural affection, might be found where the written law of christianity is known. That a *theoretical* agreement among mankind as to the prime elements of morality may be detected in a final analysis of the principles on which men everywhere admit they ought to govern their conduct, we have no doubt, however passion, self-interest, evil custom, superstition, or the like, may often give a wrong direction to these elements, overpower their force, or even appear to destroy them. The existing low moral condition of pagans, is no more incompatible with a moral constitution in man which, if properly heeded, would lead to virtue, than the existing moral evils in christian countries are incompatible with a knowledge of the letter of the Christian law of duty; and that they are not incompatible with such knowledge is only too evident a fact.

It may further be remarked that the 'law written on the heart' is the criterion by which we judge of one most important portion of the general evidences of christianity, namely the internal. For why do we feel that the precepts of the New Testament, its laws of supreme love to God, love to our neighbour as ourselves, doing to others as we would they should do to us, the forgiveness of injuries, benevolence to all, and the like, recommend themselves to our consciences, but because they harmonize with this very law there written—because, however conscience may be benumbed, perverted, or enchained, the utterances of pure moral truth and beauty are no sooner made decidedly to arrest the attention of the mind, than conscience is felt to give them a distinct echo and response from her inmost and apparently most obstructed recesses? If we could for a moment suppose that our sacred books inculcated, as duties, what we now regard as breaches of morality, or declared that the Deity

was a being whose moral attributes were injustice, falsehood, impurity, and malignity, instead of justice, truth, holiness, and benevolence, no reflective person could receive the testimony, any more than the most thoughtful men of classic antiquity really believed all the legends of the gods. The very constitution of our nature would as effectually prevent our recognizing such a communication as worthy of respect and belief, as though it contained a geometry which set out with a denial of those axioms, or primary and common notions, which are presupposed in all demonstration; or as though it propounded a sceptical metaphysics which should deny the objective reality of the 'me,' or our conviction of the universality and necessity of causation wherever there is change in the natural world.

As, then, there is a constitution of the human frame which is the foundation of physiology, or the doctrine of the normal functions, animal and organic, notwithstanding all the morbid changes and deviations which take place in disease; so there is a constitution of man's moral nature which is the foundation of a natural ethics, or the doctrine of the normal functions of that nature, notwithstanding man's departure from the line of rectitude. That the cases are not strictly parallel we admit. Ill health may be only temporary to the individual, and is always partial in the race; while the fact of man's departure from the rule of right has been universal, in all ages and nations. Reason and conscience are always liable to be more or less blinded and perverted by the morbid condition of the *will*, in the abnormal exercise of which lies the essence of moral obliquity: and besides; there are duties dependent on revelation which reason never could discover in detail. We are not, however, contending that nature is, or can be, a complete and perfect guide. But to deny that the general elements of true ethical science may be gathered from the mind and the relations of man—the elements of a theory much superior to the average practical morality of mankind, is to overlook the fact that Socrates ever taught, or that Plato, and Aristotle, and Confucius, and Cicero, ever wrote. On the other hand, the abuse of natural ethics, wherever christianity is known, is to treat it as a complete and final science, instead of regarding it merely as a fragment of a great whole, corroborative, so far as it extends, of christianity, which adds authority to the voice within the breast, and alone can solve the still higher problems relating to man's destiny—those problems on which natural ethics, and natural theism, have either been dumb, or sceptical, or fabulous. Then only is an inductive philosophy of ethics legitimate, when it professes to be what it is, or what it ought to be; namely, an attempt to ascertain how far a system of moral principles and

rules may be framed from a careful inquiry into the constitution and faculties of man, the various relations he sustains, and the actual moral phenomena which he exhibits. It must come forth with the express warning that it is not to be regarded as a substitute for revelation, but as only preliminary to it: so that where natural ethics leave off as insufficient, there Christianity enters her own more peculiar province.

We have already suggested that a natural system of moral philosophy can present no points which are really at variance with the representations of Christianity. There is also another criterion which may be applied *à priori* as a test of the possible truth of any system; namely, its consistency with the fundamental idea of ethics, the idea of a law of obligation. For instance; a necessity that precludes the power of forming resolves, destroys the essential subjective preliminary to such a law; for by shutting out human freedom it renders obedience and disobedience equally impossible. Thus Anthony Collins maintained that man is in such a sense a necessary agent, that there neither is nor can be such a thing as liberty. On this principle, of course, there could be neither virtue nor vice. The Pantheistic system, also, is inconsistent with ethics, by denying the personality of moral agents. According to Spinoza, man is only a mode of the development of Deity. Our souls are forms of divine thought, our bodies of divine extension. Pantheism sees in man only a phenomenon, not a reality; the only reality is God, the one sole being, the one sole cause. Man has no causation; his acts are not his own; they are the acts of the One-All. Man is thus deprived of his individuality, and therefore of his capacity of sustaining the character of a moral being. The sceptical philosophy, too, from its birth in Greece to the modern Pyrrhonism of Hume, is only consistent when it boldly denies all moral distinctions. This necessarily follows from the assertion, common to Carneades, Sextus Empiricus, and the whole school, that every thing is mere appearance, and nothing can be known as truth: an assertion respecting which Kant has acutely remarked, that it assumes both a distinction between mere appearance and real truth, and some mark of that distinction; consequently it presupposes some knowledge of truth, and thus contradicts itself. It is evident that, on the principles of philosophical scepticism, there can be no certain ethics; and, therefore, no definite moral obligation. Again; wide as was the chasm between scepticism and mysticism, when swarms of the population of Egypt retired to the deserts of the Thebais to be wrapped in contemplation, and when the sublime truths of christianity were blended with the wild vagaries of theurgy, and the perfection of man was deemed to consist in a kind of slum-

ber of the spirit, in which it dreamed, but did not act, a state of passive ecstatic reverie, in which it was lost to all converse with the affairs of men, and was entranced in an ideal world, where all activity of every kind, bodily and mental, was alien from the grand object of being absorbed in the unseen : the tendency of this mysticism was evidently to weaken and at last to confound those moral distinctions which an active engagement in the duties of life tends so much to keep before the view of the mind. Hence the mystic Plotinus boldly denied the difference of actions, and asserted that there was neither good nor evil.

If the above systems preclude, *à priori*, in different ways, the operation of a law of obligation, there are others which virtually deny it. Such are all the systems of self-interest, of which, among the ancients, Epicurus, and in modern times, Hobbes, may be regarded as the leading representatives. For if self-interest is the only law and guide of man, there is no room for the ordinary ideas of right and duty ; all is determined by a calculation of which self is at once the spring and the object : the pursuit of personal well-being, either as aimed at immediately, or as seen to mix itself up with the well-being of society, is the principle of morality. In this eudemonism, disinterested motive is lost sight of ; duty and self-interest are synonymous terms. The modern form of the ancient system of Epicurus may be found in the theory of Paley : also in the utilitarianism of Bentham ; who, however, as a jurist, rendered great service to society by applying the principles of utility to legislation, a far more legitimate sphere for them than the sphere of morals. The same general theory of ethics is maintained, in its strongest form, by an able recent writer, Mr. Mill ; who states that the utility of an action and its morality are two names for the same thing, and that motives have no moral character.

Other systems recognize the fact of disinterested motives ; but differ widely from each other, both as to the objectivity of virtue, and the subjective faculty by which it is distinguished. Some find virtue solely in the constitution of the human mind ; while others recognize an absolute objective rectitude, distinct from the benefit which good actions produce, and distinct from the faculties of man ; a good founded in the eternal nature of things. Each of these two classes of moral systems also differ among themselves as to the nature of the moral faculty. Some represent the actual distinction between right and wrong as a matter of *sentiment* or feeling, in the form either of an instinctive impulse, an inward kind of sense or tact, or a susceptibility of emotion. Others refer the distinction to the operation of *judgment* or reason.

To the school of *sentiment* belong, with various modifications,

Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, Mackintosh, Adam Smith, and Brown; who maintain that good is tested by a *moral sense*, either primitive, or of secondary formation (so Mackintosh) in connexion with the principle of association; or by *sympathy*; or by our moral *emotions*. To the *rational* school, or those who derive the idea of good from a perception of judgment or reason, belong Cudworth, Price, Wollaston, Malebranche, Clarke, Montesquieu, Leibnitz, Wolf, Ferguson, Reid, and Stewart; and of the French eclectic school Cousin and Jouffroi. Some of these writers regard good as an *indefinable idea*, others resolve it into *truth*, or *order*, or the *nature or fitness* of things, or into *perfection*, or *excellence*, or the like. To this class also belongs Kant, who thus forcibly, on his own principles, describes the origin of the idea of good:—‘In every case where reason begins to act, it annexes to actions the predicates *right* and *wrong*, and this is a necessary and universal operation of thought. The rule ‘Thou shalt not promise falsely’ is valid not only for man, but reason cannot figure to itself any intelligent being in the universe at liberty to deceive. The legitimacy here predicated of truth has both necessity and universality, *i.e.* is *à priori*, and is no perception taken from observation and experience. Reason enjoins every intelligent being to act rightly, *i.e.* conformably to an ideal practical law, and the formula expressing the law may be thus stated: ‘So act as that the maxim of thy will might be announced as law in a system of universal moral legislation.’ That this moral law is a synthetic proposition *à priori** is obvious, and every man has, however darkly, an unchanging and necessary perception of it.’†

In the posthumous volume before us Mr. Spalding maintains the *objective* character of morality; and he belongs to the school of *sentiment*, inasmuch as he regards *emotion* as the criterion of virtue. But before exhibiting his opinions, let us state some particulars respecting him. During his course of study at the University College, London, in addition to high certificates of honour in other classes, he obtained five First Prizes, in the classes of Hebrew, French, Natural Philosophy, and the Philosophy of the Mind and Logic. Of the latter subject his pursuit was ardent, and his diligence and ability, as manifested in the *virid voce* examinations, and in his essays, left a distinct and

* Synthetic propositions (or judgments) *à priori*, according to Kant, are those in which the predicate is not already contained in our conception of the subject; and which, taken in their full extent, have not their origin in experience, but in pure understanding and reason, and are universally and necessarily true; *e.g.* every change must have a cause. That neither of the two following propositions, *all bodies are extended*, and *some bodies are heavy*, complies with the above conditions is evident.

† Vid. Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft.

lasting impression on the mind of his instructor, blended with a sense of his moral worth, more grateful in the retrospect than any mere intellectual pre-eminence, especially that he is now no more. In the transactions of the University, his name is mentioned with honour for his examination in Animal and Vegetable Physiology, and in the Hebrew and Greek originals and the history of Scripture. On taking his master's degree, in 1840, he is recorded as having 'passed a distinguished examination in logic, the philosophy of the mind, and moral philosophy.' In consequence of this examination, he was urged by the examiners to write on some of these subjects; and we learn that 'this recommendation encouraged him to write the following work.' Unfortunately, his health already undermined by too great application to study, broke down under the effort; and the book possesses a melancholy interest from the fact that its preparation accelerated the fatal termination of his disease.

Soon after taking his degree, Mr. Spalding went to Italy, in hope of benefitting his health; and during the two years of his residence there he composed this volume; which, however, we are informed was 'the result of many years' close investigation and reflection.' Having returned to England, in 1842, with his health still further impaired, he determined on trying, as a last refuge, the effect of a sea-voyage.

'With this object,' says his biographer, 'he left his native land for the Cape of Good Hope, in September, 1842. During the voyage, he suffered extremely, and on his arrival at Cape Town, was in a state of great debility. Fully conscious that his end was approaching, he used to speak of death with calmness and frequency. On the 14th of January, three weeks after his arrival, his medical attendant stated that his dissolution was near. The intelligence produced no alarm in the bosom of the dying man; for on being asked whether he felt any dread at the approach of death, he replied, 'No; I rest upon the Rock of Ages*—this has supported me—it does support me—and it will support me. Christ is able to save to the uttermost.'

'Almost the last words he uttered were expressive of the gratification it afforded him to think that he had lived to finish the work. With great composure, the result of Christian faith, he resigned his spirit into the hands of his Saviour. His life was a fine illustration of that exalted benevolence which forms his leading topic in the following pages.'

Mr. Spalding maintains that it is from *emotion* alone that we learn to distinguish between right and wrong; but he decidedly holds the objective reality of these distinctions, and

* Isa. xxvi. 4 (Heb.): authorized version, 'everlasting strength.'

resolves the idea of good into that of *benevolence*. The following are some of the principal doctrines contained in the volume: Our primary notions of morality are derived from the moral feelings produced in us in contemplating the conduct of others; and these notions must be thus gained before conscience can approve or condemn our own actions; virtue itself, and the mode in which it should be exhibited, are the objects of moral obligation; the rule of virtue is the will of God, either as revealed or as inferred from the end and object of the virtuous affections; virtue is benevolence, and all other right dispositions are its necessary consequences; feelings purely pathological (sympathy, or compassion, for instance) have no moral value; it is volition that marks the character of any pathological feeling; thus the choice of benevolence as a principle, and not the mere existence of natural kindness of disposition, makes the latter morally valuable; the moral character of the volition depends entirely on the object of our choice.

With regard to the process of mind by which we first arrive at the ideas of *right* and *wrong*; the author remarks that an object is called blue, or red, simply because it produces in us a certain sensation, which we cannot help referring to a cause. Exactly in the same manner the bare presentation of certain actions of others to the view of the mind, produces in us certain emotions, which we refer to their causes. When the contemplation is followed by a feeling of moral approbation, we say the action or state of mind—that is, the cause which originates the feeling, is right; when we disapprove, we say it is wrong. After experiencing the emotion, we cannot help thus referring it to its cause or antecedent, and this cause we call virtue or vice. There is always a preceding ‘intellectual perception or conception’ necessary to excite the emotion; but it is the emotion itself, so referred, which makes us think of the cause, (that is, certain actions, or dispositions of others) as right or wrong.’ The emotions are the origin of the judgment which we are now able to pronounce on the character of these antecedents. Mr. Spalding, however, states that it is only in regard to the *origin* of the ideas of right and wrong that he contends for the priority of the emotions to the judgments. When the relation in which a whole class of actions can be regarded has been learned by experience, he says that we can at once pronounce a particular action to be right or wrong, according to the class to which it belongs, without any necessity of feeling in the given instance, a previous emotion. Thus (to adduce an instance which is rather pathological than strictly moral), we may say that an object is fearful, by referring it to a class, without feeling the emotion of fear at the time. ‘But,’ con-

tinues our author, 'to suppose that the notions of right and wrong are perceived by the understanding, is contrary to all analogy. The source of all abstract general ideas is found in our observation of resemblances. An object is admirable because it agrees with other objects in exciting in our minds a certain emotion termed admiration, not because the mind first perceives its admirable qualities.'

So far as relates to the manner in which we acquire the notions of right and wrong, our author appears exactly to coincide with the views of Dr. Thomas Brown; though he greatly differs from that distinguished writer as to the question—what is virtue in itself? Both maintain that the bare contemplation of certain actions, apart from all express or even tacit reference to general rules or principles, is sufficient to give us, by means of the attendant emotions, the notions of virtue and vice. 'We call an object red which produces in us a certain sensation. Exactly in the same manner, we call an action right or wrong which produces in us a certain emotion,' an emotion of moral approbation or the reverse. It is evident that although the author admits that an 'intellectual perception, or conception,' precedes all our emotions, both moral and others, (without which indeed the mind could no more have an action in its view, than the blind eye could see a material object,) he supposes no such mental operation as would amount to that cognizance of *relations* in which the pure or elementary acts of reason appear to consist. The moral emotion is consequent on the mere isolated view of the conduct of others. Some action of theirs, viewed as detached from all its bearings, is immediately followed by our approval or disapproval: we contemplate the action with no more exercise of the power of perceiving co-existing relations, than though we, for the first time, saw a body fall to the earth, and took cognizance only of the bare event. Is this theory borne out by facts? It would certainly seem that, in children, the moral sensibilities, both in reference to their own conduct and that of others, are developed in proportion to their power of perceiving certain relations in which actions can be viewed; that is in proportion to the growth of reason. Consciousness, also, in after years, appears, we think, to testify that we can hardly frame to ourselves the conception of a moral action as a mere abstract antecedent to emotion: the action always presents itself to our contemplation, in connection with surrounding circumstances, and relations. Whether the notion *right*, and the notion *wrong*, be completely formed, or not, before emotion has been felt, either in the form of complacency or aversion, it appears to us, at all events, that reason (we do not say a process of reasoning) cannot be excluded from some share in producing the result.

That there is some operation of the rational faculty in the formation of our moral notions, appears to be very generally admitted, and is the doctrine of several of the best recent writers. By some, reason is supposed to comprehend the relations in which moral agents are placed, and, when these relations are contemplated in connexion with certain actions, or dispositions of these agents, we feel moral approbation or disapprobation, by an ultimate law of the mind. Thus, we comprehend by reason, it would be said, the relation subsisting between a recipient of benefits and a voluntary disinterested benefactor; and, in contemplating ingratitude in the recipient, we cannot help feeling an emotion of dissatisfaction or disapprobation. And, generally, a conception of various relations of moral beings, in connexion with that of certain actions, is immediately followed by an emotion, after feeling which we pronounce the action good or bad. On this principle, reason and emotion seem to run, as it were, into one point to produce the result. This is the view of Dr. Wayland, whose work on 'Moral Science' we hope to take an early opportunity of noticing. The difference between this theory of the moral faculty and that of our author, is, that the former makes a perception of the *relations* of moral beings to precede the emotions, which perception the latter discards. Both theories, however, find the origin of the idea of moral obligation in our emotions. Dr. Payne advocates the doctrine that reason takes cognizance of relations; but he speaks of 'moral judgments,' as giving us the notions of right and wrong previously, in the order of nature, to the emotions arising. Wayland would object to this view, on the ground that when we unite a subject and predicate together in a judgment, we already have the notions which are signified by these two terms: for if we say 'this action is right,' we have already the notion *right*; as we have the notion *green*, when we say 'the grass is green.' Jouffroi, with the phraseology of another school, places the notion of moral distinctions in a light not very different from that of Wayland; namely, as arising from a certain blending of reason and moral sensibility, in reference to the idea of 'universal order.'

The following are Mr. Spalding's views with respect to conscience; whose operations he regards as requiring previous notions of right and wrong derived from a view of the conduct of others.

'It is admitted that it is utterly impossible to gain our notions of virtue and vice from the emotions of moral self-approbation and remorse; because neither virtue nor vice can exist where there is no notion of either; and as these emotions are always consequent on virtue and vice, they must also be consequent on our notions respecting the same. But these remarks will not apply to those moral emo-

tions which arise from our consideration of the conduct of others. It is to these emotions that we must look for our primary notions of virtue.'

If we rightly understand these and other remarks of the author on the subject of conscience, he is of opinion that its emotions cannot give us ideas of good and evil, unless in so far as these emotions are dependent on our moral ideas already formed by contemplating the conduct of others. Our spontaneous moral approbation and disapprobation of the actions of our fellow-beings give us primary notions of right and wrong; but we never could, by any possibility, have these notions in connexion with any feeling of self-approbation or self-condemnation, unless we had first obtained them from the above source. Now on this principle, it would follow that a solitary human being, whatever intelligence he might possess, could never, by means of his own moral nature, acquire the notion of moral obligation. This is certainly opposed to the general opinion of ethical writers: who have considered one department of morals to be the relation of man *to himself*, from which they deduce rules of personal morality, such as would belong to one shut up in a desert island. Those who doubt that there is such a branch of natural ethics, should read the writings of Epictetus, or Marcus Aurelius. A human being supposed to be situated as described, would, moreover, sustain relations to his Maker, which would not be altered by the fact of his isolated existence; and which, it is not difficult to suppose, might be perceived without the contingent that there should be more than one human being. If the conception of certain actions as belonging to another, gives rise to approving or condemning emotions in us, what reason is there why the conception of actions as our own, should not be followed by self-approving or self-condemning emotions? Otherwise, if we imagine a perfect creature alone in the creation, and intelligently adoring his Creator, we must conclude that he could feel no such consciousness of doing right as should encourage him to continue in this his path of duty.

On the subject of natural ethics, we are glad to find that Mr. Spalding dissents from the opinion that the introduction of moral evil into the world has affected the intellectual powers and the moral constitution of man, to an extent which renders almost useless any attempt to discover a correct theory of morals from an examination of the human mind. We quote the following remarks:—

'If it had not been for the deprivation of man's nature, all subjects would have been considered worthless in comparison with ethics. The knowledge of the laws of matter would have been considered as nothing in comparison with that subject which teaches

man the original dignity of his nature, its capacities for virtue, its relationship to God, and its capabilities of continued and eternal development in moral power. The most obvious effect, then, of the fall, is to turn men's minds away from the contemplation of the subject: man 'does not like to retain God in his knowledge.' It is important, however, to distinguish between general and particular consequences. The real question is, not what have been its effects on man in general, but what effect it has had on the minds of those whose attention has been specially turned to the subject; those whose aversion to the subject has been counteracted, from whatever source that counteraction has arisen. That in general their conclusions have not been vitiated by depravity, or other causes, may be argued on many grounds, and especially from the great majority of the lessons which they inculcate. In fact, ethical writers with but very few exceptions, either in ancient or modern times, do not contend for any state of mind as virtuous, which is not, in one relation or other, represented as virtuous in the Bible. That they have not agreed on some higher parts of the system, must be admitted. The reason is that the subject is one of immense difficulty. It is not surprising that in the higher parts of the science there is a diversity of opinion. There is no such diversity of opinion, however, on what is most important to the interests of man. There is, indeed, a striking difference as to the *source* of our *notions* of virtue and vice; but as to the notions themselves, there is a striking conformity. Men in different ages, in different countries, with various temperaments, of opposite character, while differing with regard to the rank of particular virtues, all agree upon the broad distinction between moral good and evil. This striking agreement, therefore, on so important a subject, is a sufficient proof that God has written the broad line of duty in deepest characters in the human mind. If, indeed, man could cease to know the distinction between virtue and vice, he would be reduced to the condition of a brute, and his responsibility would be at an end.'

The question, however, to which Mr. Spalding proposes more particularly to apply himself, is that which relates to the *nature* of virtue. Our readers will be aware that this is an inquiry which has for its object to discover that state of mind, in a moral agent, to which we apply the epithet virtuous. This problem is, of course, quite distinct from the former, in which the question was, by what faculty or faculties of the mind do we acquire the *notion* of virtue? Our author admits that there is truth in the statements; virtue is that which tends to produce the greatest personal happiness; it is a mean between two extremes; it is that which causes moral approbation of ourselves or of others; it is useful to mankind: but he justly regards these facts as only partial and inadequate answers to the question, what is virtue? In advancing towards the exposition

of his own views on the subject, he properly distinguishes between outward actions and the state of mind with which they are performed. For it is evident that the same actions, merely as to what we may term the *matter* of them, are compatible with very different subjective conditions or states of mind in the agents.

‘The mother who sacrifices her child to false gods, may feel the highest complacency when she reflects on her conduct, because it is considered by her as the decisive evidence of her consecration to those idols which she vainly adores. The inhabitant of Europe feels the greatest horror and indignation at such crime; but it is only because to him such an action is the index to a very different state of mind. He understands, in some measure, the relations in which he is placed; he knows that God abhors such sacrifices; he sees in the natural and instantaneous tenderness of a mother’s bosom towards her hapless offspring, not only the expression of the Divine will, but also the overflowing goodness of the Divine mind itself, toward the same object; and therefore he cannot but regard such an action as a certain indication of the want of that love from which perhaps, in some instances, it actually proceeds. The Hottentot does not therefore approve of what is wrong. Man, whether civilized or uncivilized, approves of devotion to God; the judgment respecting the manner in which it is to be displayed is different; the one conceives it to be evinced in a mode which is uniformly the effect of vice in the country to which the other belongs, and the latter cannot but hold it in detestation and abhorrence.’

The above just remarks illustrate the obvious importance of distinguishing between what the agent does, and the agent himself: an action, viewed objectively, may be conformable to the highest relations in which man is placed; while the agent’s state of mind may be deficient, or wrong. On the other hand, the agent’s intention may be right, while the action itself is not conformable to the moral order of the universe, that is, to the relations of the agent. Again: for an agent to be moral, he must be rational, and voluntary: to be virtuous in the highest sense, both his intention, and his action itself, must be in harmony with the various relations in which he is placed. An agent may act from a right motive, while he may err in the manner in which he carries his intention out into act. On this distinction, which, in some of its bearings, involves considerations which have always been perplexing and painful to reflective minds, it will be allowed that, at all events, Mr. Spalding makes some luminous and discriminating remarks, founded on an instance recorded by Dr. Adam Smith, and on the case of infant immolation among pagans.

In his chapter on ancient systems of morals, our author reviews the definitions of virtue given by Aristotle, Epicurus, and the school of Zeno. He regards their theories that virtue con-

sists in a certain mediocrity of the affections, or in seeking an agreeable life, or in living conformably to the law of nature, as either deficient, or erroneous, or obscure; but he, nevertheless, pays a high and deserved compliment to the superior elevation and sublimity of the morals of the Porch. He next discusses the opinions of some of the modern writers on the nature of virtue; Clarke, Wollaston, Payne, Hutcheson, Edwards, Hume, and Brown: who have, respectively, placed the essence of virtue in acting conformably to the fitness of things, or to truth, or to the relation in which we are placed, in universal benevolence, in what is the same thing benevolence to being in general, in a utility which excites approbation, and in the relation of certain actions to certain emotions. To each of these theories Mr. Spalding more or less objects, though his own views on the nature of virtue come nearest to those of Hutcheson and Edwards, who make it to consist in universal benevolence. He excepts against Dr. Payne's definition, which is nearly identical with that of Clarke and others, that it would render mere pathological affections virtuous: thus the desire of knowledge, for example, though in harmony with our relative situation, is not necessarily virtuous. 'Virtue,' says our author, 'must lie, not in the conformity merely, but in the state of mind which produces it.' Now if we understand Dr. Payne aright, this is exactly what he would say: maintaining that virtue is such a conformity of man's affections and actions to the relations in which he stands, as is produced by a voluntary aim to do right. We observe, also, that, in connection with the above remark of the author, he states that Dr. Payne is 'not of the intellectual school' of morals: this, however, is incorrect according to Mr. Spalding's own description of that school as holding that right and wrong are perceived directly by the understanding. For, as we have seen above, Dr. Payne clearly maintains that moral judgments must always precede moral emotions. It is probable that this writer's views of conscience as strictly an *emotion*, though consequent on moral judgment, may have led Mr. Spalding into this oversight. Whatever view we may take of the theory that conscience is an emotion, and that our notions of right and wrong originate purely in judgment, it is evident that the two statements are by no means incompatible. The disadvantages under which the lamented author of the interesting volume before us composed it, (for he was away from home, and in a foreign country,) and the fact of its posthumous publication, demand that a candid interpretation should be put on these and some other blemishes which would, probably, have disappeared under the final revision and editorship of the author himself: we allude to errors in the orthography of proper

names, and occasional confusion of sense, possibly arising from the state of the manuscript. After having discussed the different theories above alluded to, our author proceeds to state his own views of the nature of virtue, which, as we have before remarked, he regards as consisting in the single affection of *benevolence*.

‘When we say that all virtue consists in the supremacy of this one affection, it must be carefully remembered that we do not wish to deny the term to many others which are currently esteemed virtuous. The proposition we wish to maintain is that love, chosen by the mind as its governing principle, and hence giving it the determination to act in accordance with the various relations in which we are placed, is the first great cause of these moral emotions; that this is the original source to which all other virtuous states of mind must be ultimately referred; and that these latter become the object of moral approbation only in consequence of the relation in which they stand to the great principle of benevolence; apart from which they would possess no moral virtue whatever. In a word, just as we have shown that actions are not virtuous, but merely the evidence of a virtuous state of mind, so certain states of mind, deemed virtuous, are only so many evidences that we possess the great principle of love to God or his creatures.’

Since, according to our author, we say that an agent has done virtuously when, on contemplating his conduct, we find it producing in us a certain emotion, (or as others would say a certain perception of relations, or a certain moral judgment;) it may be contended that, if virtue and benevolence are identical, then whenever we thus say that an agent has acted rightly, we ought to have in our minds the distinct impression that his impelling motive was benevolence. Now is this actually the case? When the truth is spoken, for instance, or an act of justice is done, no doubt we see exemplified a general principle which benefits society, but do we demand that the idea of this benefit as a motive, shall be in the mind of the agent, before we pronounce his conduct, as far as it goes, virtuous? Suppose a person in a court of justice giving evidence decidedly against his own personal interest and advantage, and that we could know that no motive is present to his mind but that of doing what is right in itself: undoubtedly, we should approve his conduct, though the notion of benevolence does not present itself in connexion with it. Objections of this kind are made by Butler, Price, and Brown, to the theory that virtue is always identical with benevolence; and we think they are not fully rebutted by our author. We would not, however, be supposed for a moment to question that benevolence to man is an essential element in by far the greater number of those modes of conduct, having a direct bearing on society, which are denominated virtuous, as being objects

of universal moral approbation. Much less would we hesitate to admit that love to God is the principle which alone can stamp human agency with the highest character of virtue. There is no doubt that it ought to be the pervading and impelling motive of all human conduct, as it most perfectly harmonizes the human soul with the eternal source of all order and moral beauty, and renders virtue no longer an abstraction, but a union and a communion, as it were, of the finite with the infinite. Still there are degrees of conformity with the relations in which man is placed, that is degrees of virtue. The preponderance of conscience when it just turns the vibrating balance in favour of right, because it will not be silenced, is different from a ready, cheerful, enlightened, obedience, emanating from devout love to God as the source of all moral excellence, the fountain of all moral law. In both cases the human agent would be doing right; though it is in the latter case only, that he would be doing so in the highest sense. In this case, benevolence towards man, also, would be diffused through all social relations to the utmost possible extent. On these principles, we cordially sympathise with the author in the prominence he has given to benevolence, under which he includes love to God and man. Of these two forms of the general disposition, he has given various glowing and beautiful illustrations.

As our author insists largely on the claim of 'love' to God and man to be the highest principle of human conduct, and so extensively deduces from it the duties of social life, he of course maintains the usefulness of virtue, both to the individual and to mankind in general. While, however, he recognizes the uniform tendency of virtue to promote happiness, he rejects the theory that a moral action is right merely *on account* of its utility; for if so, says Mr. Spalding, we should find that whenever we contemplate our own actions, or those of others with approbation, we do so in consequence of their tendency to usefulness being present to our minds, which is not the case. We approve of gratitude to a benefactor, when we witness it; we think of the martyr to truth and principle with approbation; and the emotion arises in us, instantaneously, without any immediate view of the real tendency of the actions to benefit society.

We should be glad, if our limits permitted, to follow the author in other illustrations of the principle of benevolence, which he traces through a variety of duties. This development of the general principle occupies, either directly or indirectly, the larger portion of the volume, and is exhibited in numerous passages of genuine eloquence. We are bound in justice to say that the extracts we have given are by no means to be regarded as specimens of the greatest power and beauty. The delineation

in the eleventh chapter, corresponding to the heading, 'Love personified in the Saviour,' and the closing pages of the volume, which treat of the 'future triumphs of Christianity,' are peculiarly worthy of attention : but throughout the whole work there is an elevation of thought and of sentiment which are well calculated to recommend it to the intelligent and reflective. We can assure the reader that, although embracing the most difficult points of a difficult subject, it is anything but a *dry* book. The author writes with the glowing warmth of one whose whole heart is in his subject ; sometimes with an intense ardour of feeling. The book is, on this account, of a more popular cast than is usual with treatises on the principles of ethics ; though it often discusses principles ably and profoundly. It also exhibits more successfully, we think, than is sometimes done, the relation which subsists between Christianity and the moral nature of man : illustrating the real harmony of the Christian precepts with the genuine dictates of the moral faculty, notwithstanding all apparent and supposed discordancies. Though some of the theories advocated may be regarded as disputable, involving as they do points on which the most celebrated inquirers have differed, and though some allowances must be made for the work, as a posthumous publication, there is shown, in its investigations, a talent for philosophical discussion, an independence of mind, a freedom from prejudice, a love of truth, a freshness and simplicity of heart, a devout and benevolent temper of mind, which altogether throw a charm over the volume, and render it a valuable contribution to ethical literature. We would particularly recommend it to the attention of theological students, perfectly free as it is from all sectarian and party feeling, and avoiding as it does both the extremes which, as we have already shown, it appears to us that different writers have fallen into, on the subject of ethics. The enlarged and catholic spirit of the writer, we may add, is repeatedly manifested ; and the 'division and strife' which are too often witnessed on the subject of religion, evidently occasioned much grief and pain to a mind so exquisitely attuned to the harmonies of moral truth and benevolence.

- Art. V.—1. *A Bill to Amend two Acts passed in Ireland for the better Education of Persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for the better Government of the College established at Maynooth for the Education of such Persons; and also an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom for Amending the said Two Acts. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, April 3rd, 1845.*
2. *Resolutions of the British Anti-State-Church Association respecting the Maynooth Grant, March 26th.*
 3. *Resolutions of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales respecting the Maynooth Grant, March 12th.*
 4. *Resolutions of the Committee of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland respecting the Maynooth Grant, March 26.*
 5. *Resolutions of the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters of the three Denominations in and within twelve miles of London respecting the Maynooth Grant, April 9th.*
 6. *Resolutions of the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster respecting the Maynooth Grant, April 1st.*

THE government of Sir Robert Peel is in some respects the most extraordinary which has ever ruled this country. Its distinction, however, is not of a proud and ennobling order; it does not consist in the possession of pre-eminent ability, in the breadth and capaciousness of the views entertained, or in the consistency of its measures with the principles avowed and the professions with which it took office. The least scrupulous of its advocates will scarcely venture to found its claims on these grounds. They are manifestly foreign from the merits of the existing administration, which, nevertheless, possesses an unenviable notoriety, a character *sui generis*, which will separate it from all others in the judgment of an impartial and discriminating posterity. We can readily imagine the perplexity of some future student of political history who shall employ himself in the investigation of these times, with a view of doing justice to the men by whom their course has been shaped. Commencing with the advent of Earl Grey to power, and passing onward to the period when Lord Melbourne finally resigned the seals of office, he will meet with an active and organized party, stealthily adapting its phraseology to the altered aspect of the times, renouncing the title by which it had been known, discarding, in words at least, some of the dogmas long deemed essential to its creed, and seeking, under the guise of popular sympathies, to regain its forfeited power and resuscitate the spell by which the popular mind had for generations

been bound. Assisted by the hesitancy and aristocratical prepossessions of the Whigs, he will find this party steadily gathering strength, recruiting itself by desertions from their ranks, adroitly availing itself of their blunders, obstructing many good measures, and rendering cordial support to every bad one, until at length, their rivals having worn out the patience of a deluded people, the triumph was completed in their own accession to power.

Such an investigator will naturally look to the subsequent history of this party for an illustration and enforcement of the views advocated in opposition. It would be deemed an insult to their memory—an indignity and a wrong, to suppose that in the one case they would belie all the professions they had made in the other,—that their passion for office could be so intense, their recklessness of principle so marked, as to induce them to do the work of the free-trader, or to fraternize with the dissenter, the jew, and the catholic. And yet, what other conclusion will he be able to form after a patient and laborious examination of the facts of the case. The elements composing this party consisted of the modern representatives of the old Tory school, and the pledge they gave to the country was that of protection to monopoly, whether in the senate, the market, or the church. This pledge was uttered in every form of speech, and was reiterated on all occasions. Every possible sanction was given to the faith of their credulous adherents. Men of the highest note and of the most authoritative position amongst them, those who were known to be in the confidence of their leader,—nay, that leader himself, at sundry times, when he deemed it befitting to disclose his purpose, bound himself hand and foot to work out the policy which had cramped the industrial energies of the people, and fed the bigotry and intolerance of a protestant hierarchy. These were the professions made, the good tidings which cheered the drooping spirits of the squirearchy and the priests. There was a revival, in appearance at least, of ancient loyalty; not, indeed, to the person of the monarch, but to those interests for the maintenance of which alone the monarchy was deemed important. Sir Robert Peel and his associates were summoned to a special vocation. It was theirs to arrest the revolutionary course of events, to throw back the tide of democracy, to protect the home market from foreign competition, and above all to guard the established church from the profane hands of infidels, dissenters, and catholics. They took office on these conditions; their advent to power was hailed on this account. They were to be the regenerators of their times,—the honest, unflinching, and always-consistent friends of the agricultural interest and of the protestant ascen-

dancy. And yet what have we seen? How have these promises been fulfilled, these pledges redeemed, this line of policy worked out? What has been the result of the vast and costly efforts which were made to secure their triumph? For the honour of our common nature, we are ashamed to reply to our own inquiries. There was little faith in public men left amongst us, before this last and most disgraceful defection; but he must be strangely ignorant of the universal conviction of the people, who now ventures, with a grave countenance, to descant on the integrity of politicians, or to calculate on public virtue interposing any barrier to their possession of power. The great mass of the people would laugh to scorn the man who should so attempt to delude them; or would deem him so simple-minded and uninformed, as to be fit only for the regions of the moon.

We are far from thinking this a light matter. It weighs heavily on our spirits, and throws a shade over the prospects of our country which we would gladly see removed. The reputation of our statesmen is public property, which cannot be damaged without the nation being a loser. It is no mere personal thing, but a deep fixed inherent evil, which will show itself in a thousand morbid forms throughout the body politic. Whatever impairs the credit or destroys confidence in the integrity of our rulers, weakens public morals, and facilitates the progress of anarchy and scepticism. The national mind resents in such circumstances the semblance of virtue as an insult to its common sense, and either ceases to feel interest in public affairs, or looks about it for a new and more trustworthy set of political leaders. There is much to incline it to the former course, in which case its liberties are sacrificed to an unprincipled oligarchy: whilst the latter requires an enlightened estimate of its rights, and a conscientious determination to maintain them.

That some of the measures of Sir Robert Peel have been in a right direction we freely admit, but this admission impairs not the force of our regret, at the irreparable injury he has done to the reputation of public men. The benefits of his administration are his disgrace as a tory minister. The boon which he confers is bestowed at the cost of his official integrity. He has not the manliness either to abide by his former professions, or to avow the change which circumstances have forced upon him, but is content to exercise the dictatorship of a party, at the price of carrying the measures of his opponents.

A singular illustration of this is afforded in the Bill which he has just submitted to parliament. To this measure, then in prospect, we referred last month, and now recur to the subject with feelings of earnest solicitude to discharge our duty as public journalists in what we deem a momentous crisis.

On the 3rd of April, the premier moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Acts relating to the College of Maynooth, and in the speech with which he prefaced his motion detailed the immediate changes which he contemplated, without committing himself to an opinion, yea or nay, respecting the ulterior measures which might grow out of them. On these he observed a discreet if not an honourable silence, and our main business therefore at present is to ascertain the precise nature of the proposition which he submitted to the House, and the lessons to be derived from the reception with which it met.

The measure of the premier involved three things. In the first place it is provided 'That the trustees of the said college or seminary' (we copy from the Bill) 'and their successors for ever, shall be one body politic and corporate, by the name of 'The Trustees of Maynooth,' and by that name shall have perpetual succession and a common seal.' This corporation is empowered, notwithstanding the statutes in mortmain, to purchase and enjoy property, whether real or personal, to the extent of £3,000 a year, exclusive of the property already acquired by the trustees. This is a large extension of the power previously enjoyed, and gives a fixed and legal character to the institution, deserving of grave consideration.

The next point respects the provision to be made for the salaries of professors and the support of students, and here we shall best compass our object, which is a fair statement of the premier's case, by quoting his own words as reported in the 'Times' of April 4th :—

'I next address myself,' he remarked, 'to the provision to be made for the chief officers of the college. We propose that there should be a more liberal salary as compared with the present stipend of the president and professors. As I before said, the stipend of each individual professor does not now exceed £122 per annum. Instead of defining exactly what shall be the amount paid to each professor, we propose to allot to the trustees of Maynooth a certain sum, which shall be placed at their discretion for the payment of salaries. That sum will admit of a payment of £600 or £700 per annum to the president of the college ; of £260 or £270 to the professors of theology ; and of £220 to £230 to the other professors. We propose, therefore, that a sum not exceeding £6000 shall be allotted to the trustees for making provision for the officers of the institution. With regard to the students, I would just remind the house that the college, generally speaking, is divided into two departments. The senior department consists of three senior classes of what may be called divinity students, and are the persons from whom a selection is immediately made for the Roman Catholic priesthood. In the subordinate division of the college there are four classes. In addition to these two departments are twenty senior students, who

have passed through the college course with peculiar credit, called the Dunboyne students, because Lord Dunboyne bequeathed about £500 a-year towards their support. They are selected by the president, and allowed to remain three years; and each one is allowed £55 a-year, of which sum £25 goes to the college for the student's support. There are at present about four hundred and thirty students in the college, divided into these three classes: the Dunboyne students, the three senior classes and the four junior classes. We propose to allot to each of the Dunboyne students—that is, to twenty Dunboyne students, the sum of £40 each per annum. We propose to make provision on the whole for five hundred free students—that there shall be two hundred and fifty students in the four junior classes, and two hundred and fifty in the three senior classes, those being divinity students. That is to say, there are to be twenty Dunboyne students, and five hundred comprised within the two great departments. We propose that for the maintenance of each student, to cover the expense of his commons, attendance, and other charges, consequent upon academical education, a sum shall be placed at the disposal of the trustees, calculated on an average of £28 per annum for each student. We propose that to each of the students in the three senior classes, the sum of £20 per annum for their own personal expenses shall be allowed separately. This will require a very considerable sum. For the salaries of the professors, for the provision of a library, and for other expenses of that nature, that a sum not exceeding £6,000. For the twenty Dunboyne students at £40, the sum of £800 will be required. The allowance for the maintenance of five hundred students in the two departments, and of the twenty Dunboyne students, at £28 each, will amount to £14,560. The allowance of £20 each to the divinity students in the three senior classes will make £5,000. Thus we have a total for the annual charge on account of the establishment of £26,360. That will not be in addition to the present vote, but including it.*

The other point respects the repair and enlargement of the college building, for which a grant of £30,000 is proposed, with an additional charge *in perpetuo*, for the repairs of the same, to be included in the annual estimates of the Board of Works.

Such is, in brief, the measure now submitted to the British parliament, and it only remains, in order that the case be clearly understood, that the visitorial powers created by the Bill should be explained. Referring to these, Sir Robert remarked:—

* With respect to the visitorial powers of the college at present, for the ordinary purposes of education, it is exercised by certain judges, by parties who either were originally appointed by the Act of 1795, or have been since elected to fill up vacancies as they have occurred since that time. Now our opinion is that *ex officio* visitors are incompetent. We propose that the lord chancellor and the judges should be relieved from this duty, and that her Majesty shall

have the power to appoint five visitors, in addition to the elected visitors. But then we do not propose that those visitors so appointed shall exercise any powers of visitation other than the present visitors do. We propose, however, that there shall be *bond fide* visitations, and that they shall take place as a matter of course, annually, instead of triennially as is now the case. We propose also that the lord lieutenant should have the power of directing a visitation whenever he may think proper. But observe the visitorial powers shall not extend to any matter relating to the doctrine or discipline of the church of Rome. We will not spoil this Act by any attempt at undue interference with such matters. Indeed, it would be utterly ineffective for any good purpose. But no alteration will be made in the visitorial powers, which are to remain and be exercised as at present in all matters which relate to the exercise, doctrine, and discipline of the Roman catholic church. This visitorial power, however, cannot be exercised except by three visitors elected by the other visitors; and those three must be members of the Roman catholic church.'

We have thus succinctly stated the leading features of a measure, which, to the astonishment of all thoughtful men, the leader of the conservative party has commended to the adoption of the legislature. The excitement which has followed cannot well be overrated. It extends through all classes, partakes of various hues, and expresses itself,—sometimes in language of the fiercest intolerance, sometimes of an alarmed and unreflecting piety, and at others of an enlightened conviction of the folly and wickedness of the secular power attempting to legislate in matters of religion. Were we to judge of the measure from the arguments which—with two or three honourable exceptions—were adduced against it, in the Commons House, we should unhesitatingly give it our support, for any thing more flimsy or exceptionable, than the reasoning and spirit with which it has been met, we have never witnessed. It is marvellous that our senators should have retained to the middle of the nineteenth century, so many of the dogmas and so much of the spirit of the most intolerant age, and we may well be thankful, in view of the revelation thus afforded, for the protective influences which exempt us from the sufferings experienced by our fathers. If we had to choose between the intolerant bigotry so unblushingly avowed, and the latitudinarianism on which the ministerial project is based, we should not hesitate in our preference of the latter. In comparison, it is innocuous, and contains within itself some corrective elements, tending ultimately to the overthrow of the system which it temporarily extends. But we are not reduced to any such alternative. We protest against the measure as vicious in principle, incompatible with the legitimate province

of government, an insult to those to whom the grant is tendered, and a grievous wrong to the consciences of all who object to any appropriation of the public money to ecclesiastical purposes. The Conservative minister was warmly supported by the leader of the Whig section of the House. Lord John Russell, with all the warmth of a new born friendship—of which we have had several instances of late—came to his assistance, and the temper of his speech was indicative of the folly of those dissenters who look to his lordship as the *beau ideal* of a statesman. He was not satisfied with affirming the proposition of the Premier, but avowed his readiness to concur in any measure for the endowment of the Romish clergy; and that too, on the ground of his preferring the establishment system, to the voluntary principle. His words should be deeply pondered by every dissenter:

‘I must confess,’ said his lordship, ‘that, with those gentlemen who oppose it on the ground that both in the proposal itself of settling this grant by Bill, making it a permanent endowment, and in the reasons the right honourable gentlemen gave for that endowment, there is an indication of further measures than he himself proposed to night, or than the measure itself contains,—I say that with them I am inclined to agree so far, except that, although a ground of opposition with them, it is a ground of concurrence upon my part. The right honourable gentleman stated truly, at the end of his speech, that do what you will, the priests who are brought up in the Roman Catholic faith are to be the spiritual guides of the great majority of the people. He urged, I think most truly and unanswerably, that if that is to be the object, it is your interest that your education should be as good, that the doctrines taught should be of a nature as much to elevate, that the education should be of a character as much to improve, as it is possible by education to improve, the character of that priesthood. In that argument I fully and entirely concur; and upon that ground I shall be most willing to give my vote in favour of the proposal of the government to-night. But it is impossible to hear such arguments without bearing in mind the whole condition of Ireland as it respects this country. Now I am not going to argue whether even with respect to this particular question, the house should or not adopt the motion of which my honourable friend near me, (Mr. Ward) has given a notice; but this I say, that arguments which are so sound, and as I think so incontrovertible, to induce this house to found an endowment for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, will prove upon another occasion as sound and as incontrovertible with respect to an endowment for the maintenance of that priesthood. For my own part, preferring most strongly, and more and more by reflection, religious establishments to that which is called the voluntary principle. I am anxious to see the spiritual, the religious instructors of the great majority of the people of Ireland endowed and maintained by a provision furnished by the state. I do not hesitate to give that opinion. I am not committing any person on the part of the government, I am speaking independently for my-

self, but I will not give this vote misleading any one by the notion, that if there came a question proposed in a manner in which I should think that it could practically and properly be carried into effect, for the payment of the Roman catholic priesthood, I should not think the reasons upon which I shall vote to-night equally conclusive to induce me to concur in that proposal.'

Of the noble member for London, we have frequently recorded our opinion. It has been in no grudging spirit that we have admitted the value of his past services; or sought to do justice to the claims of the Whigs on the gratitude of their countrymen. But our admiration has not blinded us to their faults, and we have long felt, what his lordship's speech,—illustrated by what he subsequently remarked in support of Mr. Ward's amendment—must now render evident to all but his blindest partizans, that the time of our separation has come, and that Whig alliances must be renounced in deference to the higher claims of religious duty. We have no disposition or right to censure his lordship's churchmanship. It has been known to us from the first, and has never been objected to as invalidating his title to our political confidence. But the case is materially altered, if his churchmanship involves an approval and support of new ecclesiastical imposts,—the organization, in fact, of another establishment at the cost, and in violation of the principles of the protestant community. In the former case, the plea of antiquity and of vested interests might be alleged, but in the latter, we see an unblushing sacrifice of the religious to the secular, a profane tampering with conscience in order to perpetuate the unrighteous domination of the Irish church. It will be for dissenters to say, whether such a course is compatible with their continued support of his lordship as a political chief. Our own decision is in the negative, and we have strong confidence that this decision will speedily be adopted by the great majority of our friends. We know what may be said—what probably will be said—against this, nor are we unapprised of its force, but we know also that we have rendered to the Whigs an ample return for the services they have done us. It is notorious—and the fact should serve to moderate the superciliousness of some Whig leaders—that the dissenters of Great Britain constitute the strength of the liberal party. Their support is more essential to Lord John, than his advocacy is to them; and he may yet live to feel, that in violating their consciences, and imposing on them additional church burdens, he is only cutting away the ground from beneath his own feet, and rendering himself as powerless as his position is a false one. We have been willing to bear with the churchmanship of our Whig allies. Whether right or not we have acquiesced in their protection of the existing hierarchies; but it is a totally different thing now that we are called on to submit to the

organization of a third establishment, for which, neither the plea of antiquity, nor that of truth, can be urged. In a house of 380, there was only one member found to protest against the measure, on its introduction, as an act of injustice to the British people, and that member, to his honour be it said, was Mr. Thomas Duncombe. Though unconnected with dissenters, he took a clear, straightforward, and honest view of the case, and with the manly bearing which is characteristic of his public life, he at once avowed, that he, 'would oppose the motion, because the vote was permanent in its character, on account of the sources from which the money was to be drawn, and also on account of the purposes to which it was to be applied. It was impossible not to see that the vote was intended as part of a scheme for the endowment of another church establishment in Ireland, to which the great majority of the people in this country did not subscribe. The measure had been called a restitution; he thought it an aggravated slander; it might have been called a restitution had it been a measure for suppressing the established church in Ireland, and appropriating its funds to general education. He denied that it was a mere question of degree; it was a question of principle. They found this vote an annual one, and they had no more right to make it permanent than they had to do the same with the Mutiny Act or the supplies. On the voluntary principle he should give his vote against the motion, to which, in justice to a large portion of his constituents, he could not give his assent.'

The motion of the premier was carried by a majority of 102; the numbers being 216 for, and 114 against it. This result was anticipated, and became the signal for immediate and intense agitation. Meetings were held in every part of the country. Churchmen and Dissenters, and amongst the latter Methodists, Independents and Baptists were instantly on the alert. The most moderate amongst ourselves were foremost in the agitation, and spoke with an irritability and violence strangely in contrast with the censures they had been accustomed to pass on their brethren. Thousands of petitions were forwarded against the measure, a large proportion of which distinctly repudiated the right of the legislature to vote public money for the support of any class of religionists whatsoever. Efforts were also made to obtain time in order to allow a fair opportunity for the expression of public feeling, but the minister was immovable, and the second reading of the Bill was therefore moved for on the 10th of April.

Of the protracted debate which followed, it would be idle to attempt an analysis. It affords us little satisfaction, and was marked, even beyond the ordinary course of parliamentary discussions, by a singular misapprehension of the matter in debate,

an almost absolute avoidance of the principle involved, and the grossest possible misconception of the ground of opposition on the part of protestant dissenters. Men of various political creeds, tories, whigs and radicals vied with each other in the zeal of their advocacy, occasionally enlivening their otherwise dull harangues by party criminations, or the spleen of personal invective. Division of opinion was much more marked on the conservative than on the liberal side of the House. Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay, and Sir George Grey spoke the sentiments and gave a tone to the policy of their followers, while Mr. Hume, Mr. Roebuck and other radicals were sufficiently infatuated to lend their support to a measure which, if carried out to its legitimate results, will raise up another formidable barrier to the progress of freedom, and the social welfare of the empire. A more illusive plea than that which was urged by the liberal members, in defence of their votes, was never heard in parliament. Ireland, it was said, has been misgoverned, the catholic population has been oppressed, the rights of the many have been sacrificed to the interests of the few, religion and sound policy have been equally violated by the maintenance of a protestant hierarchy which the people spurned, out of funds taken from the people's church;—and, therefore, such was the non-sequitur of our legislators,—it was seemly and righteous to make all other religionists contribute to the support of an *ecclesiastical* institute which they deemed unscriptural and injurious—a fountain of error, a fruitful source of superstition and social debasement. One wrong was appealed to in justification of another; the outrage committed on the catholic was adduced in vindication of that proposed on the protestant. The misgovernment of centuries was to be atoned for by the perpetration of a new wrong of a precisely similar character, only on a different class of her Majesty's subjects. Protestant ascendancy was to give place, not to equality, for of that we are the advocates, but to the extension of the vicious principle of religious patronage to the catholic population. As they had loudly and justly complained of the inequity of being compelled to support a church which they disapproved, their remonstrances are met by a proposition, not to relieve them from this burden, but to subject the protestant community to the same intolerable load. The viciousness of the plan, and the hollowness of the pretexts by which it was enforced are seen out of doors. The common sense of the nation protests against the injustice, whilst our senators in utter contempt of the popular will, amuse themselves with the flimsiest pleas which a shallow philosophy can furnish.

We admit the many and grievous wrongs of Ireland. When other voices were silent we denounced them, and pleaded,

honestly at least, that our catholic fellow countrymen were entitled equally with ourselves to share the privilege of the British constitution. For these rights, to the utmost limit, we are still prepared to contend. The constitution is theirs as well as ours, and he is no friend to popular freedom who would exclude from its pale, or deprive of a fraction of its benefits, the worshippers in any temple, or the abettors of any religious creed. We have, however, yet to learn that this has any thing to do with a public endowment of the church, or with the training of the priesthood of the papacy. To the former, its adherents are entitled by the common tenure of citizenship, while from the latter, they are debarred by the sacredness of conscience and the voluntary nature of religion. Let right be done to Ireland. Let it be done in a generous and confiding spirit. Let it be done under a sense of our past misdeeds, and with a liberality which betokens repentance as well as justice. The first step, however, in this line of policy, the only one consistent with sound principle and enlightened legislation, is the entire extinction of the protestant hierarchy of that country. This is the bane of Ireland, the outward and visible token of her misrule and degradation. It stands out before the eye of Europe, an anomaly which no reasoning can justify, and for which no necessity exists. Ireland will never be pacified,—she ought not to be so, while this corporation is upheld. Its historical associations madden her sons, whilst its altars and worship are connected in their minds with the imprisonment, proscription and murder of their fathers. Our love of protestantism, therefore, combines with our sense of justice in demanding the overthrow of this system. There is no hope for protestantism in Ireland whilst it is presented to her sons through the medium of this politico-ecclesiastical institution. They regard it as their oppressor, the heartless creed of a tyrannical lord, deaf alike to the dictates of justice and the pleadings of mercy. To the overthrow of this establishment, the so-called liberal members of the House should therefore have addressed themselves; but instead of this they have sought to renew its lease of gain, if not of power, by buying off the most formidable body of its assailants. The old hierarchy is to be protected by the creation of another, and that too, not at its expence, but at the cost of the community.

It was well observed by Mr. Muntz, and we perfectly agree in his statement, that ‘he wished to see all classes and sects have the fullest, and the freest, and the fairest exercise of their religious opinions and worship. But that was one of his strongest reasons for opposing the pitiful measure now brought forward, a measure which the government ought to have been

ashamed to introduce, and the Irish nation ashamed to receive.'

So absolutely ignorant are our senators, of the first principles of religious liberty, that they congratulated each other on the service they were rendering to her sacred cause at the very time, and in the very act, by which they were violating her spirit and setting at naught her injunctions. So true is it that perfect religious freedom cannot co-exist with the establishment principle. We have long been seeking to work this conviction into the hearts of our people. They have been indisposed, however, to admit it. In their simplicity, they have continued to hope better things, and to turn a deaf ear in consequence to our counsels. Henceforth we need not reason. The debates of the past month have certified the fact, and to these we shall henceforth appeal in confirmation of our views.

The honourable members for Durham and Rochdale are entitled to our gratitude for their able exposition of the ground on which dissenters oppose this Bill. It is perfectly refreshing amidst the rubbish and lumber of the debate, the latitudinarianism of some, the besotted bigotry of others, the perverse misrepresentations of not a few, and the splendid plausibilities of two or three, to light upon the clear and statesman-like view which they took of the subject. No speeches were more practical at the same time that they were grounded on principles of universal and permanent application. It was with withering power that Mr. Bright, after repudiating the reasonings of many opponents of the Bill, and stating that his main objection was derived from hostility to the appropriation of public money to the support of any religionists, exposed the hollowness of the measure and its unfriendliness to the interests of the Irish people.

'The object of this measure,' remarked Mr. Bright, 'was to him just as objectionable, when he learned that it was intended by this vote to soothe the discontents which existed in Ireland. He would like to look at the causes whence this discontent arose. Did it arise because the priests of Maynooth were now insufficiently well clad or fed? He had always thought that it arose from the fact that one-third of the people were paupers—that almost all of them were not in regular employment at the very lowest rate of wages—and that the state of things amongst the bulk of the population was most disastrous, and to be deplored; but he could not for the life of him conceive how the grant of additional money to Maynooth was to give additional employment, or food, or clothing to the people of Ireland, or make them more satisfied with their condition. He could easily see how, by the granting of this sum, the legislature might hear far less in future times, of the sufferings and wrongs of the

people of Ireland than they had heard heretofore; for they felt that one large means of influence, possessed by those who agitated for the redress of Irish wrongs, was to be found in the report which the Irish catholic clergy had given to the various associations for carrying on political agitation; and the object of the Bill was to tame down those agitators—it was a sop given to priests. It was hush-money, given that they might not proceed to the whole country, to Europe, and to the world the suffering population to whom they administer the rites and the ceremonies of religion. He took it that the protestant church of Ireland was at the root of the evils of that country. The Irish catholic would thank them infinitely more if they were to wipe out that blot, than they would even if parliament were to establish the Roman catholic church alongside of it. They had had every thing protestant—a protestant clique which had been permanent in the country; a protestant viceroy to distribute places and emoluments amongst that protestant clique; protestant judges who had polluted the seats of justice; protestant magistrates, before whom the catholic peasant could not hope for justice. They had not only protestant, exterminating landlords, and more than that, a protestant soldiery who, at the beck and command of a protestant priest, had butchered a catholic peasant, even in the presence of his widowed mother. All these things were notorious; he merely stated them. He did not bring the proof of them, they were patent to all the world, and that man must have been unobservant indeed who was not perfectly convinced of their truth. The consequence of all this was, the extreme discontent of the Irish people. And because the government was not prepared yet to take those measures which would really do justice to Ireland, and to wipe away that protestant establishment which was the most disgraceful institution in Christendom, the next thing was, that they should drive off the watch dog, if it were possible, and take from O'Connell and the Repeal Association that formidable organization which has been established throughout the whole country, through the sympathies of the catholic priests being bound up with the interests of the people. Their object was to take away the sympathy of the catholic priests from the people, and to give them more Latin and Greek. The object was to make the priests in Ireland as tame as those of Suffolk and Dorsetshire. The object was, that, when the horizon was brightened every night with incendiary fires, no priest of the protestant establishment should ever tell of the wrongs of the people among whom he was living; and when the population were starving, and pauperized by thousands, as in the southern parts of England, the priests should not unite themselves with any association for the purpose of wresting from an oppressive government those rights which the people had a claim. He was altogether against this system for any purpose, under any circumstances, at any time whatever. Nothing could be more disastrous to the best interests of the community, nor more dangerous to religion itself. If the government

wanted to make the priests of Ireland as useless for all practical purposes as the paid priests of their own establishment, they should not give them 26,000*l.* merely, but as much as they could persuade that house to agree to. Ireland was suffering from the existence of two churches. Either one should be abolished or the other established; for with the present church having a small community, overpaid ministers, a costly establishment, and little work, it was quite impossible to have peace and content in that country. If possible give the catholic priests a portion of the public funds, as the government gave the regium donum to the presbyterians of the north, and they would unite with the church as the presbyterians did, against any attempt to overturn the old system of church and state alliance in that country. The experience of state churches was not of a character to warrant the house in going further in that direction.'

It will now be for the dissenters of Great Britain to take it into their solemn consideration whether they are not bound by attachment to their principles, by fealty to the religious convictions which they cherish, to exercise their elective franchise with especial reference to the preservation of religious freedom. The termination of the debate was as we expected, though the majority was undoubtedly greater. The second reading was carried, after six nights' discussion, by a majority of 323 to 176. On an analysis of the division, it is found, that the majority consisted of 165 liberals, and 158 conservatives: whilst in the minority there were 145 conservative, and only 31 liberal members. Amongst the conservative majority, were thirty placemen, so that had the question been left to the decision of the *unplaced conservative party*, it would undoubtedly have been rejected.

Such is the parliamentary position of the question. Let us now turn to the country, and see what has been the extent and character of the opposition offered to it. Of the former, it is sufficient to say, that the number of petitions presented up to the latest return we have seen, is 5,643. Considering the brief interval allowed, this is altogether unexampled, and should, of itself, have sufficed to make the House pause in its career. We can understand Sir Robert Peel, and his conservative supporters, in their contemptuous indifference to the petitions of the people: but what shall we say of the liberal members of the House, of the radicals as well as the whigs, the free-traders as well as the monopolists, the men who live by popular support, whose political status is founded on the representative principle, and who can descant with fluency when it serves their purpose, on the agreement which should subsist between the votes of St. Stephen's and the petitions of the people. There were honourable exceptions, amongst which, the mem-

bers for Durham, Rochdale, Finsbury, Ashton, and Birmingham, hold a distinguished place,—but, taken in the mass, the liberal party has forfeited its title to public confidence, and proclaimed, as with a voice of thunder, the necessity for some great and radical change in the representative system. It is not simply, that the petitions of the people were slighted, that those who assume to be their representatives felt themselves at liberty to reject their prayer. This would have been enough, and for the consistency of our public men, we wish it were all: but, as Sir Robert Inglis remarked,—with a point and truthfulness not always characteristic of his sayings,—the petitions of the people were referred to by Lord John Russell—and the observation is equally true of others—in ‘language which he certainly had not expected to hear from a great friend of civil and religious liberty.’ Well, the time will come—let protestant dissenters keep it in mind—when we shall have an opportunity of letting honourable members know what we think of the manner in which their stewardship has been discharged. Let the constituencies of London, of Edinburgh, of Lambeth, of Marylebone, of the Tower Hamlets, of Leicester, we are grieved at heart to add, of Stockport, and a hundred other places, prepare for the discharge of their duty. For ourselves, the resolution is taken—and we know that we are not alone,—no matter what the claims preferred, what the services rendered, the man who has voted for this iniquitous measure, be he who he may, whig, radical, complete suffragist, free-trader, or pseudo-voluntary, shall never have our support. We have been disposed to bear with much—perhaps too much—for the sake of a common cause. Our representatives have never been required to pledge themselves to measures antagonistic to the existing hierarchy, but this recklessness of principle, this contemptuous disregard of our conscientious scruples, is not to be borne. To have been passive in the former case may have been questionable, but to continue our suffrage to men who,—where no vested interests existed, where the plea of antiquity had not place, where the sentiments of the people were outraged,—have originated a new ecclesiastical institute, as if in sport of conscience, would be to evidence an indifference to principle equal to their own, and an utter unworthiness of the position in which the providence of God has placed us. The present parliament is approaching to its close, but the liberal members calculate on the public feeling subsiding before they have occasion again to meet their constituents. It rests with us to shew, that they misapprehend us,—that as we are influenced by principle, not by passion, our resolution will partake of the enduring character of religious convictions. Let dissenters then immediately assemble in all parts of the kingdom. Let them take counsel with

each other, and enter into a solemn confederation, that on no account whatever, unless public repentance be evinced, will they exercise their suffrage for any man who has desecrated religion and scoffed at conscience by recording his vote in support of the ministerial Bill. We are glad to find that the *British Anti-State Society*, at a public meeting in Tottenham-court Chapel, London, April 21st, has called attention to this point. The resolution then adopted, which we transfer to our pages for the guidance of our readers, was as follows :

‘That the proposal of a measure so palpably infringing the first principles of religious freedom, the amount of support it has received in the House of Commons, and the arguments by which it has been defended, convince this meeting that the cause of freedom has but feeble support in the house supposed to represent the people ; and justify it in calling on the electoral body throughout the United Kingdom, to exercise the elective franchise on all future occasions, with a special reference to the preservation and extension of the principles of religious liberty at home and in the colonies.’

On the character of the opposition offered to the ministerial measure we must say a few words. It is sufficiently evident from what has been said, that we have no sympathy with the views expressed, or the grounds of opposition put forth, by members of the English establishment. As between their church and the papacy we do not interfere, believing that both are unsound in constitution, seriously detrimental to religion, and alike obstructive to political freedom. As such, therefore, we have no interest in their contention, and had not the question a larger scope than their interests, our voice would be silent. If we admitted the necessity for a church establishment in Ireland, we should be compelled to vote on behalf of that of Rome. Its adherents constitute the overwhelming majority of the Irish people ; while the protestant hierarchy is regarded with mistrust and abhorrence. But we deny any such necessity, affirming, that all establishments, whether protestant or catholic, episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational, are only adapted to secularize religion, and to estrange from her confidence the great body of the people.

Neither can we look with favour—truth compels the statement—on the *Central Anti-Maynooth Committee*. We admit the zeal with which it has laboured, but we cannot approve its constitution or regard its procedure with complacency. The views taken of this question by churchmen and dissenters, are so essentially diverse, that though their *immediate* object may be the same, they cannot proceed two steps together without a sacrifice of principle on the one side or the other. Their resolutions and public acts must be of a complexion which savours of the one

party or the other. They must speak the language of the 'Popery' faction, or denounce the principle of state grants for religious purposes; they must recognise the title of the legislature to decide on the truth or falsehood of religious creeds; they must wholly repudiate its interference with the conscience and worship of the people. Into whatever compact individual may enter, which the public will judge of such organizations by the adopted resolutions. Let this rule then be applied to the resolutions of Exeter Hall and Covent Garden, and to the addresses and circulars which have been issued from the London Coffee House, and we defy any candid man to say, that an unprejudiced bystander could draw any other conclusion than that, the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee was an embodiment of the evil spirit which has so frequently disgraced and cursed this country. We perceive, indeed, that at the meeting held on the 22nd of April, an attempt was made to guard against the danger to which we advert; but the circumstances which marked the effort were suspicious, and the ground of opposition recognised was insufficient, and, so far as the dissenting members of the committee are concerned, wanting, to say the least, in candour. It is within our knowledge, that the documents issued by this committee have seriously damaged our cause. They have been taken by many senators—and we do not wonder at it in view of the evidence of our sharing in the intolerance and bigotry of the clergy. Knowing little of dissenters, they not unnaturally judge from the furious rancour of speakers, with whom some of our men are publicly associated, that we are renegades from the cause of liberty, and strangely indifferent to the rights of the Irish people. We confess, therefore, that we greatly prefer a separate course of action, in which each section of opposers to the ministerial Bill may speak the language of an honest and intelligible consistency. Dr. Payne's admirable letter to Sir Culling Eardley Smith, has set the duty of dissenters in its true light. It is at once clear and compact, temperate and decisive; just such an exposition of the case, as the interests of the cause required. The following concluding passage sums up and applies his argument:

'Now, you, Sir Culling, call upon Sir Robert Peel to act as a minister—to decide what is true and false in religion as a minister—and to give support (for I imagine that your principle implies) or withhold support, as a minister. By requiring us not to petition against the grant, on dissenting principles, you take from us the consistent ground on which, as dissenters, we can petition—the ground on which, even churchmen are now beginning to see, no consistent petition can rest. So strongly do I feel the inconsistency and the danger of the course you recommend, that, if I did not

you to be a friend—an able, warm-hearted friend—I should mistake you for an enemy. Greatly do I marvel to find, in your letter, a reference to the constitution of our country, and to hear you saying that it pronounces a certain system of faith to be false and dangerous! What, if it does? Is that, to a dissenter, a sufficient reason even for *personal* action against it? And yet you seem to plead it as a reason for *government* action!’

The course advocated by Dr. Payne is happily that which, in the main, has been pursued by protestant dissenters. There may have been exceptions, but they are only few, and where they have occurred, it has been from want of consideration rather than any intentional deviation from the course generally adopted. The character of dissenting opposition will be best learnt from the resolutions in which our various bodies have publicly recorded their sentiments. Some few of these we shall adduce in illustration of the case, and as matters of historical importance.

The *British Anti-State Church Society* is unquestionably one of the most potent organizations amongst us. Its *Council* of 500, comprises many of the most distinguished members of the several dissenting bodies of the empire, whilst the simplicity of its constitution, and the directness of its labours, are steadily working it into the confidence of the most enlightened and zealous portion of the community. The views recorded by this society are therefore an important element for consideration in the estimate of dissenting feeling, and these will sufficiently appear by the second and fourth of the resolutions adopted on the 26th of March. These resolutions are as follows:—

‘That this committee cordially admit the claim of their Roman catholic fellow-countrymen, irrespectively of their religious views, to the enjoyment of every right to which the citizens of a free community are entitled; and they protest, with equal earnestness, against the outrage done to the feelings of the Roman catholic population of Ireland by the establishment of the protestant episcopal church, as they do against the wrong sought to be inflicted upon protestants by giving state support to the diffusion of Romanism.

‘That, therefore, this committee, while they record their decided objection to the appropriation of any portion of the national funds, whether in the shape of parliamentary grants, or otherwise, to nonconforming communities, or to the support of the existing protestant establishments, and are engaged in seeking, by all constitutional means, the dissolution of the alliance between the church and the state, in all its forms, emphatically protest against the endowment of the Roman catholic ecclesiastical institutions, as an uncalled-for and impolitic extension of a principle which they repudiate as inimical to the civil and religious interests of the empire.’

The second resolution of the *Committee of the Congregational Union*, the most powerful organization existing in the Congregational body, expresses the same sentiment, and faithfully represents the views of that denomination. This resolution is as follows:—

‘That this committee looks back, with indignation, upon the wrongs under which the Roman catholic population of Ireland so long groaned, and rejoicing that many of them have been redressed, would have every remnant of them removed by equitable and enlightened legislation;—but this committee protests, with equal and decisive earnestness, against every employment of the resources or power of the state, either to sustain, or to suppress, the Roman catholic religion, or any other religion whatever; and feels entirely consistent in opposing with double energy, grants of public money, in aid of what it deems deadly error, while it steadfastly resists the granting of state-assistance for what it regards as the highest truth.’

The Committee of the *Baptist Union*, standing in the same relation to the Baptist denomination, as the former committee does to the Congregational, is equally explicit in the statement of its views, which are specially set forth in the following resolutions, being the second and fourth of those adopted on the 26th of March.

‘That this Committee, objecting, on principle, to the application of the resources of the state to ecclesiastical purposes of every kind, and having, consequently, disapproved the annual grant to the seminary at Maynooth heretofore made, regard with determined hostility the proposition now announced by the first minister of the crown, to increase the grant, to triple its customary amount, and to secure it in perpetuity by an act of Parliament.

‘That, in offering this resistance to the further endowment of the Roman catholic church in Ireland, this committee are not actuated by any wish to deprive their fellow-subjects of that persuasion of any equitable privilege, civil or religious; that, in point of religion, this committee, in contending for the dependence of Roman catholic teachers upon voluntary support, are desirous of placing them in the position which, in their judgment, ought to be occupied by every religious community, and which is, without complaint, occupied by themselves; and that, in point of general education, this Committee claim for the Roman catholics, as for all classes, a free and equal admission to the literary institutions of the country.’

Two other organizations exist amongst us which may fairly be taken to represent the opinions and feelings of no inconsiderable number. There are the *General Body of protestant dissenting ministers of the three Denominations*, in and about London, and the *Deputies* constituting a lay representation of the congregations in the same locality. Both these bodies have recorded

their sentiments, and it is of importance to note in what terms they have done so. The first two resolutions of the former are as follows:—

‘That this body has heard with the deepest anxiety and alarm of a proposal of Her Majesty’s government greatly to augment the parliamentary grant to the Roman catholic college of Maynooth, in Ireland, and of the intended introduction to the legislature of a Bill to remove that grant from the annual votes of the House of Commons, and so to make the endowment permanent; which, if allowed to become law, will, in the opinion of this body, virtually establish monopoly in that country by act of Parliament.

‘That in the judgment of this body, it is in principle unjust, and in its tendency most mischievous, to appropriate the resources of the State to the endowment of any religious institution whatsoever; and that it is neither unjust nor uncharitable toward the Roman catholics of Ireland, to demand that the education of their priesthood be left to the same voluntary support, by which the seminaries and colleges of the nonconformist ministers of England and Wales have been founded, and are sustained.’

The latter body, that of the *Deputies*, has recorded its sentiments with equal explicitness in the following, amongst other resolutions, wherein, whilst avowing its opposition to the government measure, it carefully guards against the misconstruction to which its procedure might otherwise be liable.

‘That this deputation, entertaining the conviction that state Endowments for religious purposes are equally at variance with the legitimate ends of government, and the true interests of religion, view with settled aversion the Bill now before Parliament for the permanent endowment of the Roman catholic college of Maynooth, and for placing the college and buildings under the supervision of the Commissioners of public works in Ireland.

‘That in opposing the proposed perpetuation and extension of the grant to Maynooth college, this deputation are but carrying out the principle on which they have heretofore opposed, and do now again firmly protest against, the annual grant made by Parliament to the presbyterians in Ireland, and poor protestant dissenting ministers in England; and they distinctly deny the assertion that has been publicly made, to the effect that the protestant dissenters have never, until now, opposed the grant to Maynooth college, nor any of those numerous measures in Ireland and in the colonies, involving payments to Roman catholic priests for services performed as chaplains to prisons and workhouses, or otherwise—the fact being that this deputation have embraced every suitable opportunity of expressing their entire disapprobation of the principle of such payments.’

It is due, in candour, that we admit—and we do it unhesitatingly—that two of the bodies from whose resolutions we quote, have recorded other reasons than those adduced, in sup-

port of their views. We refer to the Committee of the Congregational Union, and to the Ministers of the Three Denominations. These resolutions, however, were adopted as supplemental only, and not as superseding the others—as expressive of the views entertained of popery, and not as constituting the main ground of opposition. They are expressly stated by the latter body to be ‘special reasons’ *additional* ‘to the general principle on which its opposition to the endowment of religious institutions by the state’ is based, and cannot be read in connexion with their associates without being so understood. Nevertheless, we regret their adoption as ill-timed and injurious, tending to obscure the truth, to impair the force of the testimony borne, to alienate friends, and to excite and irritate opponents. The terms employed in the third resolution of the Committee of the Congregational Union cannot fail, in the case of men uninformed respecting our sentiments, to make an impression vastly different from that which was designed. They mislead rather than inform, and thus subserve the purpose of error, instead of advancing the interests of truth. It is within our knowledge that this resolution was handed about amongst the liberal members of the House, as proof of the bitterness and rancour by which dissenters are actuated.

The resolutions we have quoted are in strict accordance with the sentiments expressed by dissenters in all parts of the country. This might be established by overwhelming evidence, but we have adduced enough to satisfy every candid man. What, then, must we think, what must every impartial and reflecting man think of the gross slanders and passionate vituperations of Mr. Sheil, who, in defiance of all evidence, in utter scorn of facts which glared upon him, could speak of the Church of England as ‘looking down from her serene elevation with cold neutrality on this great sectarian affray,’ and on the dissenters of Great Britain, ‘the three denominations,’ as he designated them, as the bitterest and the most rancorous enemies to Ireland? We leave the member for Dungarvon to the satisfaction which his calmer moments must yield, assured that such slanders are injurious only to the man who utters them. One or two reflections force themselves upon us before we close.

How comes it to pass, we naturally inquire, that such a measure should, in the year 1845, have been submitted to the British legislature, and have obtained the support of so large a majority of the Commons’ House? The full discussion of this question requires much more space than we have now at our command. We can merely indicate what we deem the true solution, and must wait some future opportunity to examine the matter at large. The discussions and votes of the House,—for

Mr. Ward's amendment has been negatived by a majority of 322 to 148,—evidence the dawning of truth mingled with much error,—the perception, in part, of the viciousness of past legislature, with an utter ignorance of the true and only remedy. Our senators are beginning to feel, and have now recorded their conviction, that the ascendancy of the protestant church in Ireland is an insult and a wrong. The experience of centuries has at length forced from them this acknowledgment. So far it is well. Church-of-Englandism, as a specific form of the establishment principle, is on the wane; and its political patrons are, in consequence, compelled to resort to measures which they would formerly have rejected with scorn. But how is it, that a sense of past misgovernment is associated with so much misapprehension of the true principles of legislation? How is it, that the men who acknowledge it to have been wrong to make the catholics of Ireland contribute to the support of the protestant hierarchy, do not see that it is equally vicious to make the protestants of the empire contribute to the support of the papacy? How is it that principles with which we have long been familiar, which are as household words among us, are so little known, so slightly estimated by our rulers? We fear, that in replying to these questions we must criminate ourselves. Had we been faithful to the truth as we should have been; had our zeal in its advocacy been proportioned to that which we exhibit in other directions; had we laboured on its behalf with an energy and self-devotion comporting with its higher claims, our senators could not have displayed the ignorance they have recently evinced. They might still have disliked the truth, they might have attempted in various ways to evade its obligations, they might have decried it as intolerant, have sneered at it as methodistical, but we should not have seen the disgraceful misapprehension of first principles, which the parliamentary debate has displayed. The absence of a large and comprehensive sense of duty has given a character of indifference and feebleness to the movements of dissent which has prolonged the reign of ignorance, and encouraged our rulers to attempt further oppressions upon conscience. We fear there is too much truth in the opinion expressed in one of the resolutions adopted at a public meeting of the *Anti-State Society*, convened in the London Tabernacle, on the 14th of April, which affirmed—

‘That the supineness and indifference of dissenters respecting the progress of their principles, and with regard to the injustice of state churches, have unintentionally encouraged the government to take the initiative in the increase of the Maynooth Grant for establishing by law the Roman catholic church in Ireland.’

In this state of things, our first duty after a clear and practi-

cal exhibition of our sentiments, is to look about us for suitable men to represent us in parliament. This is the great difficulty, and our best energies must be directed to master it. We must not sit quietly down under the conviction, that such men are not to be found. They are in existence, and must be brought forth, men of clear understandings, of settled convictions, of determined purpose, who unite religious devotedness to the emancipation of the church, to a deep and cordial sympathy with the righteous demands of the popular mind. We know of no nobler or higher vocation, none more worthy of engrossing the energies, or of having consecrated to it the whole life of any man. He who with competent abilities should enter on such a field of labour, in a spirit of enlightened and ardent devotion, and give himself to its duties with singleness of purpose and untiring zeal, would become a benefactor to his species of no ordinary kind. His motives might probably at first be misapprehended, his early efforts be unsustained. Unreflecting piety might condemn, worldly politicians despise, and sectional interests and prejudices cross his path; but, so surely as he held steadily on in his career, would he gather round him the elements of a moral power before which intolerance and latitudinarianism, political corruption and priestly craft, would ultimately be compelled to tremble.

Brief Notices.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspeare.
 Edited by Charles Knight. (Library Edition.) Vol. XII. 8vo.
 London: 1844.

WHEN this work was about half through the press, we testified our approbation of its plan and execution; of the pains and judgment which the editor had employed on the text; of the valuable introduction and *excursus*, historical, and critical, with which each drama is accompanied; of the immense mass of valuable antiquarian and philosophical information embodied in the notes; and of that profuse and pleasant commentary of pictorial illustrations, which give to this edition so unique an interest. Of the praise then bestowed, we do not feel disposed to retract a single syllable. We then declared our opinion, that Mr. Knight's promised to be incomparably the most complete edition of Shakspeare hitherto given to the world, and now that the work is finished, we are of opinion that it is so.

The volume just published, the twelfth and last, contains the poems

of Shakspeare, and extensive criticisms on the spurious and doubtful works ascribed to him. The 'Yorkshire Tragedy,' Mr. Knight supposes, on very general grounds of criticism, not to be Shakspeare's. If it be not the work of the great poet, it at least contains many touches and expressions—nay, long passages which are scarcely unworthy of him, and which few but himself could have produced. We acquiesce, however, in Mr. Knight's opinion, as to its not being the work of Shakspeare, though we can hardly divest ourselves of the feeling, that he might have here and there vivified it by his genius. Similar remarks apply to 'Arden of Faversham,' as to which Mr. Knight is more doubtful, whether it be not a genuine work of Shakspeare's.

Of the judgment, truth, and taste of the great majority of Mr. Knight's criticisms, on these disputed works, we cannot speak too highly. He has carried into their investigation the same enlarged views, searching spirit, and minute examination of details which pervade the whole edition. As the volume can be procured separately, we should imagine it will prove a welcomed boon to very many, who, possessing other and costly editions of Shakspeare, may not be disposed to purchase the whole of the 'Library Edition;' and we would suggest to Mr. Knight, whether it be not worth while to publish it in a separate form. We thought, but it seems erroneously, that Mr. Knight's biography of Shakspeare was to have formed part of the present edition.

Peril in Security: A Memorial of N. E. Parker, late House Surgeon to the Macclesfield Dispensary. By S. W. Rix. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1844.

A PLEASING and affecting tribute to the memory of a young man, who, with every prospect of eminent success in his professional labours, fell a victim to consumption. The title of the book is derived from the fact, that in the practice of things lovely, honest, and of good report, he was indifferent to the peculiar truths of the gospel; enjoying a false and delusive peace, instead of that of reconciliation. The discipline of providence, and the faithful admonitions of friends, appear to have aroused him from apathy, and led him to understand and value religious truth. The book may with advantage be placed in the hands of medical students.

Elements of Arithmetic and Algebra: for the use of the Royal Military College. By William Scott, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Mathematics in the Institution. London: Longman and Co. 8vo. 1844. pp. 500.

THIS is one of the Sandhurst Text Books of Mathematics—the first of the series in point of order—but not the first published. About two years ago we noticed the 'Geometry' of the same series, and have much pleasure in bestowing equal commendation on the work before us. Nearly half the ample volume is given to arithmetic, and

rather more than half to algebra; and as the page is full, though the type and mode of printing are remarkably clear, each subject is treated with a degree of fullness, which is not to be found in the generality of elementary treatises. Great pains have been evidently taken to unite perspicuity with brevity. Principles are explained with much precision and clearness, and what is often needed in works of this kind, an ample number of examples is appended to the rules and formalities, to which the solutions are in every case given. The fullest consideration is bestowed on practical, as well as scientific arithmetic; and in algebra, over and above a fuller treatment of all the ordinary subjects than is to be found in more elementary treatises, not less than fifty pages are given to 'the Composition and Resolution of Equations—Elimination and its Application—the Resolution of Numerical Equations—Sturm's Theorem—Horner's Method for the Resolution of Numerical Equations—and the Solution of Literal Equations of the third and fourth degrees.' Upon the whole, we consider it a work which may not only be very useful in a college, but one of the very best with which a private student of the mathematics can provide himself. We shall be happy to see the remaining volumes of the series, and if as judiciously executed as the first two, we have little doubt that they will ultimately attain, as they will assuredly deserve, an extensive circulation.'

Laodicea; or religious declension. Its nature, indications, causes, consequences, and remedies. An Essay, by David Everhard Ford, author of 'Decapolis,' &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1844. pp. 118.

A LITTLE work, well adapted for usefulness; and which, as Mr Ford is so well known to the religious public, needs no recommendation to those who have favourably received his other publications.

The Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Part I: Abatement—Amberges. London: C. Knight.

The *Penny Cyclopædia* is one of the ablest and most useful of modern publications; and the *Supplement*, the first Part of which now lies before us, promises to enhance its value very considerably. The progress of human knowledge is perpetually out-stripping the industry of authorship, and the most complete and elaborate works are in consequence soon doomed to the charge of deficiency. Geography enlarges her boundaries, science opens new fields for human inspection or greatly extends those previously known, biography has to recount the deeds of men recently deceased, while history receives new light from the disclosures of long-concealed records or from the achievements of statesmen or warriors. Hence the importance of our Cyclopædias being perpetually brought up to the information of the day, and the wisdom of

the course pursued by the projectors of the one before us. To the purchasers of the *Penny Cyclopædia*, this *Supplement* will be indispensable; and to all other readers or consulters of books it will be an invaluable digest of the most recent and important additions to the stock of human knowledge. Like its predecessor, it is the joint production of many minds, highly distinguished in their several departments, and is under the editorship of a gentleman whose competence is admitted by all.

The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. With a Memoir of his Life. By A. G. Fuller. Parts I. II. and III. London: G. and J. Dyer.

It would be superfluous to commend the writings of Andrew Fuller. They have taken their station amongst the most valuable theological productions of the past generation, and will survive so long as masculine force, transparent and conclusive reasoning, and the clearest exhibition of scriptural truth which modern times have witnessed, retain their hold on the English mind. The present edition, in imperial octavo, is to consist of twelve parts at two shillings each. It is printed on good paper and in a clear type, and is enriched by the Memoir of the author from the pen of his son.

Literary Intelligence.

Shortly will be Published,

Views of the Voluntary Principle. In Four Series. By Edward Miall.

Just Published.

A Commentary on the Apocalypse. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass. 2 vols.

A Grammar of the Latin Language. By C. G. Zumpt, Ph. D. Translated from the Ninth Edition of the Original, and Adapted to the Use of English Students. By Leonhard Schmitz, Ph. D. With Numerous Additions and Corrections by the Author.

Scriptural Conversations between Charles and his Mother. By Lady Charles Fitzroy.

A Memoir of the Hon. and Most Rev. Power Le Poer Trench, last Archbishop of Tuam. By the Rev. Joseph d'Arcy Sirr, D.D.

Seasons of Sorrow. Original Poems. By John Pring.

A Summary view of the Evidences of Christianity, In a Letter from the Right Honourable Charles Kendal Bushe. With a Preface and Notes. By the Rev. James Wills, A.M.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by William Smith, L.L.D. P. XI.

Plan of an Improved Income Tax and Real Free Trade, with an Equitable Mode of Redeeming the National Debt, and some Observations on

the Education and Employment of the People—on Systematic Colonization—and on the Welfare of the Labouring Classes. By James S. Buckingham.

Another Letter to the Viscount Sandon, M.P., containing a Protest against some Propositions laid down by the Rev. Hugh McNeile, respecting the intended Grant to Maynooth. By Rowland Williams, M.A.

Fasting Not a Christian Duty. An Essay occasioned by the Increased Importance attached to its Observance. By John Collyer Knight, of the British Museum.

A Lecture on the Arguments for Christian Theism, from Organized Life and Fossil Osteology, Containing Remarks on a Work entitled 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.' By John Sheppard.

The Position, Prospects, and Duties of that Body of Christians usually denominated Independents or Congregationalists, briefly considered, the Substance of a Paper read before an Assembly of Ministers at Brighton, April 16th, 1844. By William Davis, Minister of the Croft Chapel, Hastings.

Church Patronage, more particularly as developed in the so-called National Establishment of England and Wales, as also in Ireland. By Matthew Bridges, Esq.

American Facts, Notes, and Statistics relative to the Government Resources, Engagements, Manufactures, Commerce, Religion, Education, Literature, Fine Arts, Manners and Customs, of the United States of America. By George Palmer Putnam. With Portrait and a Map.

On the Origin and Ramifications of the English Language. Preeled by an Enquiry into the Primitive Seats, Early Migrations, and Final Settlements of the Principal European Nations. By Henry Welsford, Esq.

The Power of the Soul over the Body, considered in relation to Health and Morals. By George Moore, M.D.

History of the Reformation in Switzerland. By Abraham Ruchat, Minister of the Gospel, and Professor of Belles Lettres in the Academy of Lausanne. The first four vols. to the year 1537. Edition of M. L. Vulliemin. In seven vols., at Nyon, Switzerland, a.d. 1838. Abridged from the French. By the Rev. J. Collinson, M.A.

Education the Birthright of every Human Being, and the only Scriptural Preparation for the Millenium; exhibiting the present imperfect State of Popular Instruction, and the Means of rendering it Effectual for the Salvation of the Country and the World. By the Rev. B. Parsons.

Life of Jean Paul F. Richter. Compiled from various Sources; together with his Auto-biography. Translated from the German. 2 vols.

The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White. Written by Himself. With Portions of his Correspondence. Edited by John Hamilton Thom. 3 vols.

The Angels of God; their Nature, Character, Ranks, and Ministerial Services, as Exhibited in the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. Thomas Timpson.

Our Era. A Soliloquy in Three Parts—Social—Political—Religious. With Miscellaneous Pieces. By W. Leask.

The Rejected Cases. With a Letter to Thomas Wakley, M.P., On the Scientific Character of Homœopathy. By John Epps, M.D.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1845.

- Art. I. *Die Christliche Gemeinde zu Philippi. Ein exegetischer Versuch.* Von Wilhelm Heinrich Schinz. Zürich, 1833, 8vo.
2. *Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Philipper.* Von C. S. Matthies. Greifswald, 1833, 8vo.
3. *Befreiung des Apostels Paulus aus seiner so genannten ersten römischen Gefangenschaft.* Von Heinrich Böttger. Göttingen, 1837, 8vo.
4. *Kleine Theologische Schriften.* Von Dr. J. P. Mynster. Kopenhagen, 1825, 8vo. No. V.

IN examining the epistle to the Philippians, we shall arrange our observations under the following heads:—

- I. Some circumstances connected with Philippi.
- II. The time and place at which the epistle was written.
- III. The person by whom it was sent.
- IV. State of the church to which it was addressed.
- V. Some peculiarities in the exordium and conclusion.
- VI. Genuineness and authenticity.
- VII. Contents.

Philippi originally belonged to Thrace, but was afterwards reckoned to Macedonia. According to Diodorus Siculus, it was formerly called *Κρήνιδες*, from the multitude of springs in the vicinity. It was situated on a rising ground beyond the river Strymon, where the Thracian Hæmus slopes towards the sea, opposite the island of Thasus. Philip, perceiving the importance of the situation, repaired and enlarged the town, fortify-

ing it against the incursions of the Thracians. From him it was called Philippi. The battles fought in its vicinity are remarkable in history, especially the second, with which its name is more immediately identified. In Acts xvi. 12, Luke notices it in the following terms: '*The chief city of that part of Macedonia and a colony.*' The meaning of this clause has given rise to considerable diversity of opinion. There is no reason for doubting the correctness of the received reading and having recourse to conjectural emendation. When Paulus Æmilius conquered Perscus, he divided Macedonia into four parts or regions, to the *first* of which Philippi was assigned. Yet Amphipolis was the *metropolis* of the division. Πρώτη cannot mean *the leading city* or *the capital*. Neither can it be shewn, that after the battle of Philippi, it was elevated to the rank which Amphipolis had previously enjoyed. Some think that πρώτη designates *locality*, i.e. the first Macedonian city which one coming from proconsular Asia would naturally arrive at. There is some geographical difficulty connected with this opinion, since, on such ground, Neapolis would claim the title *first*. Rettig, and after him Winer, assign the following sense: 'which is the first city (from the sea) of the province of Macedonia,' i.e. of Macedonia proper, whither Paul had been directed by a vision. This interpretation is somewhat forced and unnatural. Why should a maritime town of Macedonia, such as Neapolis, be denied the appellation *first* in geographical relation to a person coming from Troas to Macedonia? Why should the measurement begin at the sea on which Neapolis is situated, rather than at the country or place from which the apostle set out on his way to Macedonia? Surely the latter is more natural. It is better to assign πρώτη to *rank* in preference to *locality*; and thus the true sense has been given by our translators, viz., '*the chief city of that part of Macedonia.*' Philippi enjoyed certain privileges conferred upon it by the Romans. It was a Roman colony, Julius Cæsar having allowed numbers whom he had expatriated in consequence of their adherence to Antony, to inhabit it and other towns in the same district. The rights which it possessed were granted by Augustus, who probably bestowed the title πρώτη πόλις, a title which did not convey much real advantage. It is objected, however, that the honourable appellation in question belonged only to the cities of Asia Minor under the Romans, such as Nicomedia, Nicæa, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus, as ancient coins shew; while none of the coins relating to Philippi bear the same title. In reply, we may refer, with Credner, to the nearness and connexion between it and Asia Minor; as also to the emptiness of the epithet itself.

The apostle visited the city on his second missionary journey, accompanied by Silas, Timothy, and Luke. This was, perhaps, about the year of our Lord 53. He preached in a Jewish *proseucha*, for there was no synagogue. On this occasion Lydia believed. But he suffered severely from the selfish heathen, and the rash magistrates of the place, by whom he was imprisoned. After a short stay he left the city (Acts xvi.) During his absence, Luke, Epaphroditus, and perhaps Clement (iv. 3), with others not mentioned, laboured to carry forward the work, by enlarging and strengthening the church which Paul had founded. On his third missionary journey from Corinth to Jerusalem, he visited it again (Acts xx.), but this may have been the *third* time; for it appears from 2 Cor. vii. 5, 6, that he met Titus in Macedonia, and wrote thence—probably from Philippi—his second Epistle to the Corinthians, as the subscription states.

Thus Philippi was the first European town that received the gospel. The standard of divine truth was planted where the standards of contending armies had formerly met; and the glory of a mighty conflict, embodying the antagonistic spirit of republicanism and despotism, fades before the peaceful victory of the Cross. The historian of Rome will always point to Philippi as the scene of a memorable struggle, and lament over the fallen Brutus, the stern defender of his country's freedom; but the sacred historian will prefer to speak of a spiritual victory achieved by the gospel, and a glorious freedom thence communicated to the Philippian citizens. Brutus and Cassius, Augustus and Antony, vanish from the view of enlightened patriotism before Paul and Silas, and Luke and Epaphroditus: victors nobler far, than blood-stained Romans at the head of sanguinary armies.

II. Time and place at which the Epistle was written.

Several circumstances were stated in a former article to prove that the Epistle was written during the *Roman*, not the *Cæsarean* captivity. It is not our intention to repeat them now. The term *πραιτώριον*, on which the burden of the proof was partly rested in favour of Rome, has been applied to Cæsarea by Boettger. It is certainly used of the palace of Herod at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 35). It is also applied to the residence or palace of the procurator of any Roman province (Mat. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28—33; xix. 9). But in the present epistle it appears to signify the *camp* or *quarters* of the prætorian cohorts at Rome; or the *prætorian cohorts themselves*; or the *palace* of Cæsar the chief prætor, who had soldiers to guard his person. It has been alleged, that Acts xxiii. 35, as compared with xxviii. 16, shows Paul to have

been kept in the prætorium at Cæsarea; while, on the contrary, he was allowed to have his own house at Rome; and, therefore, that the term, as here employed in reference to his imprisonment, must point to the former place. But it is not stated in the Epistle to the Philippians that he *resided* in the prætorium; all that is affirmed is, that his imprisonment for the cause of Christ was well known in *all the palace*. But the expression *οἷα Καίσαρος* is more explicit in favour of Rome. Herod could scarcely be termed Cæsar: this were an unusual and unauthorized application of the title: it belongs to Nero, but not to Herod. Hence we infer, that the Epistle was written during the *Roman* rather than the *Cæsarean* captivity. It now remains to show that it was composed when the time of this imprisonment was verging towards its close. In chaps. i. 12, 13, 14, and ii. 26, a considerable period is presupposed, so that the good fruit of Paul's ministry had become apparent: 'But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.' 'For he longed after you all and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick.' The last passage shows that some time must have elapsed from Epaphroditus's arrival. In connexion with the preceding notices, we direct attention to what the writer says in ii. 24: 'But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly,' and i. 25, 26, 'And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith; that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again.' Still, however, the apostle was not without some doubts as to the issue. He was not absolutely certain of a favourable and speedy termination of his captivity. Hence he writes: 'According to my earnest expectation and hope that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all.—Him therefore I hope to send presently, as soon as I shall see how it will go with me.' (i. 20; ii. 17, 23). Michaelis supposes, that the strong expression *πεποιθώς ὄντα*, (chap. i. 25) implies that Paul was actually assured by an internal communication from heaven that he should be released. But the uncertain mode in which he speaks in other places is more suggestive of the view that in chap. i. 25, he spoke from the promptings of his own mind. He had

just arrived at the conclusion, that it was more conducive to the spiritual advantage of the believers at Philippi that he should be spared a little longer; and therefore he draws the conclusion presented in the 25th verse. By separating the participle *πεισισθῶς* from *οἶδα*, as our English translators have done, the expression of assurance in regard to his deliverance will be materially lessened, because the confidence will relate to his firm persuasion that the interests of the Philippians should be promoted by the continuance of his life on earth. But even if *τοῦτο* be governed by *οἶδα*, and referred to the subsequent words, the sense of the clause should not be *pressed*. It should be taken in its *popular*, not in its *rigidly exact* acceptation. The apostle gives utterance to his trust in God respecting his release and future activity, although he had no direct revelation in the matter. Hence he speaks again with hesitation. From a consideration of all these circumstances, the epistle may perhaps be placed A.D. 63.

III. During his captivity at Rome, the apostle received an account of the Philippian church from Epaphroditus, one of the pastors, who had been sent to him with a pecuniary contribution. This was not the first occasion on which the same church had expressed its gratitude in similar acts of benevolence. Twice they had sent him presents to Thessalonica. (Phil. iv. 15, 16.) At Corinth he had also shared their bounty. (2 Cor. xi. 9.) Though he declined to accept eleemosynary aid from others, he received it at the hand of the Philippians, a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to them.

The messenger was seized with a dangerous illness, the cause of which cannot now be ascertained. It may have arisen from excessive haste in his journey, and the fatigues attendant upon it; or from his great exertions at Rome in diffusing the truth, and ministering to the apostle. In the 30th verse of the second chapter it is written: 'Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of service.' Here *the work of Christ* may include both the services rendered to Paul and also other labours undertaken for the gospel's sake, which had no immediate reference to the apostle's person. But the conclusion of the verse favours the idea that the former especially is meant. He contracted a dangerous disease from an excessive anxiety to perform in his own person all the kind offices which the members of the whole church, had they been present, would have rendered the beloved apostle, and which they desired their delegate to execute as far as he was able. The news of this severe malady had reached the church at Philippi, and rendered Epaphroditus extremely desirous to return. Hence the apostle was the more

solicitous to send him back as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, that the regrets of pastor and people might be removed, and joy restored at their meeting. But the apostle of the Gentiles did not dismiss him without an equivalent for the seasonable present of the Philippians. Their gift had been both timely and liberal, so that the recipient could say, 'I have all and abound.' It had more than supplied his present necessities. It had left him something for future emergencies. In return for so great kindness, he writes the present letter full of ardent affection, and fraught with high encouragement to the believers at Philippi. In consolatory terms it conveys the writer's concern for their welfare in all things pertaining to godliness. Thus they were nobly repaid. With what joy would they read the epistle coming from their spiritual parent. What an incentive would it prove to the higher exercise of every Christian virtue. How would they be stimulated by its exhortations to press forward towards greater attainments, and to work out, with all holy circumspection, their own salvation. How would the apostle's own experience lead them to be followers of one so thoroughly imbued with the essential spirit of christianity. The expressions applied to Epaphroditus evince the high position he occupied in Paul's esteem. *Such* commendation, from *such* an apostle, stamps upon the man and the preacher a seal of faithfulness which an angel might envy: 'My brother—fellow-worker—fellow-soldier.'

But it may be asked how the apostle could be in want, as he seems to have been, when thus relieved by the Philippians. Was he neglected by the christians at Rome? Were there not many wealthy citizens who had embraced the gospel, and knew of his long imprisonment? It is sufficient, in reply, to refer to the known practice of Paul—a practice dictated by extreme delicacy and dignity. He was accustomed to work with his own hands, rather than be a burthen to any of the churches. This he could not do, now that he was a prisoner. The Romans had not been converted by him; and he would therefore regard himself as in no way entitled to maintenance from them. Besides, he had enemies in the city; and he never received remuneration for his labours in the churches where such persons had appeared, lest they should be furnished with the colour of an excuse for ascribing to him interested motives. (2 Cor. xi. 9; Acts xx. 34.) When these considerations are taken into account, it will not seem strange that his means of subsistence had been reduced to a low state. The christians at Rome may have offered what he refused to take; for his own words are, 'Now, ye Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.' (iv. 15.)

IV. State of the church to which the epistle was originally addressed.

This church consisted of Gentile and Jewish christians, chiefly the former. The members generally seem not to have been in affluent circumstances. This may be inferred from 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2: 'We do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia; how that, in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality.' Hence the presents sent to the apostle exhibited no small affection on their part towards him. This christian people contributed to the relief of his necessities out of their poverty; and the apostle knew how to estimate the sacrifice. That they were not numerous may be gathered from the extent of the place. If Philippi be the smallest city to which Paul addressed any of his letters, the christians belonging to it could not be many. There is no evidence that the church was large and externally flourishing.

Many have supposed that this church was divided into parties or factions, arising from the efforts of false teachers who insisted on the necessity of observing the ceremonial law, especially of practising circumcision. Although the community had continued on the whole steadfast to the truth, it was not free from divisions. Judaising christians had insinuated themselves into it, giving rise to disunion, and awakening the apostle's solicitude. According to Eichhorn and Rheinwald, there were two parties in the church, a Jewish-christian and a Gentile-christian. Bertholdt conceives that teachers of a Sadducean tendency had appeared among the Philippians. Michaelis conjectures that Euodias and Syntyche, who were at variance, had occasioned a schism among the other members. The passages supposed to imply the existence of parties are chap. iii. 1—8, 18, 19. The following admonitions are also regarded as intimating the same condition,—*τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε*, ii. 2; iv. 2; *τὸ ἐν φρονεῖν*, ii. 2; *μία ψυχῇ συναθροῖν*, i. 27; *σύμψυχος*, ii. 2; comp. ii. 3, 4, 12, 14; iv. 5; iii. 2, &c. Such a foundation is insufficient to support the hypothesis built upon it. These passages do not imply the existence of parties in the community. That there were Jews at Philippi is clear from the xvi. chapter of the Acts; for though they had no synagogue, they had a *proseucha*; that there were also Judaising teachers may be assumed; but that the latter had made any impression on the members of the church, or that they had undermined the authority and doctrines of the apostle in the church's esteem, is a position that cannot be established. Because the Philippians were enjoined to beware of dogs, *i. e.* false teachers of a Judaising tendency, it

does not follow that they had been already seduced by such persons, or even that they had lent a favourable ear to their insinuations. Probably these evil men had made attempts upon some of the brethren; but the latter were too firmly established in the faith to surrender themselves an easy prey to the corrupters of truth. Paul knew that they were in danger. He had often warned them. 'To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe,' (iii. 1). Yet he does not state, either plainly, or by implication, that the Philippians had so far forgotten the essential principles of christianity as to submit to the legal observances of the ancient economy, or to range themselves into factions distinguished by opposite sentiments. He writes, indeed: 'For many walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ;' but this language does not indicate teachers of the gospel who had insinuated themselves into the Philippian church. Men whose lives were so immoral—whose minds were so much addicted to earthly pursuits, could scarcely have been mistaken by the spiritually-minded believers; although their real character may have been concealed, and their true motives carefully covered.

While, therefore, we believe, that there were at Philippi many Jews who made a profession of christianity in order to promote their own selfish ends, expecting to make a gain of godliness and turning away the simple from the faith, there is no good cause for supposing, that these Judaising teachers had gained a decided advantage over any; or that they stood in intimate connexion with the church. Nothing more can be assumed with propriety than that they had attempted to instil their doctrines into the minds of the members, in order that the Gentile christians might submit to circumcision. Philippi was the habitation of these errorists; but their doctrines had not yet found a welcome response in the bosom of the church. The propriety of the exhortations to which allusion has been made, will be more apparent if it be remembered, not only that similar admonitions are applicable to the purest church, but that the Philippians were then exposed to temptations, which would naturally produce dissension. The great object of the Judaisers was to mar the peace, by destroying the purity of the church. The tendency of their doctrine was divisive. Hence we find, that wherever they had been successful in insinuating their peculiar tenets into the minds of various members, dissatisfaction arose in others, and parties formed themselves around different teachers. It was therefore highly pertinent to admonish the Philippians to be of one mind—to be of the same sentiments in religion—to strive together in one harmonious body,

united by a similarity of feeling—to be perfectly unanimous, and to aim at an increase of their mutual love. As long as they were thus united in heart and soul for the gospel's sake, they were secure against the influence of those temptations. A reception of the pernicious doctrines taught by the errorists, would produce mutual disaffection and estrangement; while differences of sentiment, and want of unanimity in feeling, would tend to render them an easy prey to the enemies who endeavoured to seduce them.

In connexion with this topic, it is necessary to allude to the sufferings to which the christians of Philippi were exposed. 'In nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake: having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me,' (i. 28—30.) It cannot be denied, that these words imply persecution, in some form or other. Credner refers verse 30 merely to the statement which Paul makes in regard to his inward struggle, (verse 23, &c.), and is inclined to disbelieve the fact that the Philippians were exposed to persecutions. But the 30th verse is so closely connected with the preceding, that it cannot be referred, at least exclusively, to the inward struggle in the apostle's bosom. The whole passage clearly shows, that the christians at Philippi were surrounded by formidable foes, by whom the apostle exhorts them not to be terrified; and that thus they were called to suffer for Christ. It is probable that the Judaisers, elsewhere characterised as the enemies of the cross of Christ, belonged to these adversaries; although it seems unreasonable to restrict the expression to them alone. We take it in its widest sense as including, along with Judaisers, all the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles with whom the Philippian believers came into contact. They had endured the same conflict which Paul had formerly sustained on account of his having expelled the demon from the divining damsel, when he was scourged and put in prison. They underwent afflictions similar to those which, as they heard in the present letter and from various individuals, Paul then endured from the combined opposition of Jews, Judaising teachers, and heathen magistrates. In what particular ways these causes operated to disturb and vex the Philippian believers we need not stop to inquire. The malignancy of Satan worked in various channels and with different instruments. It is no rash assumption, that he instigated these classes to do their utmost against the religion of Christ and its adherents. Heathen power and Jewish influence, in connexion with the selfishness of the human heart, were directed against

christianity and its votaries. But the Philippians evinced fortitude and endurance in resisting the yoke of the Mosaic law which their adversaries endeavoured to impose upon them; as also, in refusing to have any connexion with the heathen worship. They were not terrified by threats, or by the number and power of their adversaries; but stedfastly adhered to the apostolic doctrine, so that their firm resistance might serve as a prelude and a demonstration of the destruction of their foes, while it was an evidence of their own salvation.

From the preceding remarks it will be seen, that we do not admit the existence of divisions in the church at Philippi arising from the efforts of false teachers; although Eichhorn, Storr, Platt, Rheinwald, and others, entertain such a view. Neither is there satisfactory evidence in the epistle that doctrinal errors had obtained currency among the believers. On the contrary, the members of the church seem to have stood firm against the assaults of persecution, and the temptations arising from doctrinal corruption. The apostle does not censure them for having apostatised from the purity of the gospel; nor does he accuse them of vicious conduct. The letter contains commendations and encouragements, not reprehensions or reproofs. It presents exhortations to perseverance in the course on which they had entered, and various cautions as well against dangerous teachers as against particular states of mind. The opinion entertained of his readers by the apostle is concentrated in one verse: 'Therefore, my brethren, dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.' (iv. 1.) With Calvin, we refer the particle *so* in this passage to *their state*, not to the preceding affirmations of the apostle himself.

It has been conjectured by De Wette, Credner, and others, that spiritual pride was an ingredient in the Philippian character. In proof of this assumption, reference has been made to chaps. i. 12—ii. 16; iii. 15, 16; iv. 2. But it is not easy to see how the last part of the first chapter is appropriate, since it relates to Paul himself, and the conduct of two classes of preachers at Rome. The only legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the passages just quoted is, that there was a tendency in the Philippian character to vain-glory and high-mindedness. Into such a frame of mind they were in greater danger of falling than any other. Their besetting sins were just the qualities mentioned. Hence the apostle cautions them in regard to such propensities. It is easy to see how a high degree of spiritual advancement may coexist with a near approach to mental states incompatible with the true christian character. The very condition in which the christians at Philippi were, when

the apostle addressed them — a condition of great promise and progress, would be more liable to beget pride within them, based upon remaining corruption, than a low and languishing piety. Such is the weakness of humanity, that the highest spirituality stands near the verge of pride, superciliousness, and vain-glory. It has been thought by Credner, that the natural character of the Philippian people was strongly tinged with vanity and self-conceit, as manifested in their claiming from the Romans for their city the empty title *πρώτη πόλις*. The same qualities, as he supposes, reappeared within the church in the form of spiritual pride. Perhaps there may be some truth in this conjecture, although it is impossible to arrive at any definite knowledge upon the point. One thing is certain, that such high-mindedness would prevent the full development of christian unity, and prepare the way for the entrance of Jewish corruptions. Yet the actual existence of spiritual pride, vain-glory, and strife in the bosom of the Philippian community, cannot be proved. We can only affirm, that the believers appeared to the apostle to require especial warning against such unseemly phases of character.

V. Some peculiarities in the exordium and conclusion of the epistle.

It is contrary to Paul's usual method to specify bishops and deacons in the general salutation. The reason why he mentions them particularly in this letter is not obvious. Theophylact supposes, that the bishops are saluted separately from the members of the church because, in conjunction with the brethren, *they* had exhibited their zeal towards the apostle in sending Epaphroditus with the contribution. The Philippians alone had thus ministered to Paul's necessities. This supposition has been generally adopted as probable. It will be observed, that the members are first mentioned: 'To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' This precedence is contrary to modern ideas, and would doubtless be censured as unseemly, were it not stamped with infallible authority. The majority of the clergy in these days suppose that the people are a kind of appendage to themselves. This idea is particularly liable to rest in the minds of those who have been elevated to episcopal dignity. Yet an *apostle* mentions *all the saints* first: the bishops and deacons come after. Here there is nothing to feed the vanity of the human mind.

It will be also observed, that allusion is made to *several* bishops. Presbyters or elders are not mentioned. Hence it has been rightly inferred, that presbyter and bishop were synonymous terms in the apostolic age. The same conclusion is demonstrable from other passages. There was no distinction

between presbyter and bishop. They were different appellations belonging to the same spiritual officers. But how is the mention of two or more bishops accounted for, since modern usage and modern ideas lead us to expect no more than one? Are we to say, with Michaelis, that the christians had no public edifices or temples which contained, as in later ages, an assembly of several thousands, but were obliged to hold their meetings in private houses, over each of which an inspector or bishop presided? This explanation is insufficient, because it is utterly improbable that the christians in Philippi were so numerous as to be under the necessity of distributing themselves into little bands or companies. It is an idle conjecture to assume, that there was no edifice to which they had access capable of affording accommodation to all members of the church. If in Ephesus there was but one congregation, much more may we expect only one at Philippi. If in Jerusalem there was only one assembly meeting in one place, much more may this be affirmed of the comparatively small Philippi. To every impartial reader of the epistle it will always appear, that there was no more than one congregation meeting for worship in one place. There were *several* bishops in the church. Nor was a plurality of pastors peculiar to the Philippian society. Ephesus too had its elders (Acts xx); and in Ephesus there was a single church. Jerusalem had its bishops; and in it there was one church or assembly of christians. Whether *all* the apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors, although such a feature be not *expressly* attributed to them in the New Testament, is a topic which cannot be discussed in this place. The settlement of it involves an answer to the question, Were the primitive churches similarly organised? Did the apostles, acting under infallible direction, and the evangelists whom they sanctioned, give the same constitution to all? Different inquirers will furnish different replies to such a question.

The exordium contains no mention of Paul's apostolic office, as is usual in his other letters. He associates Timothy with himself, because the latter had been with him when he founded the church at Philippi, and when he visited it subsequently; both being denominated *bondmen* (δοῦλοι) of Jesus Christ. His laying aside the apostolic character on the present occasion, may perhaps be explained by a motive of delicacy. He wished to avoid the use of a title which would naturally suggest a claim on his part to the benefit he had received. In addition to this it should be remembered, that he had no reason for asserting his apostolic authority. There were no factions in the church to which he was writing. The believers had not apostatized from the faith, or given heed to seducing

teachers who impugned his apostleship. On the contrary, the church had stood firm in maintaining his doctrine and loving his person. The apostle cared not for associating with his name a title which justly belonged to him; as long as there was no sufficient cause for assuming it. Such were his humility and delicate sense of propriety, that he waived the higher for the sake of the lower appellation. He took no pride in names and titles.

In regard to the salutations at the conclusion of the epistle, it has been observed by Lardner that they are singular, because different from those of the other epistles written about the same time. First it is said: 'The brethren which are with me greet you.' (iv. 21.) Secondly, 'All the saints salute you.' (22.) The brethren are Mark, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Demas, and Luke, who had joined the apostle at Rome, and endeavoured to promote the interests of christianity under his direction. The salutation sent by *all the saints* was prompted, not merely by the love subsisting between all the brethren however remote, but by a consideration of the kind present which they had sent the apostle, exhibiting attachment to his person and the cause of the gospel. Such a token of their regard for Paul, must have tended to endear the donors to the christians at Rome. The individuals belonging to Cæsar's household are particularly mentioned as sending salutations. Probably Cæsar's freedmen or domestics are meant—those who were called *Cæsariani*. Whether any of his relatives are included in the appellation, is doubtful. There is no proof that Poppæa, the emperor's wife, was a christian; although Macknight, in order to shew that she favourably regarded the apostle, quotes the epithet which Josephus applies to her, *θεοσεβής*, *devout*. Neither is there any ground for supposing that Seneca was of this number, for he did not belong to Cæsar's household, neither was he at any time a christian, as far as can be ascertained from his history. He was a senator in the city. Whether these converts were chiefly composed of such as had been Jewish slaves, or natives of Rome, cannot be known; although the former is more probable from the circumstance that Josephus was introduced to Poppæa by a Jewish comedian named Alityrus. Doubtless it would rejoice the Philippians to hear that christianity found its way into the palace of Cæsar—a place full of abomination and wickedness. So rare an instance of the power of truth would fill their minds at once with amazement and consolation. And that these domestics especially saluted the Philippians, augured well for the release of him by whom they had been converted, and for the cause of the gospel at Rome.

VI. Authenticity and genuineness.

These have never been called in question. Testimonies in

favour of its authenticity are found in Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. Polycarp writes: 'For neither I, nor any one like me, can reach the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, who, when absent, wrote to you letters; into which if ye look, you will be able to edify yourselves in the faith which has been given you.* And again: 'But I have neither perceived nor heard any such thing to be in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who are in the beginning of his Epistle; for he glories in you in all the churches, which then alone knew God.† Irenæus says: 'As also Paul says to the Philippians: 'I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God.‡ In Clement of Alexandria we find the following: 'When Paul confesses of himself, 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect,' &c.' § Tertullian writes: 'Of which [hope] being in suspense himself, when he writes to the Philippians, 'If by any means, says he, I might attain to the resurrection of the dead; not as though I had already attained, or were perfected.¶ In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, as given by Eusebius, is the following quotation of Philip. ii. 6: 'Who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ: who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.¶¶

VII. Contents.

Whether the apostle wrote more epistles than one to the Philippians cannot be satisfactorily determined. Although they had sent him several presents, it does not follow that he

* Οὐτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολονθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου: ὥς καὶ ἂπὼν ἡμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς εἰς ἃς ἡμεῖς ἔχόμεθα. Συνηθίσθη οἰκοδομηθῆαι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν πειν. κ.τ.λ.—*Ep. Ad. Philipp.*, cap. iii., p. 118, ed. Hefele. (editio altera.) 1842.

† Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audiui, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis [laudati] in principio epistolæ ejus. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ Deum solæ tunc cognoverant.—*Id.* p. 122, cap. xi.

‡ Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippensibus ait: Repletus sum acceptis ab Epaphrodito, quæ a vobis missa sunt, odorem suavitatis, hostiam acceptabilem, placentem Deo.—*Advers. Hæres.*, lib. iv., cap. 34, p. 326. Ed. Grabe.

§ Αὐτοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος τοῦ Παύλου περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· Οὐκ ὡς ἦν ἰσχυρὸν, κ.τ.λ.—*Præd.*, lib. i., p. 107, D. See also *Stromata*, lib. iv., p. 511, A; *Conhort. ad Gent.*, p. 56, B. (Ed. Colon. 1688.)

¶ Ad quam (justitiam) pendens et ipse, quum Philippensibus scribit, si quâ, inquit, concurram in resurrectionem quæ est a mortuis; non quia jam accepi, aut consummatus sum.—*De Resur. Carnis*, cap. xxiii.

¶¶ Οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτων ζητοῦται καὶ μνηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὥς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ἰσάρχων οὐκ ἄρπαγρὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ.—*Euseb. H. E.* lib. v. cap. 2.

had made *written* acknowledgments of them, as Michaelis imagines. Three circumstances seem to favour the opinion that he had sent several letters. In chapter iii. 18, it is written: 'For many walk of whom *I have told you often*,' &c. In iii. 1, we also find the following: '*To write the same things to you*, to me, indeed, is not grievous,' &c. Again; Polycarp mentions *letters* to the Philippians as having been written to them by Paul. Yet it cannot be denied that these considerations afford but a slight presumption, because they are capable of another explanation. Thus, ἔλεγον (iii. 18) may be restricted to his former discourses when present. *To write the same things to you*, is a phrase that may import, to write the same things which I previously inculcated by word of mouth, as Beza, Rosenmüller, and others, understand it; or, to write the same things to you as I have written to other churches, as Macknight, with less probability, interprets it. The plural ἐπιστολαὶ employed by Polycarp, may be used for the singular, as Cotelierus has shown. The passage in the eleventh chapter of Polycarp's Epistle, already quoted, has been adduced for the purpose of neutralizing the plural number ἐπιστολαὶ as employed in the third chapter. But the singular number (*epistolæ ejus*) may here allude to the most prominent, i.e., the *present* epistle. Lardner, after Salmeron, thinks, that the plural ἐπιστολαὶ means not only the Epistle to the Philippians, but also both Epistles to the Thessalonians, because the words, 'He glories in you in all the churches which then alone knew God,' are taken from 2 Thess. i. 4. This is doubtful. The quotation is not very clear. On the whole, it never can be proved that the apostle had written to the Philippians previously to his sending them the present canonical letter. But in our view there is a *presumption* in favour of his having done so.

Heinrichs advocated the opinion, that the epistle is composed of two letters, different in argument and object; the one addressed to the whole community at Philippi, the other intended for the apostle's intimate friends alone. The former is supposed to contain chapters i., ii., iii., verse 1 as far as ἐν Κυρίῳ; and iv. 21—23 (inclusive): the latter, chapter iii. beginning with τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν in the first verse, and chapter iv. 1—20. The two letters are thought to have received their present position and form when the New Testament epistles were collected. The words τὸ λοιπὸν, χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ certainly appear to indicate the speedy termination of the letter, as the analogy of 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Ephes. vi. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 1, shows. Not that the verb χαίρετε is necessarily valdictory, or equivalent to the Latin *valete*; but that the adverbial expression τὸ λοιπὸν indicates a summing up in brief space of all that the writer intends to

add. In 1 Thess. iv. 1, the same formula stands at a considerable distance from the termination of the Epistle, intimating that it is placed at the end of an important topic, *at whatever place* of the Epistle the discussion of such a topic comes to a close. Perhaps the apostle originally intended to conclude it at iii. 1; but when Epaphroditus did not immediately set out, or on the receipt of additional information regarding the Judaisers, he was moved by the Holy Ghost to append a warning against them.

The hypothesis which Heinrichs ingeniously developed and defended, was approved in the main by a reviewer in the 'Jena Literatur-Zeitung' for 1805. It was afterwards adopted, with slight variations, by Paulus. But it has never met with general approbation. Resting, as it does, on no foundation, and supported by arguments more specious than solid, it must be abandoned to that universal neglect into which it has already fallen. It has been refuted by Bertholdt, Flatt, Schott, Krause, Rheinwald, and others. It is, therefore, unnecessary to enter, on the present occasion, upon a formal demolition of it, because it has found so little favour even among the speculating countrymen of the original proposer.

This Epistle is the shortest addressed to any church, except the second to the Thessalonians. It may be divided into six paragraphs, or parts. The doctrinal and the moral are not separately treated, as in other letters written by Paul. They are, more or less blended throughout. The first part is historical, relating to the writer's condition at Rome. The Epistle does not exhibit the same regularity of structure or sequence of argument as generally characterise the writings of the apostle. There are sudden digressions, and breaks in the logical succession of ideas, especially towards the end. The intimacy subsisting between himself and his readers, no less than the kindheartedness of the latter, rendered an artificial plan unnecessary. Its predominant character being the pathetic and the affectionate, *the heart* of the apostle is exhibited with singular tenderness and beauty of expression. His reasoning powers were not required for the confutation of error among the Philippians; and there is, therefore, less of the formal and the consecutive in the composition. Its general tone is practical. The deep earnestness and gratitude of the writer are unfolded in terms pervaded by uncommon delicacy and affection. A generous tide of noble feeling is poured into the Epistle, from a soul overflowing with the purest and highest sentiments of which humanity is capable.

The six paragraphs are these: (a). Chap. i. 1—11; (b). i. 12—ii. 18; (c). ii. 19—30; (d). iii. 1—iv. 1; (e). iv. 2—9; (f). iv. 10—23.

(a). i. 1—11. After the inscription and salutation, Paul expresses his gratitude to God on behalf of the Philippians, his continual mention of them in prayer since the time they received the gospel, and his confident expectation that the work of sanctification in their hearts would be carried on until the day of death, and perfectly completed. He calls God to witness his deep-seated affection towards them, praying that their love and knowledge might be still more abundant, and the fruits of their righteousness yet more productive.

(b). i. 12—ii. 18. That the Philippians might not be dejected on account of what had befallen him, he informs them that God had overruled his imprisonment for good, by rendering it subservient to the advancement of the gospel. His bonds had been made known in the prætorium and throughout the city; and by witnessing his patience and fortitude, several of the brethren had been induced to preach the gospel all the more fearlessly. Not that the motives of all who proclaimed Christ were pure, for some envied the apostle's popularity, but yet, as long as Christ is preached, the apostle rejoices. He expresses his confidence in the fact that the Redeemer should be magnified, either by his life or his death, although he thinks it, on the whole, more desirable, for the sake of the Philippians and others, that he should live a little longer, that he might joyfully meet them again. But whatever might be the issue of his present captivity, he exhorts them to lead a holy life, to be firmly united in one spirit, and not to be terrified by their enemies. In the most tender and pathetic strains he beseeches them to cultivate mutual love, to avoid vain glory, and to be exceedingly humble in the estimate of their own attainments. To enforce the duty of humility the more impressively, he next introduces the example of Christ, who left the glories of the heavenly state to live on earth a life of lowly obedience and suffering for the sake of men. Having described the Saviour's person, both in his humiliation and exaltation, he exhorts them to work out their salvation with reverential fear, remembering that the divine energy was not inactive within them; to avoid murmurings under their sufferings, and disputings for pre-eminence; to be blameless and harmless in the midst of an evil generation; and not only to hold fast, but also to diffuse the word of life around, that the apostle might rejoice in the day of Christ on their account.

(c.) ii. 19—30. He promises to send Timothy to them, of whom he speaks as a disinterested, zealous, affectionate minister, and one whose excellence was well known to themselves. But still he was in expectation of being shortly released, and of following Timothy to Philippi. He then gives a reason for

sending Epaphroditus to them in the mean time. He mentions the dangerous sickness of their messenger, his earnest longing to return to his flock, and the self-sacrificing fidelity with which he had laboured. Him he commends to their esteem and honour, as a workman worthy of their highest regards.

(d). iii. 1—iv. 1. Having understood from Epaphroditus that there were Judaising teachers at Philippi, the apostle in this paragraph warns the believers against them, affirming that *they* are the true people of God who place no confidence in conformity to the law of Moses. Had this law furnished ground for glorying, *he* might certainly boast of it, for he was descended of Jewish parents, circumcised, a rigid Pharisee, observing all its outward requirements. But he was willing to forego all these pretensions for Christ, while he sought justification by faith in His righteousness alone. Hence his great object was to *know* the Saviour, to become experimentally acquainted with Him in the efficacy of his resurrection producing a spiritual resurrection in him, and preparing him for a glorious immortality; to endure like sufferings with the Redeemer for His sake; and being united to Him, to attain to the certainty of a blessed resurrection. He proceeds to describe his christian experience as progressive. He always aimed at higher attainments in the christian life: hence he exhorts them to follow his example, by walking after the same rule as they had done already. In contrast with his own aims and conduct, he places the practices of the Judaisers, whom he describes as enemies of the true doctrine, sensual, unclean, worldly-minded, selfish. How unlike this to the apostle whose citizenship was in heaven, and who was always looking for the Saviour to raise him to a blessed immortality! The Philippians, therefore, as having the same faith and prospect, are exhorted to stand fast in the Lord.

(e). iv. 2—9. Paul beseeches Euodias and Syntyche to be reconciled; entreats his 'true yoke-fellow' to assist several pious women in their evangelical labours, who had maintained the truth of the gospel along with himself and Clement. After this, he subjoins a few general precepts relative to spiritual joy, moderation, and contentment. Virtue is recommended in all the different forms in which the wisdom of ancient philosophy had presented it; and as the Philippians had seen it so embodied in himself, they are enjoined to practise it in its widest aspect.

(f). iv. 10—23. He thanks the Philippians for the signal proof of their kindness towards him, but intimates, with a delicacy and nobleness of soul never surpassed, that he had learned to be contented in whatever circumstances he might be

placed ; prepared to suffer want if needful, or to have an abundance of the conveniencies of life, with equanimity of temper trained in the school of Christ. The Saviour's strength enabled Paul to do and to suffer all His will concerning him. After stating that he was more pleased with their gift as an evidence of their christianity than as a supply of his own wants, he encourages them to expect an abundant fulfilment of all their desires from God the Father, to whom he ascribes all the glory. The Epistle closes with salutations, and the usual benediction.

Art. II. *The Collegian's Guide*. By the Rev. * * * * *, M.A.,
 — College, Oxford. London: Longman. 1845.

THIS book aims at conveying useful instruction under a form not unpalatable to young and rather thoughtless readers. In order to gild the pill which it desires to administer, it condescends to a certain amount of slang which had, at first opening, rather prejudiced us against it. A person who has acquired a taste for foolish university stories, will find all reading of that sort dangerous, in spite of the moral which the story is designed to convey. Nor are we sure that the book before us has wholly escaped that objection, although we cheerfully acknowledge that no student could read it *through* without finding amply sufficient to sober his silly and flighty notions.

Whether a person wholly unacquainted with the universities would glean from this book any clear conception of their system, we are somewhat in doubt. The writer plunges so rudely into the midst of affairs, and takes so many things for granted, that a stranger would be for some time bemazed rather than instructed. Vivid scenes are drawn, which are like the lifting up of a curtain to give particular glimpses of university life ; but a general confusion remains for some time, which may with difficulty be dispelled by a careful re-consideration of the whole book. For ourselves, nevertheless, it has several points of interest, partly as exhibiting the thoughts of a well-intentioned and intelligent academician, partly as giving us in a fair and accessible form the standard apology offered by university men for the system of things existing in what ought to be the seats of learning.

We are slightly puzzled by a few points, which awakened in us more than once an apprehension that the writer was not so well acquainted with the University of Oxford as he pretends to be ; and we will notice them, even at the risk of betraying our own ignorance,—expressly adding, that our doubts entirely

vanished as we continued the perusal of the book. In page 5, he represents some Oxford tutor talking of 'the enormity of a *pensioner* getting into debt.' Now we had always understood that *pensioner* was exclusively a Cambridge word; and we know positively that *commoner* is the ordinary name at Oxford for students who are not on the foundation, and who 'pay' the full college bills, without having any higher rank; which is what *pensioner* means. In page 34, and elsewhere, he speaks as though to be 'chums' were a common thing: the word perhaps has of late been assuming a new sense; but 'chums'—*i.e.*, partners of the same room—are said to have long been exceedingly rare in either university. In page 290, he tells of a man who would have been in the first class, but who, from deficiency in the knowledge of divinity, was placed in the second. This must be something new; for it is currently and confidently stated by Oxford men, that the divinity examination affects solely the passing or not passing of the candidate; and that if he passes at all, it is not allowed to damage his prospects in the class list, however badly he may have done in that particular line. In page 209, he has a strange story of a deception practised on a bishop's chaplain by a candidate for orders, when required to write the usual 'Latin *Sermon*.' No doubt this must mean the Latin *Essay*, which is written at the examination; at least, this is all that we can hear of by private information.*

Let these and other things pass; and let us turn a little to the work itself, which has many sensible passages, written with very good feeling:—

'All I know about Oxford,' interrupted Fred, 'is what I have heard of wine parties, and riding home from Bullington two on one saddle, breaking glasses as soon as you have drunk out of them, and all in fact which I have picked up from a few reports of actions for debt brought by Oxford tradesmen, and treatises of college life.'

'Then, Fred, you have imbibed the very notions which I am most desirous to keep out of your mind. Such publications do a positive injury to society, showing but part of college life, and that part shamefully exaggerated. The worst is that they fill the minds of school-boys with examples of profligacy and give a taste for dissipation; and instead of things honourable and of good report, in which neither Oxford nor Cambridge would be found wanting on a fair comparison of good and bad together, scenes of folly and of vice are crowded together and set forth in flaming colours, as an average sample of the whole. And why? because forsooth, the minds of those writers who condescend, or are fit to minister to the vulgar

* Since the above was written, we have learned positively from two unquestionable sources, that our criticisms are perfectly correct.

palate, have an affinity to vice, but not to virtue, and because there are fifty readers of the lives of profligates to one admirer of such worthies as those enshrined in the pages of good old Isaac Walton. But be advised, Frederic, forget such scenes; they have as little claim to the title of Life in Oxford as a certain Tom and Jerry history of cockfights, the prize-ring, sporting taverns, and the lowest dens of thieves and drunkards, deserved to be called Life in London.

'Stand for a moment in Cheapside; see the unwearied stream of cabs, omnibuses, merchants' waggons, and vehicles of all kinds; picture to yourself the establishment, the business, and the commerce of which each must be the representative and the product. Look at the double stream on each side of the way of busy passers to and fro, with quick step and contracted brow, each absorbed in his own enterprises; and when you have formed some kind of estimate of the countless thousands engaged in the honourable duties of commercial life, then ask yourself where are the brutes and the bullies, the madmen and the profligates, whom many are so far imposed on as to believe the chief actors on the vast stage of London life. No less erroneous are the impressions commonly received of our universities. It is not to be denied that London has its thieves, its rakes, and rouds, of every grade, from the titled swindler and adulteress, to the lowest pilferer and prostitute of St. Giles's. It is not to be denied, that in Oxford there are those who glory in their shame, buy that for which they cannot pay, keep company with stage-coachmen, and seem to think it the height of gentility and manliness to affect the language of the boor and the appetites of the brute. But look about you as you pass through that city of colleges, and ask where are they, and what is the proportion they bear to the many by whom the very mention of such practises is frowned away in disgust. Compare those of academical education with the other members of society, and then say whether their manners and taste are such as to argue that the exaggerated excesses of the universities are the exception or the rule. Doubtless, youth is the age of inexperience and folly, of strong temptations to commit error, and utter carelessness to conceal it. This is the case all the world over, and not in Oxford only. Temptations are not local. They are more from within than from without; and who will deny that the same number of young men would give quite as much cause for scandal if scattered about the country, as if collected together in colleges. For, though large societies of the young engender a spirit of excitement which encourages slighter excesses, we must not forget that it also originates a public opinion and a sentiment by which the more serious failings are kept in check.

'Whenever therefore we hear of defying proctors or tutors, being at the mercy of dunning creditors, and using childish tricks to evade them, climbing college walls, mixing with low company, and being countenanced in intemperance of any kind, we shall do well to consider that the persons who amuse us with such stories have only picked up a tale of the extravagances of some silly fellow in an un-

guarded moment, and that such practises are known to the majority only to be laughed at and despised.'—pp. 53—56.

In spite of this warning, we somewhat fear that the various tales to be found in this volume will, on the whole, leave on the reader an impression that the University of Oxford has a greater proportion of giddy and profligate members than the writer can mean to admit. Let us hear from him *what is the use* of going to college:—

“These remarks, Fred, are quite enough, I hope, to make you understand that *the formation* of character is the chief object of a university, and that study and lectures are means, but not the only means, to that end.

“Now then let me give you a hasty sketch of the purity of the sphere and numerous influences to which, by the bounty of founders and the mellowing agency of revolving years, youths of tender minds and plastic habits are committed, as it were, to a genial clime, to allow their constitutions, mental and moral, to gain strength, tone, and vigour, before they encounter the corrosive cares and ruder shocks of busy life—before they encounter those gales of adversity which have so often made shipwreck of simple truth and unguarded honesty—before the daily quest of daily bread, *malesuada fames et turpis egestas*, the evil suggestions of want and the shame of poverty, ever peering in the distance, have absorbed and engrossed us with the cares of the body, and made us forget the untold riches of the mind and the uncounted treasures of one immortal soul.’

“‘Why,’ says Fred, ‘you seem to look upon us as not full grown; as if our marrow were not fully set nor our strength matured. Just as some go to Italy for the benefit of the air while they are what their mothers call ‘growing boys,’ for fear a sedentary occupation at too early an age should hurt them, so we are to enter a university for the strengthening and maturing of our characters.’

“That is the very idea I intended to convey; the doctors in the one case correspond with the tutors in the other, and society and college lectures to air and exercise: then, our nerves are not tried and tempers fretted by money-making cares and the contentions of business, while our minds are amused and refined by the pure scenery around us, no less in the grey cloisters and verdant gardens of Oxford than in the unclouded beauties of Italy. With many a sea-side patient, physicians tell us, it is not the air, the diet, or the bathing, that is the chief source of health, but the tranquillity of the temper, the repose and serenity of mind, with other secret influences unknown at home, part independent of any of these causes, and part the result of all. Whether we seek to recruit our bodies or our minds, we must not deny the efficiency of little causes, because we can scarcely identify them in the greatness of their effects. This is to stifle science in the very cradle—to throw many a healing balm away, and to disdain to be cured till we are as wise as our physician.

“‘The real virtue of collegiate studies,’ says an elegant writer.

'is still as little known by the generality as it was a hundred years ago. Not one in fifty, even of those who have most profited by them, could give the true reasons of their excellence. University studies are but a small part of collegiate education. Professors or lecturers may form the scholar, they cannot make the man.'—'It is on this formation of character—a higher aim, surely, than any mere scientific acquirements, that our universities and public schools must take their stand. The best of all knowledge—self-knowledge—is the staple they impart. A man educated in them rarely mistakes his own position or feels uneasy in it. The value of this knowledge is an old truth. It is false to say that the world gives this, and therefore it is a confusion of ideas and an incorrect statement to talk of the advantage of college as giving a knowledge of the world.'

'No, no, Fred, college is not the world; the best part of college—and I shall say more of this by-and-by—is that it is a seclusion from the world; a gradual and tender initiation and most salutary antidote and preparation for the world. Before you commit yourself to a most trying and baneful climate, you would do well to train your body and brace your nerves against the infection of it. Such a baneful climate is the world at large; such a place of training is a university; such an antidote to the worst infections of our carnal nature is the intellectual and spiritual education which a university is pre-eminently calculated to afford.

'Let it be granted, therefore, Fred, that you go to college for the maturing and formation of character after the best of models—the model of the christian gentleman. Painters visit Italy to form a correct taste of the beauties of art; Englishmen enter, or should enter their universities to form a correct taste of the proprieties of social intercourse. 'Manners make the man,' says the copy; in real truth it is the man that make the manners, for take care of the inward man and the outward style and manners will take care of themselves; a true gentlemanly style being but the index and exponent of a gentle heart.'—pp. 64—67.

Consistently with such views, he rather scornfully quotes against London University College the appellation given to it by Coleridge: 'Gower-Street lecture-room;' and in his description of the tendencies of life everywhere else *but* at Oxford and Cambridge, betrays, we think, the prejudices and ignorance of a mere Oxonian. It is certainly too true, that if the sons of our aristocracy were *not* sent to a university, but, instead of this, they were idling with grooms, game-keepers, and billiard players (p. 60), or dawdling at the mess and parade; there would be no reason for congratulating them on escaping the dangers of Oxford or Cambridge. But our author is not justified in libelling industrious life, as though its dull routine and strict requirements were a school in which the conscience must be blunted and the heart hardened.

'Tell me where but in one of the universities can you, on any stated morning, meet ten or fifteen young men together accustomed only to the best society, and with minds untainted by the selfishness, the jealousies, the contentions and animosities which the daily struggle for daily bread, the galling compromises of an independent spirit, and all the contumely which the deserving from the unworthy takes, insensibly yet indelibly impress upon the heart ; blunting the fine edge of true nobility, and marring the delicate sensibility of the man?'—p. 134.

There is no true morality here ; the sentiment, in fact, is, in the present day, analogous to the monkish errors of a past age. The virtue which is reared in the open world, surely far excels in robustness the untried innocence of prosperity and retirement ; the 'refinement' and 'sensibility' of which is closely akin to selfishness, and is as likely as not to snap on the first exposure to temptation. Moreover, the writer's notion, that the *ordinary* association of academic youths with each other is so peculiarly profitable, is quite utopian, and opposed to his own good sense and experience.

That the generous friendships sometimes formed in college society, are of great value : that the emulation in study and interchange of thought, cultivated in a large university, is a precious advantage, which mere lectures cannot give ; will be cheerfully conceded : nor do we say that these advantages (in the case of a steady young man) may not be well purchased at the expense of leaving the parental roof rather prematurely. But it is paradoxical enough to treat a university, in which young men associate solely or chiefly with one another, as, in itself, and ordinarily, a purer school of virtuous training, than can be found by those who reside in the bosom of a family, and are employed in the study or practice of an arduous profession. There is also a hereditary credulity in these university men, that they, and they alone, rear 'christian gentlemen ;' which is really quite amusing. To claim credit for this, is no doubt as easy as to expatiate on their own 'orthodoxy,' of which they are themselves the judge. The manifest fact is, that a majority of the academic youths come from families in which gentlemanly manners and feelings are established ; and this influence *from without* fixes, in part (but in part only), the same impress on the youthful society *within* the universities. In moral matters, the universities are passive ; at best, they transmit, but do not generate, moral influence. While the country gentlemen were drunkards, so were the university youth ; when the middle classes and the evangelical body began to rise in power, the universities were slowly but surely affected by the new influences which oozed into them. Society at large would no longer

endure nightly frays of drunkards, or brutalizing exhibitions by day. Riotous outrages, street fights, and other matters rather inconsistent with the character of 'christian gentlemen,' lingered at the universities, when they had been put down wherever the influence of the middle classes reached, and kept their ground only in Irish barbarism, or in the select circles of some of our unworthy aristocracy. We do not intend to question that Oxford is at present a place where 'gentlemanly manners' may be learnt; but, without offence, we would suggest that this is no exclusive prerogative of either university: and to claim this as their peculiar honour, is very like confessing that *nothing else* can be claimed for them. The same consciousness in the author that 'Gower-Street lectures' are very superior to any which Oxford can boast, may be discerned in his disparaging remarks on that institution. A university cannot make its *studies*, which are its *essence*, a secondary thing, and choose as its rightful function that most vague and treacherous object, 'the formation of character,' or the producing of 'christian gentlemen,' without involving itself in absurdity and confusion. 'Character' may be formed in the army, or in a workshop; but neither the army nor the workshop will form it the better by making this their direct aim. The valuable lesson of obedience is learnt by serving in a factory; but factories cannot be set up to teach men obedience. Surely a university will *then* form character best, when it is most efficient *as* a university, for its own legitimate ends. At present, our academicians (without offence let it be said) have tangled themselves in a ridiculous net; they have set up a narrow, exclusive, and therefore illiberal, set of studies, which, if followed out, would force all minds, without exception, through a certain routine. When common sense shows that a man may be valuable as a member of society, or even as a magistrate or legislator, without the technical knowledge here obtruded on him; they justify him in making academical studies a secondary thing, and cover the offence by saying, that he comes to the university not so much for the studies of the place as to form his character. Instead of enlarging their studies to meet his case, they carve out for themselves a new function, 'formation of character;' which they can always pretend to have fulfilled successfully, and be secure against criticism. They desire to enjoy the honours and emoluments contingent on receiving within their walls the entire rising generation of our aristocracy; and yet, not to have the discomfort of so adapting their studies to the wants of every age as that they may properly enforce them upon all their professed students. In making this charge, we admit that the writer before us evidently leans to the opinion that no one has any business at the uni-

versity who does not come thither to study. Such he gives as the opinion of his 'Mr. Churton,' a young tutor of the new school. Yet it is clear that he knows it to be impossible to enforce study on all, without great changes in the prevalent 'idea' of a university. We hope that no one will understand us as declaring war against the Greek classics, in which chiefly the Oxonians pride themselves. If this were the place for enlarging on that topic, we could show that we highly esteem such knowledge, rightly applied. But that is quite different from assenting to the dogma, that a system which has grown up by accident, and whose chief characteristics are drawn from the ignorance and deficiencies of a remote age, is a suitable training for the intellect of the present day. Until a great enlargement of views has been brought about,—until it shall be admitted that Bacon is superior to Aristotle, Adam Smith and Hallam to Thucydides; or to speak more vaguely, until the universities teach the most valuable knowledge which the nation and age can afford; they will never attain moral power to enforce attention on their studies. At present, they dare not exert the sternness of discipline for which they have the legal authority. They are forced to wink at gentlemanly idlers, and to trump up the fancy that the universities exist to form 'christian gentlemen,' because they feel that it would be unreasonable to expect every body who has talents for it to devote weeks and months to the trashy rhetoric and unsatisfactory ethics of Aristotle, to the tedious narratives of Livy and Polybius, or the witty obscenities of Aristophanes. All these books have their value; but it is too much to demand that they shall be the very staple of the study of a national university, in this nineteenth century, and shall be made so prominent as to exclude things far more valuable. It should be the place of professors to extract what is best, from writers, who are too voluminous or too difficult, in comparison with their intrinsic worth, to be studied by the younger members; whose time would then be economised for other uses.

The writer before us has some very energetic and seasonable protests against the system known at the universities by the name of 'cramming;' an evil, which nothing can keep down but sound judgment in examiners. The following details will be read with interest:—

“The studies of Belton and Lipsley were of a far less worthy kind. A short account of them will serve to explain, while it holds up to yet greater contempt the practice of cramming.

“First, we must observe that all examinations imply the existence of examiners, and examiners, like other mortal beings, lie open to the frauds of designing men, through the uniformity and sameness of their proceedings. This uniformity inventive men have analysed and

reduced to a system, founding thereon a certain science, and corresponding art, called cramming.

"I will exemplify my meaning by the usual divinity examinations.

"Every candidate for a degree is expected to pass a general examination in the Old Testament as well as in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. He must also be able to construe the gospels in Greek, and to repeat and prove from scripture the Thirty-nine Articles. For this general examination there are two ways of preparing.

"One is the plain honourable way practised by Allen. He read his Bible carefully, and reflected on every point alike. The result of this is a sound and generally available knowledge of scripture.

"This is one way of preparing for an examination. Knowledge so attained is improving to the mind; and though it may waste a little by keeping, still it will not entirely evaporate as soon as the examination is over; but the professor of the art of cramming reasons as follows:—

"The object of the men who apply to me is not to gain knowledge but to gain testamurs. If I could retail these slips of paper at once without being guilty of forgery, it would save a great deal of trouble, and six months after the examinations are over, it would be quite as beneficial to my pupils as any instruction they are capable of receiving. This is my position, not my fault. I should greatly prefer to gain a livelihood by assisting young men of well-formed minds, to take full advantage of a university course, and to attain to that proficiency which an examiner's testamur is supposed to imply. But since parents will be so foolish as to send their sons to college, and to keep them there three years in spite of the clearest evidence that every term a great deal of their knowledge is running out and very little coming in; and since these sons at last come to me and say, 'We know less than when we left school: six months only remain to complete the work for which the university allows four years:' what am I to do? There is competition among private tutors as well as among the members of every other profession. He gets most pupils who has fewest plucks, just as the lawyer has most briefs who obtains most verdicts, without the least regard to the justice of his client's cause. I must make the most of the six months which remain. To impart sound knowledge is impossible, as I have no time to lay a sure foundation. I must confine myself to that kind of knowledge which will be most serviceable for the present purpose. In other words, mental improvement and available information do not properly belong to my profession. Intellectual attainments with me are only a means to an end—that end being to obtain testamurs. With what kind of intellectual attainments am I concerned? with such only as come into play at examinations.'

"The first point, therefore, in which a crammer differs from other tutors is in the selection of subjects. While another tutor would teach every part of the books given up, he virtually reduces their quantity, dwelling chiefly on the 'likely parts.'

"The second point in which a crammer excels is in fixing the at-

tention, and reducing subjects to the comprehension of ill-formed and undisciplined minds.

“ The third qualification of a crammer is a happy manner and address, to encourage the desponding, to animate the idle, and to make the exertions of the pupil continually increase in such a ratio, that he shall be wound up to concert pitch by the day of entering the schools.

“ In each of these three points, as in all other matters, practice makes perfect. Besides, there is ample scope for genius and invention, and doubtless the most successful tutors have had high natural endowments.

“ There was for some years, and perhaps still is, in Oxford, a professor of the art of cramming, of great notoriety. He was once a fellow of one of the colleges, and some say he lost his fellowship by his irregularities and low propensities. Those who condescended to apply to him had to seek him not uncommonly at some low public house.

“ This classic lecturer was described to me by one who had seen him exercising his vocation in terms which I should prejudice the university if I were to repeat. Imagine a man of forty years of age, unwashed, and unshorn, redolent of tobacco, and flushed and bloated with the last night's beer, sitting in a college room, displaying a wondrous volubility and power of memory in classical, logical, and scriptural literature, without a book or any other assistance than a cigar between his finger and his thumb, and a tankard of college ale. Of course the kind of technical memory and illustrations which a man of this degraded taste would introduce are of too painful a nature for any feeling mind to think of, though well, too well, suited, unhappily, to the perverted tastes of that small portion of undergraduates who are so shameless as to countenance him.

“ But why do I sully my pages with an allusion to such a disgrace to humanity? It is not only in proof of the estimation in which a talent for cramming is held, but I have also another and a more urgent reason for alluding to this person. His fame has been recorded by others, and that too as if he were a fair average specimen of Oxford characters, and not a solitary exception and rare excrescence from a generous stock. If my readers have ever heard of this person, and are disposed to lay the blame on the university which he infests, let them know that the porters of several colleges have or had strict orders not to admit him inside their gates; also, that it was generally believed that any man who had been known to read with him would have a strong prejudice to contend against in the schools.”—pp. 229—233.

We have observed, that the complaints against the cramming system have exceedingly increased at Oxford, with that of private tutors, in the last twenty years; and that at Cambridge it had already reached a great height, before it was known at Oxford, also side by side with the private tutors. The questions rising out of the remark are too difficult and grave to be treated

here ; but we are possessed with the belief, that the last change made in the Oxford system of examinations, about the year 1830 (by which, in many respects, they approximated to the mechanical system of Cambridge, in regard to 'paperwork'), was an unhappy one. By far the most searching questions, are those which are made by word of mouth ; in which an experienced interrogator cannot be deceived. We fear, however, that the prevalent system of laying on the examiners much work, much odium, and little pay, will ensure to the university of Oxford a regular supply of inexperienced and (naturally) injudicious examiners ; and thus give fresh aid to the system of cramming. For the worst part of it is, that illjudged questions tend to force this contemptible practice of overloading the memory with details that must instantly be forgotten, on able candidates whose good sense spurns and abhors it.

The writer before us evidently is a favourable type of the current Oxford feeling as regards religion : considering which, we are struck by views which now and then show themselves. The following is rather edifying in its way, concerning a wild youth 'rusticated' (i.e. temporarily expelled) from college, whose ordination is represented as *designed to bring about his future conversion*.

'The Rev. A. Croydon is now a very exemplary parish priest. He always was a man of good principles and of a generous nature. It was his honesty and artlessness that used to betray him to college punishment. I do not deny that you may make a good parish priest too. For while I see so much regard for the feelings of others, so much love of truth, generosity and compassion, and so little deliberate preference of vice in your constitution, and, above all, when I observe how much you become sobered down, softened, and humanised, after spending a vacation at home with your family, I am encouraged to hope that there are those seeds of goodness in you which, by the serious reflections inseparable from sermon-writing and sick-visiting, may graciously be quickened into life.'—pp. 197—198.

We cannot find out who is supposed to say these words : the author has a perplexing mode of putting two-thirds of his book within inverted commas. If the speaker is on this occasion the indulgent and mourning father, yet the sentiment passes without reproof, or apparent consciousness of its error.

It will also be observed how the truth slips out, that whatever the pretended moral advantages of the university, they are not to be compared with the 'sobering, softening, and humanising' influences of the domestic circle.

A large part of the book is devoted to the laudable object of warning young men against incurring debts at the university. We wish the author all success in his effort ; but we hardly

think him right in trying to lay the whole blame of these disastrous occurrences on the *fathers* of the students, to the exculpation of the university authorities. He is pleased indeed to tell us positively, that 'no legislation will do the least good' (p. 369); but, with deference, we claim leave to doubt his assertion. Why might it not be enacted that no tradesman should be entitled to payment for any bill exceeding £5, unless a copy of it were sent in to the college authorities within a quarter of a year after it became due? On getting his bill back with the signature of the dean or tutor, he would hold in his hands the legal document which made his claim good for the future; and in case of undue extravagance, a parent would receive timely notice. Nor could such a plan be justly deprecated as unduly exposing a young man's private expenses. Whoever wished to conceal from his tutor how many muffins his friends ate, or how many coats he had had from his tailor, would hold the remedy in his own hands—to pay within a quarter of a year. If unable to do that, he ought not to complain of a wholesome check to extravagance. So simple a plan as is here suggested, would at once destroy the unwholesome competition of tradesmen in giving credit; which the author truly describes as equally injurious to them and to the young men.

We observe that Dr. Arnold, in his published correspondence, severely chides the college authorities for taking so good precautions that they themselves shall not suffer bad debts from the young men, while no care at all is taken to secure the tradesman from loss. The contrast, no doubt, forcibly shows that there is much culpability in the ruling part of the universities: but we think it clear that Dr. Arnold's remedy—that of exacting from the students caution money large enough to indemnify tradesmen—would prove impracticable or insufficient, unless accompanied with measures to enforce a quick delivery of bills. To demand £500 caution money, to be deposited with the college authorities, would not be too much for the security of tradesmen, as things are now managed: but such a demand would be oppressive and unjust, and could not possibly be enforced.

There is something laughably simple in the author's complaints of the stupidity of fathers:—

“ And here I cannot refrain from observing, that of all the blindness I have ever witnessed, that of the fathers of my fellow-collegians seems to be the most remarkable.

“ If a man brings up a son as a lawyer, a surgeon, or a merchant, he makes such an arrangement with a professional man in his own town, that when the hours of business are over, he may take charge of his son under his own roof; or else, if he sends him to a

stance, he articles or apprentices him to some substantial family in, who undertakes to act a parent's part. But if the same man sends a son to Oxford, though he might feel sure that, from the number of thoughtless youths who meet together, the temptations must be stronger than in any mercantile town in England, he leaves him without check, and without inquiry, for three years together. He may say, that he presumes tutors will render his vigilance unnecessary; but with what reason can he presume that any tutor can adequately perform a parent's part? Common sense must tell him it would be very difficult to do; common experience proclaims that it often remains undone. In every newspaper a father may read the fact, that there is no such check at either university as will prevent a young man from incurring as many debts as the tradesmen believe he will be able to pay. To this extent every father knows his son may every where obtain credit; but at Oxford or Cambridge he may be sure that he will be trusted to a larger amount, because, as a member of the university, he is naturally presumed to have more money at his command.

“A second observation I have made about fathers is, that when they do attempt to advise or to instruct their sons, they evince such an ignorance of their ways, and such want of sympathy for their feelings, that they utterly fail in gaining their confidence. Once, and only once, did I ever hear a man say that he could call his father a truly confidential adviser, and a friend. For the most part a father and ‘father confessor’ are two widely different characters. I have heard many a man declare, that if his father had ever manifested indulgence and consideration towards him, instead of a distant austerity and impatience, as if he expected to find him a very model of perfection, he should have been glad to have asked his advice and assistance, and that, too, at a period when he might have avoided the most ruinous consequences.”—pp. 337—339.

This is odd indeed. English fathers are, in other times and places, sensible and thoughtful; but as soon as they come into contact with the universities, they are besotted. The facts which he alledges cannot be wholly denied: but what can be the reason? Has it not occurred to him to inquire? A hint indeed is thrown out, that the father *presumes that tutors will render his vigilance unnecessary*. We fully agree with the author that this is an absurd presumption: still, there must be some reason, why people are cheated into the belief of it. Since he seems unable to help us to the discovery, we will venture a conjecture of our own. *A large part of the English public has far too high an opinion of the moral excellence of those religious asylums which a dissenting foot may not profane*. Superstition blinds even prudent men; and those who would watch anxiously over their sons in a merchant's counting house, fancy they are safe in a society into which they cannot be admitted without

signing thirty-nine articles of religion, attending chapel every day, and regularly receiving the Holy Sacrament. Nor do we hold the universities to be blameless in the matter: for the pretensions which they make to 'forming character,' 'training christian gentlemen,' and the rest, must necessarily delude those, who are soft enough to believe it, into the idea that tutors have a great deal more power over the habits and pursuits of the young men than they actually have. After all, the truth comes out, that the young men *train one another* to be gentlemen; and that the tutors have but little influence over the mass. We therefore hold the college and university authorities to have (generally) a double guilt in this matter; first, for allowing a false idea to spread of their power to train their pupils; and next, for neglecting to obtain the obvious means for checking the accumulations of debt which have brought misery on so many. But enough of this. If all residents in the universities were as intelligent and well disposed as our author, we do believe that a great improvement would take place; and in spite of adverse theological appearances, we live in hope that Oxford is destined hereafter to run an honourable career, after working out the clear proof that she must be REFORMED.

Art. III.—*Essays on Christian Union.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

ORDER and harmony pervade the works of the Deity, so as to constitute the general law of all. To reproduce these, wherever disarrangement has occurred, must necessarily be the design of Providence. The existence of evil and its continued prevalence may be a mystery to our minds, but we cannot justly entertain any apprehension that the extermination of whatever opposes the righteous will and perfect government of God, will not be finally accomplished. The process of moral amelioration is, according to the predictions of scripture, to go on, with more or less degrees of advancement, till the period arrives when the present workings and counter-workings of things shall result in the 'new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness;' and happy are they who, by ever so feeble an influence, contribute to this glorious consummation!

The material universe is replete with beautiful analogies and instructive teachings. The admonition of inspired wisdom is, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard,' and learn diligence; so may we

say, 'Go to the visible heavens and the outspread earth, and learn union.' There behold the laws that operate, the links that bind, and the relations, circumstances and influences that are bound together in the 'harmonious whole.' There see how powerful is combination; and how simple too the constitution of that which is at once useful and strong. Walk the paths of science, that you may be encouraged to pursue the path of religion; for the God of nature is the God of scripture, and he has stamped on both the sublime character of his own *oneness*. The 'stars in their courses' do not pursue ungoverned wanderings, or roll along divergently and deviously, as though urged by mere material impulses to incalculable or unconnected deviations; but they obey the gravitating law which admits of their varieties of form and motion, and yet perfectly controuls and unites them all, in orders, constellations, and systems. The diversities of hill and dale, of wood and water, down to every rivulet and every leaf, are equally comprehended in one vast association, in which we see variety and unity, difference and agreement, change and regularity, and even regularity *in* change, in endless reciprocities of influence and amalgamation. Whatever is contrary in nature has still its law, and sooner or later is brought by an evident design into subserviency or into aid to the grand and universal scheme. We are not to be turned aside from this fact by any present, or it may be, to our minds unaccountable appearances; the machinery is there to which every atom is attached, working out its wondrous purpose, and touched on the prime-spring by the Almighty Disposer. But that same agency is infinite, and not at work alone to regulate the phenomena of the physical world; the moral power and purpose are more especially observable in the world of mind. The permissions of evil, in the church of God, or out of it, do not lie beyond the reach of omniscient wisdom and power, or apart from its calculations. All are destined to work to one end, to result in one great purpose; and we, as intellectual and moral or accountable beings, formed under the influence of religion, are destined not only to be parts of a great and harmonious whole, but sub-agents in carrying out to its ultimatum the predicted oneness of the universe in God. High, therefore, and heavenly is the destination of the christian community, and of the christian man!

According to the more recent announcement of astronomers, there are vast elemental masses lying scattered through regions of space assuming to our vision the character of shadowy forms termed *nebulae*, within which certain processes tending to new combinations are continually going forward. In a sphere of this matter, for instance, comprising millions of miles

in superficial extent, stretching along the borders of the most distant firmament, a gravitating and concentrating power is ever in operation to unite into suns and stars and systems what is now so diffused. Atom attracts atom, and from a comparatively small and radical nucleus swelling by its concretions into greater magnitude, world after world is produced, and each made to take its place in the sidereal hemisphere. So may we conceive that by the laws of moral attraction and affinity, under the guidance of Divine Providence, church after church will be formed and associated, the scattered elements of individual opinion or action combined together, till the world of union, christian harmony and peace, shall emerge from the yet distant and unorganized materials of a wide-spread christianity.

And this reminds us of another analogy arising out of these facts, namely, the slow progress of these combining affinities. Years and ages elapse ere they assume shape and character; although, undoubtedly, omnipotence might mould them into compactness and beauty at once. The physical universe, however, is not governed by miracles, but by laws, and these laws of necessity require time for evolving great results. The same may be said of the moral world, where the principles of reason and the passions of men are at work; and where the divine agency does nothing as with the lightning's flash, but by allowing cause and effect to proceed, and by throwing in mighty impulses to carry forward the purposes of heaven. We must not, therefore, stand in the midst of combining and adjusting circumstances, which have relation to some grand ultimatum, and despondingly say, this or that is not accomplished—here and there our calculations fail—these tendencies and those operations disappoint our hopes, and come short of promise and prognostication. It is as though the little insect flitting in the sunbeam should undertake to judge of the solar orb, the motions of planets, or the mechanism of the spheres. In contemplating, therefore, the state of things in relation to what may be anticipated as the happy future, if for the present, strifes and divisions prevail, we must remember that the whole scheme of divine government prepares for a gradual development; and that, like the flowing tide,—while each particular wave advances and recedes alternately, yet the mass of waters still rolls on to their fulness,—the events that agitate the world or disturb the church, are but subordinate to the general movement that is ever onwards towards the final crisis.

No christian can question the importance of promoting union among the avowed followers of Christ, to the utmost practicable extent; nor can any reasonable person dispute the fact that in a degree it already exists, at least amongst *some* christians.

Perhaps it is less a union of bodies or denominations of christians, than of individuals, as detached from the masses, and drawn together by an attraction unknown to the whole; nor must it be denied that even their union has at present too little of power, and of the elements of permanency in it. Without depreciating its character, we cannot help therefore deploring its weakness; still it is capable of being strengthened, enlarged, and perfected; and for this consummation many are sighing and praying. Nay, more than this,—they are making efforts, and efforts of a very direct kind, and of eminently beneficial tendency. We would willingly be numbered among such christian philanthropists, and request permission, therefore, to contribute for this end our portion of remarks, to the general sum of observation and inquiry.

First, then, we propose to advert to a few of the sources of disunion among christians; and sorry are we to feel constrained to assign a prominent place to *the bitterness of theological controversy*. We are no enemies to free discussion; on the contrary, we believe that when properly conducted it is calculated to advance the cause of religion, and like the strong winds that conduce to vegetable growth to shake out old prejudices from the mind, and make the roots of just and well-considered opinion strike deeper into the soul. We cannot be too well guarded against the reception of any particular dogmas, because they wear the ancestral livery, or because we have been accustomed to this or that doctrine or practice which has the stamp of education or the stamp of authority upon it. A genuine spirit of inquiry is much to be hailed and cherished. As minds are differently constituted, it will, of course produce diversities of sentiment; but a spirit of inquiry must be beneficial, so long as it is unaccompanied by acerbity and exasperation. These, religion disowns; and under their influence withers. When the unholy passions of the man blend with the discussions of the christian controversialist, the unhappiest consequences are to be anticipated; the struggle is for victory, and what is fair and honourable is too often sacrificed to personal invective and dislike. It is remarkable that these exhibitions of temper are most visible and violent when the matters of difference are the least important, and the general questions of disagreement least numerous. In fact, it is commonly when only one or two points divide them, and these often the least important, that they appear the most separate and the most alienated; perhaps, because they mutually feel as if they had less *right* to be divided when they are so nearly agreed, than when they are more manifestly and widely diverse. When a great gulf is to be passed, the very hopelessness of passing it,

produces a degree of calmness and quiet despondency ; but when only a small stream is interposed, we naturally become more impatient of obstacles and repellents. On this principle, the poet has sung—

Religion should extinguish strife,
And make a calm of human life ;
But friends that chance to differ
On points which God has left at large,
How freely will they meet, and charge !
No combatants are stiffer.'

We must, nevertheless, congratulate ourselves on the improvements that have been made in controversy since the days of the Reformation. However short we fall of what we should be, it is gratifying to think of what we are, even in the conduct of our worst-spirited controversies, in comparison to what our predecessors were. Our Calvins no longer call their opponents dogs, nor our Luthers denounce those with whom they contend, as unfit for the kingdom of heaven.

It is deplorable, as another source of disunion, to think of *the centralizing and sectarian spirit of denominationalism*, and the pride of party consequent upon it. Not only are the multitude seduced into unreasoning compliance with an error, or opposition to a truth, merely by dint of some watch-word, but even men, otherwise intelligent and enlightened, are so influenced. Terms are often employed, not as language should be employed, to express clear and definite ideas, but to conceal or exasperate prejudice. They are rallying points—points *d'appui*—from which a system is to be defended, or where a diversion is to be made in favour of some weak or exposed part. Of this nature is the current phrase, 'our church,' which it is not only difficult to explain, but—however unwittingly to those who use it—involves something of a concession, which they would not be very willing to give in a plainer form. It places *our* church in contradistinction to *the* church ; that is, our catholic, or our protestant, or national church in a different category to the church of Christ. In truth, this expression is not only too frequently the refuge of ignorance, but the platform of attack ; and when the notion cherished by it is thoroughly imbibed, it not unnaturally generates a species of vanity, and contempt for those who deny its assumptions, which cannot but produce disputes and discontent. It is a convenient way which pride takes to inflict humiliation upon an opponent, and it is an equally successful method of sowing divisions. In analogous phraseology, persons are continually referring to 'our denomination.' We are very much inclined to question the propriety, both of the

name and the thing. Why should these unscriptural designations be assumed? Why should fellow-christians make their differences more palpably apparent than their agreements? Why should they so constitute their societies, and arrange their subordinate movements as to make it a point of honour to support their party, rather than their christianity; and proclaim their Shibboleth, rather than their common faith, in every town and district, in every church and chapel, in every circle and family, in every sixpenny magazine and penny periodical? Why baptize or sprinkle everything in a name? Why inscribe *meum* and *tuum* on every religious deed or association? Can nothing be done unless one is for Paul, and another for Apollos, and another for Cephas? Must both literature and religion be for ever poisoned with sectarianism, and a civil war prevent a more combined and extended assault upon the territories of sin and of Satan?

It may be alleged that we must have our distinctive names, for by these we represent our separate and appropriate actions. It is not clear, however, that these were ever so necessary, or that they did not originate more in the spirit of defiance than in the love of truth. But supposing, especially in the present state of christendom, that these terms might be admissible, simply as descriptive designations, and for the purpose of keeping distinct diversified operations, it does not follow that they should be erected into walls of separation, from whose loopholes the fierceness of party may shoot its arrows, and thus become military fortifications, instead of peaceful enclosures. When the term, 'our denomination,' is established, unhappily the weakness of the human mind is such, that we are apt to bend everything to it in pure selfishness; the claims of our neighbours are unheeded; we magnify everything into greatness which belongs to this name; the heart soon begins to grow narrow and exclusive, and we feel more of the littleness of party than the breadth, the greatness, and the expansiveness of christian charity. This, therefore, is unfavourable to union.

As in some degree growing out of this state of things, must be mentioned also the *prevalence of antisocial feeling*. Christians, when they have professed to attempt a union amongst themselves, have often forgotten the very first principles of our common nature, and have proceeded in a way as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural. They have not cherished the kindly affections in the only way in which they are to be cherished; and have been satisfied with frigid formalities rather than uniform and continued effort. In fact, the christian world, as a whole, may at present be regarded as lying rather in a

state of juxta-position than of union. Even where the elements are not repellant, we see little of cohesion, and few, very few, of those exertions and self-denials which tend to promote it. They live, labour, and converse apart. What are the real facts, at the broad reality of which we must look, if we would improve?—what are they, but such as these, which nothing but the force of truth and a sense of duty could induce us to name? Persons of different persuasions, or religious denominations meet on a platform (less freely, however, than formerly, even on a Bible-Society platform); several speakers address the gathered multitude on the same general topics; and one after the other, especially where the occasion seems to demand it, avow their affection for others, their kindness towards those who differ from them in some things, though they may join in this object, and their admiration of the beauty of christian fellowship and friendship; they descant most warmly upon the glowing pictures of inspiration respecting the glories of the latter day, when the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and universal peace and harmony prevail throughout the redeemed world. There—that is, on the platform—they are full of brotherly love, or, at least, of all brotherly *words*; and sit down amidst applauses and with much content, having moved some resolution that is based upon the pure and exalted principles of the gospel of Christ; and what then? We are not conscious of misrepresenting, but are simply stating what is notorious and of every day occurrence; and we state it in pity and in sadness, but with the hope of seeing better things:—*then*, after all these expressions and exhibitions, they separate, it is to be feared, generally with undiminished prejudices, jealousies, and dislikes,—with scarcely a shake of the hand; never to meet again, till another anniversary, or, perhaps, in many instances, never again in this world. One goes to his farm, another to his merchandize, and a third to his *denomination*; and from the moment of liberal professions, which seemed like a gleam of sunshine, everything begins to settle down into the gloom of sectarian bigotry.

Or, let it be acknowledged that the inconsistency is not always so glaring and enormous: what then ensues? Do these men meet in friendly conference, in conjoined devotion, in even social intercourse?—No. Do they hide each other's faults and celebrate each other's excellencies?—No. Do they cultivate acquaintance and cherish love? Do they seek to advance common objects? Do many of them who are ministers, or leaders of the host of God, aim to advance union, pray for each other, preach for each other, and help each other's joy and labours?

By no means. There are exceptions ; but disaffection is the rule ; and instead of being concealed, the good of the church requires that it should be told abroad. They are *not* united, for they are *not* social ; they are *not* ONE ; for self-interest, the very world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.

If we could honestly declare our conviction, that the different parties in question were brought into a state of any or much nearer approach to each other than formerly, nothing would afford us greater satisfaction than to do so ; but we have not only our doubts of this, but feel certain, that in some quarters there is an increased alienation. We wish to be understood as speaking in general terms ; for there have ever been, and still are, as we have intimated, a few bright exceptions, who do honour to the christian name, and, like morning stars, indicate, we hope, the coming day of light and love. The *wish*, however, to unite which has been so loudly uttered and echoed, is a token for good.

Incidental evils may accompany or arise out of what is substantially a good, as good may arise out of what is evil. And it seems so in the present case. Religious activity, which is so abundantly displayed among the various sections of the people of God, is unquestionably a good, and worthy of being estimated as an element of exalted piety ; yet even this may be perverted to purposes and objects incompatible with the very principle on which it is founded, through the prejudices and, in some instances, even the passions of the best of men. Activity which is based in piety may thus diverge into sectarianism, and an injudicious and intemperate aim to promote individual or denominational views become the means of producing much of that very disunion which is so deplorable. It is forgotten that the points of difference must always be of inferior importance, unless they affect the vital principles of religion, to the essentials on which christians agree. To put it in the strongest form,—that is, in a form that might appear to give the greatest plausibility to the opposite opinion,—surely *our* denomination, *our* mission, *our* societies, must be always regarded as subordinate to *our christianity*. The less may be great, but it must nevertheless be overruled by the greater, and that must necessarily be the greater out of which all the rest spring.

The picture which Dr. Struthers has drawn, in the seventh of these essays, of the party spirit in Scotland, really makes us melancholy, and far exceeds any thing we have hinted, or that can, we think, be asserted of England. We quote, in order to expose it more fully to public view, that a fresh stimulus may be given to the desire of so many to probe the wound and provide the remedy.

' This hot and schismatical spirit, which, to a greater or less extent, pervades all the religious parties in Scotland, does not spring from great conscientious differences as to doctrines or church order. The Church of Scotland, the Reformed Synod, the Secession Church, the Relief, the United Original Seceders, and the Free Church, are all presbyterian in their ecclesiastical polity; agree in their doctrine, worship, discipline, government, and ecclesiastical forms of procedure. The Westminster Confession of Faith, and its two Catechisms, are the principal standards of them all. It is only in a very few points, and these not points that touch a sinner's salvation, that they are at variance one from another. Nay, farther, the Independents, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Moravians, all teach the doctrine of justification by faith in the atonement of Jesus; so that it may be affirmed, that the doctrines of the cross are preached, with more or less fidelity, by nineteen out of every twenty ministers in Scotland; and yet there is scarcely such a thing as two ministers of different denominations exchanging pulpits with each other. In the most of parties there are laws directly forbidding it. Were a minister, in some denominations, to venture upon the extraordinary step, he would likely be rebuked by his presbytery; and, if he did not confess a fault, he would be subjected to deprivation of office and benefice.

' Such bigotry and sectarianism are not like the manly character and national affection of Scotland, and the cause of them must be sought in something deeper than ordinary discrepancies of judgment. Besides, there is an anomaly about them which sets at defiance the ordinary rules of reasoning and judging of religious disputes. Servants passing from one family into another—young women at their marriages—farmers and merchants changing their residence—have no great scruple about changing their denomination, and they are most gladly received as accessions by the church to which they apply for admission. By this means, there is a perpetual infusion of new blood into the veins of every church in Scotland; and yet such is the sectarian taint acquired by every new intrant, that he would likely be shocked at the gross impropriety of the very minister whom he left for the mere sake of convenience, and whose spiritual child he is, appearing in the pulpit of his present pastor. Such things must not be done in Israel. Every one must keep within the limits of his own tribe, and refrain from breaking down the comely order of God's house.'—pp. 388—390.

Let us now take another view of the subject. It may be useful to advert to *the causes of the failure of various projects for union among christians, which have been hitherto devised.* The first and most glaring has been the aim to secure uniformity of opinion instead of unanimity of feeling. This, in fact, is the claim of infallibility, and the fountain head of persecution. The assumption of a right to require a conformity to our own ideas as a term of communion is too certainly connected with the

enforcement of that right wherever there is the possession of power; and the authoritative demand for agreement, while it cannot be really obeyed, because conviction cannot be coerced, will awaken resistance or produce slavish subjection; and hence legislators have often set up an idol, that is, error for worship, and at the same time kindled a fiery furnace for disobedience. The worst form of this device was the Act of Uniformity; and, perhaps, the best, though equally fallacious in principle, was the attempt of the good Archbishop Usher to reconcile episcopacy and presbyterianism. This proceeded on the notion of mutual concession; each party abandoning its peculiar practices and laws. The same may be said of the scheme of comprehension attempted at the Restoration, which, for a similar reason, came to nothing.

Another cause of failure has been the bringing into the very scene and centre of an external and visible union, the spirit of separation and the claim to superiority. And here, for the sake of illustration, we may refer to the most distinguished visible union of the present day, and avowedly for the simplest yet noblest purpose, the circulation of the holy scriptures without note or comment. We were among the first to hail the appearance of this fine confederation of piety and public spirit, especially as a pledge of union, and an assurance that christians were one. We remember, however, with what ominous solemnity an eminent nonconformist, when he saw the prospectus of the Bible Society for the first time lying upon our table, slowly drew his finger across the splendid list of parliamentary and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and exclaimed,—‘These men will spoil it!’ and now, after forty years of experiment, we are somewhat prepared to estimate the prophecy. Far be it from us to depreciate this Society, or to overlook its past and present doings, which will remain for ever in the records of christianity; but so far as the highest end of union among christians was to be anticipated, we must express our conviction that little, if any thing, has been accomplished by it. We cannot see that christians are much, if at all, more united by its influence. Has it really combined in holy friendship and fellowship the dissevered members of the spiritual family? How has the kind of union which has been visible, been maintained? Has the union of effort really produced any union of heart! We regret to be compelled to admit that, with a union on the platform, and perhaps in committee-rooms, all has for the most part ended. But what has been the union there? and what is it now? and why has not an efficient, real, christian union grown—as we affirm it has not, and the present sighs and pleadings of men disposed to union prove it—out of this outward, visible, and

celebrated association? The reason is what we have hinted: it is not the *christian*, so much as the *sectary*, that has frequented the platform and the council table. We allow for exceptions; but we fearlessly take our stand upon the general fact. During all these years, there has been combination upon unequal and galling terms. Men of rank and mitred prelates have almost always been 'first, last, midst, and without end,' at the great anniversaries, assuming the air and uttering the language of condescension, lauding the excellent establishment, and often applauding themselves for their condescending readiness to take part with their dissenting friends in circulating the scriptures; but always, be it observed, with the understanding, that speakers or no speakers, religious or irreligious, they should be pre-eminent, and their princely and clerical claims be well and duly marked. The streams of this influence have run down to every city, town, and district in the kingdom; till, at length, sated perhaps with annual celebrations, and dissatisfied with non-conformist energy and eloquence, the platform has become thinned of their attendance and the subscription list of their names. But who does not see in all this the elements of disunion, in the very forms of union? Who does not see how the demon of discord may attire himself as an angel of light? But we would rather prosecute this subject further in the words of Mr. James:

'The prevailing body in this country,' he observes, in the fourth of these essays, 'is, of course, the church of England. It would be considered as quite contrary to her principles to enter into any kind of association or fellowship with the various communities that have separated from her ranks; the absorption of them all into herself is the only kind of junction which would be hearkened to for a moment. Regarding all who have seceded from her communion in something of the light of rebels, she disdains to enter into any sort of negotiation with them, and aims to reduce them all into entire subjection. The present condition of the English established church is remarkably critical and portentous. With nominal and external uniformity, it has no real internal unity. It is divided into three parties—the tractarians, the high churchmen, or old orthodox party, and the evangelicals. It is obvious that no accession to any scheme of catholic union can be looked for or desired from either of the two former; in their estimation it would be like associating loyal men with rebels. Inflexible in their claims, based upon a personal and official succession from the apostles, to be the sole and exclusive dispensers of divine grace, they look with ineffable contempt upon the men, who, whether presbyterians, independents, or methodists, propose to stand side by side with them in a holy league.

'I am afraid that little is to be expected, in the way of visible union, from the evangelical portion of the national establishment. It was, indeed, a painful proof of the reluctance of the evangelical

clergy, to be seen in any association whatever with dissenters beyond the platform of a Bible society, that only two could be found to take any part in the proceedings of the great meeting at Exeter Hall on the first of June last year.* Many, we believe, are united with us in spirit, and in prayer, who confide in our sincere and simple attachment to the gospel of Christ, and who wish well to our labours, but who, for reasons which they think they can justify to themselves, do not deem it expedient to join in any scheme of visible association with us. I have no doubt of the purity of their motives, and the conscientiousness of their conduct, and that they are convinced that they can better serve their own church, and our common christianity, by standing aloof from any scheme of catholic union, and therefore I feel that I have as little right as I have inclination, to act the part of a censor, or to use the language of condemnation; but no one, I trust, will blame me for expressing my heartfelt regret. For such men I cherish a pure and ardent affection; and whether in visible confederation with them or not, will continue to pray for them and love them, although they will let me do it only in secret. Their very excellences, so great and so obvious, make me regret the more, that any sentiment of their own, or any view of the *confederation* of others, should prevent them from coming into visible christian union with their brethren of the various protestant communions. The *invisible*, and yet, still real union, they cannot, and would not prevent, but are as willing and as able as any others to enter into the cordial fellowship of the holy catholic church.'—pp. 184, 185.

We must own that we are a little puzzled to think how the same writer could indulge in the unmeasured strain of a preceeding page, when speaking of the 'illustrious triumph of truth and love' on occasion of the meeting at Exeter Hall, in 1842. He exclaims: 'Clergymen uttered the language of brotherly love; dissenting ministers responded to the sentiments, language, and feelings, of churchmen; while methodists echoed the harmonies of both the other.' Yes; *two* clergymen, and *only two*, could be found to take any part in the proceedings! In a note, he says: 'This, be it remarked, was before the formation of the Anti-Church and State Conference.' With regard to the misnomer, we must just observe, that it was neither an anti-church nor an anti-state conference, but an anti-state-church conference: but we cite this especially to show how gratifying it is to find that those who do not join in that movement, frequently furnish evidence against their own objections; for lo! while continually averring that the society which the Conference organized, alienates and severs churchmen from dissenters, here it is proclaimed that they were already so alienated, that *before* any conference, only two could be found to take part in a meeting,

* 'This, be it remarked, was before the formation of the Anti-Church and State Conference.'

the simple purpose of which was union without compromise; and we have occasion to know that others, as well as they, were urgently entreated.

A third source of discouragement, if not of failure, in recent attempts to effect a closer connexion among christians, is suggested by the previous considerations, namely, the aim to force into union those whose systems and whose spirit oppose each other. It is well known that individuals to whom applications had been made to join in the movement at Exeter Hall—and made with most sanguine hope of success—intimated their personal willingness to unite, and their deep interest in the measures adopted; but alleged their ecclesiastical position and obligations as excuses for non-compliance. If this did not damp the ardour, it undoubtedly limited the hopes of those who were most solicitous and most united. They saw, or might have seen, that much previous work was to be done before the universal harmony of the church could be secured; and they were compelled, however reluctantly, to leave these fettered brethren behind, till the state, or their own consciences, should unbind them. What else, however, could have been reasonably anticipated? and what right have we to expect that the parties in question should practice inconsistencies? It was surely more probable that they would adhere to their sworn allegiance to system, than that they should come forth into the broad and palpable renunciation of it. The fallacy lay in anticipating this; and in supposing that a national system of religion, which is a system of absorption, could by possibility become a system of union. Even those who are presumed to be most liberal, though they write about union and come into the assemblies of other christians, do not in reality unite. They will not relinquish *caste*.

This leads us to the fourth and last consideration we propose to adduce on this subject. We do so, with all humility, but with no little strength of conviction. We apprehend that all the attempts at general union, and particularly the last, have substantially failed, from regarding what is called the *visibility* of christian union as its ultimatum and goal. It may be doubted whether the very nature of a visible union has not been somewhat misunderstood, when it has been supposed to be entirely comprehended in some great display on a given occasion.

Now nothing can be more obvious than that persons may meet numerously in a public assembly to declare their union in a common creed, and bow the knee and sing the song of praise together, and yet not be united. We must not mistake the semblance for the reality, or avowals under excitement for principles. We charge none, however, with hypocrisy, but we fear

that many may labour under false impressions. It is in this case as it is with regard to religion itself. The form and outward structure must be distinguished from the living soul. External modes may or may not be the expressions of inward piety and holy zeal. They may be the result and natural efflux of the divine sentiment within ; or they may be the mere framework of a nominal christianity. Where they are of the former character, we admire their excellence and loveliness ; we see the inward and the outward in beautiful harmony ; and we value the outward, not for what it may be in itself, but for its becoming the expression and development of the indwelling glory. And thus the outward association of thousands may be or may not be the indication of a real union ; may or may not tend to its production according to the real character of the association, the principles with which it is connected, or the results to which it tends. It may be a confederation of the wisest, the best, and the holiest kind ; or it may not. But what we wish to be understood is, that such a demonstration must not be mistaken for union, which we fear it has been to some extent, and so far tended, if not to suppress or neutralise efforts of another kind, to generate too much self satisfaction. It seems to us that as we should aim to *be* christians more than to *declare* it ; so we should rather seek to *be* united than to publish it as a fact to the world ; at least to publish it in the manner of a national or ecclesiastical manifesto. If general meetings, smaller or larger, be held as the *means* of union, we will rejoice, as we have rejoiced in them ; but if, as the *proofs*, we must first be more convinced by widespread piety, real kindness, and scriptural co-operation.

But since we believe assemblies of the kind to which we refer are, or may become one important means of uniting christians, if rightly constituted, conducted, and above all, *followed out*, we deplore their want of frequency. It is to be regretted that the great meeting at Exeter Hall has not fulfilled its avowed intention, and been more permanently influential and effective, which perhaps it might have become by similar demonstrations in other localities. The metropolis is, of course, the best adapted to the convening of a great assembly, but while it may give an impulse to any important movement, it cannot of itself ensure its perpetuity. It is favourable to concentration. It can bring together in greater numbers and in more rapid association persons of similar sentiments, and thus, for the time, give form and intensity to any purpose ; but there is danger lest the flame that is kindled should expire, if it be not fed with fresh fuel, and allowed to spread abroad. As appropriate methods of maintaining, with lasting advantage, this particular order of in-

strumentality, we may be permitted to suggest that while a great metropolitan convention may be comparatively rare, district, and perhaps quarterly or semi-annual meetings, might be conveniently and usefully held in various parts of London, where the different sections of the christian family might assemble by their representatives. But it is still more important that the large towns or populous districts of the kingdom should be invited into this hallowed fellowship. Let meetings more or less frequent, as circumstances dictate, be arranged for such places, to be brought together at several periods of the year by a central committee acting in concert with a local one. These meetings might unite the advantages of public and private association. They might comprehend what are called public meetings with private conferences. And such meetings and conferences should be especially characterised by two things:—first, abundant prayer; secondly, entire freedom of thought and converse, without attempting any thing beyond the simple and exclusive object of promoting intercommunion and affection.

It may be asked, if the meetings were to be made circulating instead of stationary, how are persons to be brought together at such cost, from such distances, and with such expense of time? The answer is plain. There are various occasions on which christians already meet denominationally, and innumerable others on which they hesitate not to incur a far greater cost both of time and money. Let but the sublime object be fully grasped, and all difficulties will vanish. The mountains will become a plain, and we shall see the tribes of Israel on the march, going from strength to strength, and appearing at last in accumulated multitudes in the place of blessing and of praise. They will come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south. England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, will associate; and the sight and the sound will gladden our whole population, while far off islands and nations will rejoice.

Still we lay the stress, not on what is outward, but on what is inward—not on the visible union, but the invisible sentiment and deep working principle—not on the tide of people, but on the flow of soul. The spirit of union is a part of christianity, and christianity is, in its essence, an invisible thing! It operates irrespectively of modes and forms, of persons and places, of climate and colour. It is glorious without pomp; it is harmonious without compromise. Its light is pure and diffusive, like the light of nature. Its love is the love of heaven.

In contemplating the practicability of a general union among christians, we take leave to suggest that the basis of the confederacy must be *truth, and freedom of utterance, or, as Jeremy*

Taylor expresses it, the liberty of prophecying! In stating this, it is not meant that there must of necessity be an agreement in *all that is true*; for not only are different parts of inspiration of more or less comparative importance, as affecting the essentials of religion, but all minds, or even many minds in all things, cannot be supposed to be absolutely coincident. The intellectual capacities and perceptions of men are infinitely various, nor is it any more necessary that they should be precisely alike, than that every leaf of every tree should be so in order to the unity of creation. As Chillingworth said, in his immortal axiom: 'The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants;' so we say in reference to the present object, — 'The Bible, the Bible only, must be the religion of *unionists*.' The Bible is truth—pure, unsophisticated truth; and it is universally true, or true in all its parts. But in respect to those who receive it generally, and with a solicitude perfectly to understand it, there are great diversities of opinion on points of criticism, taste, history, chronology, science, and it may be institution and doctrine. Thus, while truth is always the same, the shape and aspect of it admits of endless diversification, by the defective vision of the observer. We must not, however, visit as a sin the blemish of the eye, or remove the standard from the affections to the perceptions.

As it is evident, therefore, that all minds need not and cannot have the same ideas respecting all parts of divine truth, the ground of christian association is not to be found or fixed in the sentiments and practices of any particular community. No one can say, 'This doctrine or this discipline of *my* church, as a whole, is the real and only point of contact, the rallying ground of unanimity. You must conform to my system, my creed, or my worship, or we cannot hold fellowship.' And none can be entitled to say this, although patronised by the greatest influence and the highest authority; no, nor though the sect embracing such and such views should, in fact, be the most assimilated to the christian faith and apostolic worship. For the question is not how true particular opinions or practices may be, as received by one sect, but how far toleration and forbearance should go, with regard to all parties who 'hold the Head' in their deviations as the one great bond of a pious and cordial association.

When, therefore, it is pleaded, that truth is the basis of union, we mean that portion of christianity, whatever it may be, which constitutes its essence and is vital to the system. The religion of Jesus is distinguished by something—some principles—by which it is known and recognised as peculiar, and in its character unique and divine. By this it is seen to be, not heathenism,

not philosophy, not science, not morals, or metaphysics, but a system enwrapping and unfolding a doctrine heavenly and spiritual. Its being is in the conscience, and its influence in the heart; and each conscience and each heart touched by it, and in being touched transformed into its own likeness, is brought into sacred and eternal sympathy with every other. Like a magnetic or electric power, which operates through, and in despite of a thousand intervening media, so it associates christian souls living at whatever distance, and separated by whatever differences of conception or forms of outward observance.

But while much of this is admitted, even by sturdy sectaries, we are apprehensive that there is too strong an inclination to curtail the freedom of utterance to be quite compatible with union. Our notion is, not only that there should be no compromise of principle, but no restraint of legitimate discussion. If the basis of union be the extinction of controversy, then we shall never be united; or, if it be the imposed necessity of not offending the sensitiveness of others with regard to their religious peculiarities, neither can we then be united. We must not only think and let think, but speak and let speak. Christian union can never be successfully pursued by sacrificing christian liberty. Truth itself must be valued more than any system; and we must neither set up the infallibility of judgment, nor the infallibility of party. Why should not a sentiment we hold, or a practice we pursue, be impugned? And why should it not be impugned by a friend, rather than by a foe, that at his warning voice we may be driven to re-examination? And why should they who denounce our errors, or denounce them, as thinking them to be such, inflame our resentment rather than conciliate our regard? If we hold error, let us be urged to renounce it; if we find the presumed error, after new inquiry, to be in our opinion truth, let us thank the friendly denouncer for the fresh stimulus to investigation he has furnished, and use both our liberty and our conviction, in enlightening our opponent. But let not *his* view of *our* error, nor *our* view of *his*, preclude the union of love which is demanded by our common christianity.

The model to be imitated in seeking union, as all will doubtless agree, is the primitive church. We speak now of the spirit of the earliest disciples, rather than of any outward framework or constitution. On the dark surface of this globe one spot of pure and bright sunshine has appeared, intercepted by no clouds, and which for a time no shadows obscured. Amidst the subsequent turbulence and confusion of human things, what christian does not look back to that place and period, as to the sweet and smiling childhood of the christian dispensation, and feel his soul expanding with all blessed sympathies and retrospections; and

who would not say, entreatingly, let that second paradise return upon the troubled church, from which, as by another fall, it has been self expelled? It is not conceivable that a more attractive picture should be drawn than that which presents itself in the Acts of the Apostles: 'They that gladly received the word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul; and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles. And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.' (Acts ii. 41—47.)

This perfect unanimity, however, was of transient duration, and we cannot be very much surprised at it, when we reflect on the character of the human mind, and the gradual removal of those eminent individuals who were possessed of an inspired wisdom and authority, although we may justly wonder at the magnitude and rapid diffusion of the errors that insinuated themselves into the apostolic churches. It is not with these we have at present to do; but with those which might fairly raise the question of forbearance, and therefore serve as exemplars for our conduct in modern times. That some deviations from christian truth and conduct were deemed intolerable cannot be doubted, and these were treated accordingly with merited severity, as being opposed to the nature and doctrines of the religion of Christ; but with regard to others, the maintaining of which implied an error of judgment, and not an obliquity of heart, the apostles distinctly and earnestly enforced the exercise of mutual charity. The churches were required to manifest this spirit in no small degree, when directed not only to receive 'him that is weak in the faith,' but to allow of great latitude in respect to ceremonial observances, and disputes about meats and drinks, and to obey this injunction, 'Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God: Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved.' (1 Cor. 10.) The same apostle also speaks with great kindness though with solemn rebuke, with regard even to those who had strangely and criminally perverted the design of the Lord's supper. The spirit infused into the primitive church, therefore, appears to have been a thorough, decided, and broadly avowed

hostility to whatever opposed and tended to corrupt christianity, by undermining its essentials; and a fraternal sympathy with all who, however devious in their course from simple mistake, 'loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' What we have to do, and what to avoid, is thus sufficiently obvious. We must be firm, but not litigious. We must take care of *principles*, and deal gently with *mistakes*. We must maintain everlasting truth, and bear with incidental error; but see to it that we justly discriminate what is antichristian, and save the church by seeking to destroy its corruptions. In dealing with what was simply erroneous, but not vital, in the apostle you see the lamb; but in maintaining the truth of God against the falsehoods and inventions of men, the lion was roused.

The practicability of a universal union among christians depends on another consideration, namely, the practicability of restoring or raising the christian world to the character of the primitive church, when religion was not an outward form, but an inward energy. This we believe to be practicable, but it is not to be expected on a sudden, or by means of mere excitement; but by a series of moral approximations. The long distance to which we have gone from the spirit of the first church, cannot be travelled back in a day. Our steps must be retraced amidst occasional collisions, and perhaps some fallings out by the way. We cannot subdue the prejudices of others, we cannot conquer ourselves at once; but we can try to do so; we can determine and begin and persevere. But we must do it in the right way, and in the right spirit. If we begin in compromise, we shall end in confusion. If our charity be defective in principle, it will be destructive to agreement. They labour for union who labour for truth; for this we must be unflinching advocates, if we would be true disciples of Christ, true successors of the apostles, and true friends. All love is nothing that is not love 'for the truth's sake.' Let that be our pole star, and we shall by God's blessing sail securely through the beating surges and the stormy climes, till the vessel of the church shall enter the haven of peace, amidst warmest greetings and shouts of praise.

During the progress of these remarks, as in reading the observations of others, the question has again and again forced itself upon our attention, what specific proposals might be made to the christian world of a definite and practical character, with a view of promoting the greatest degree of union? In what particular objects might they be called upon to unite? Our answer embraces the following suggestions:—

1. Let them unite—not *controversially or doctrinally*, to form or to propagate creeds—but to advance a pure and primitive

Christianity, by the holding of meetings for prayer, conference, and public declarations of good-will.

2. Let them unite on certain fixed occasions to advocate the common objects of missionary enterprise, to report the different missionary movements in a very condensed form, and make collections that shall be distributed among the chief missionary societies.

3. Let them unite in celebrating the Lord's Supper together. That objections might be taken to this by some parties whose conscientious scruples would preclude such a union, we are aware; but these need not change their position in the general union; they may unite as far as they can go, and others may carry out their own views, without violating in the slightest degree, the law of love.

4. Let them unite in sending deputations into various countries of Europe, to ascertain the state of christianity, and promote an interchange of kindness among all christians.

5. Let them unite to discountenance by prudent measures all persecution for righteousness' sake; and, by correspondence or otherwise, condole with and assist christian sufferers of every class.

It may possibly be imagined by some, that by our firm and not unfrequent advocacy of truths, both political and ecclesiastical, which wear a severe and frowning aspect towards corruptions of every kind, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, we are somewhat disqualified for joining in that hallowed confederacy for which we plead—that the acid of our arguments may be too pungent, or the ardour of our spirit too vehement, to mingle kindly with those other, and, as may be supposed, loftier and purer elements of christianity which are to pacify the world; but we beg to say, that the uncompromising love of truth which, being implied in the statement, we take to be no compliment but simple fact, is precisely that quality which does fit for closest union—not, indeed, with error, but with its own kindred virtues, and with those who hold essential truth, whatever may be their incidental mistakes. The affection which an unflinching adherence to, and public declaration of conscientious convictions cherishes, as it must be the most sincere, is likely to be the most unchanging. Its language is, 'Either unite on a right principle, or not at all. If you unite, receive the assurance that the love of principles shall be stronger than the hatred of forms.'

It is strange that people will not distinguish between anger and decision,—that they will persist in imputing wrong motives and bitter feelings to those whose real aim is the advancement

of christian doctrine and christian purity,—that they will condemn the spirit of martyrdom while they honour martyrs, and will consent to associate with others, whom they nevertheless admit to be fellow-christians, on one only of two grounds; namely, that either they shall consent to submit to authority, or be silent on differences. Whereas, neither the one nor the other is consistent with scripture or needful to union. The onus of separation should ever be made to rest on those who cannot or will not unite. It is for christian—a truly christian charity to say ‘Come.’ If any will not listen to that sweet voice, by reason of the rigidity of their creeds or the fierceness of their spirits, they must be left to their folly and their solitude.

We now close the remarks which have been elicited by the volume before us; choosing rather to introduce our own views, than attempt the somewhat invidious task of pronouncing upon the comparative merits of others. The names of the various authors who have contributed to the work, and the subjects on which they have treated, are:—

I. Introductory Essay, by Dr. Chalmers.—II. The Scripture Principles of Unity, by Dr. Balmer.—III. Christian Unity in connexion with the propagation of the Gospel, by Dr. Candlish.—IV. Union among Christians viewed in relation to the present state of religious parties in England, by the Rev. J. A. James.—V. Union among Christians viewed in relation to the present state of religious parties in Scotland, by Dr. King.—VI. A Catholic Spirit; its consistency with Conscientiousness, by Dr. Wardlaw.—VII. A Sectarian Spirit; its prevalence and insidiousness, by Dr. Struthers.—VIII. Unity of the Heavenly Church—Influence which the prospect of it should exercise, by Dr. A. Symington. We can scarcely refrain from expressing one wish, namely, that some of these essays had been shorter, and more condensed; this would have afforded the twofold advantage of collecting the sentiments of a larger class of writers of other denominations, and of giving a fairer proportion of English contributors. But, on the whole, we are well satisfied with the volume, and earnestly pray that its liberal purpose may be accomplished in producing greater union among the professed disciples of Christ.

Art. IV. *Some Account of the Conduct of the religious Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes in the Settlement of the Colonies of East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania : with a brief Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from the time of their Settlement in America, to the year 1843.* Published by the Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings. London : Marsh, 84, Houndsditch. 1844.

THE object of this publication, as stated in the Introduction, is the hope that it may tend to promote the interest already felt by Friends in the truly laudable work of endeavouring to mitigate the evils which have arisen, and still continue to arise, to a large portion of the human family, by the immigration of European settlers among them. The Friends urge also, in this publication, the great advantages which would result from pursuing an upright, peaceable, and conciliatory course of conduct towards the native inhabitants of the Indian countries ; and they entertain the hope of doing some good by exhibiting the gradual progress the Indian tribes have made, while under their care, from a state of wandering barbarism to one of a settled and civilized character, and in many instances to the full reception of Christianity.

It appears that, from time to time, much information respecting these Aborigines has been communicated to the Yearly Meeting of the Friends in this country, and that which has been furnished recently respecting the engagements of the American Friends in labours of this philanthropic kind, is calculated to produce a more than ordinary degree of interest in this important subject. The field for benevolent enterprise is extensive, inasmuch as there is an Indian population of 325,000 under the jurisdiction of the United States, besides the large and numerous tribes scattered over the adjacent regions.

Great, however, as is the number of Indians needing the christian care of Friends, but a comparatively small proportion even of those situated in the Union, have as yet been the participants of it. One great obstacle to the extension of christian instruction among them, and to the plans for ameliorating their condition, appears to be their removal westward from their native lands, occasioned by unjust and oppressive treaties on the part of the federal government. So extensive, indeed, have been these withdrawments, that the country east of the Mississippi, once the abode of a large native population, has not at the present time more than a few thousands of them dispersed over its wide extent ; and fresh removals are still going on. To illustrate these points more fully, we are presented with two maps, one an aboriginal map of the country east of the Mississippi, exhibiting the territory occupied by the Indians *previously* to

the settlement of the English colonies in America; the other, a map of North America, showing the territory *now* occupied by the natives, and also denoting the boundaries of the several Yearly Meetings of the American Friends.

The authors of this interesting publication next furnish us with a short description of the territory held by the several Indian nations east of the Mississippi before its colonization by Europeans, from which it appears, that about two centuries ago there existed in this part of North America eight languages of a decidedly distinct character, of which five at the present time constitute the speech of large communities, and three are known only as memorials of nearly extinct tribes. A detailed enumeration of the various aboriginal Indian nations would not probably be very interesting to the reader; we shall therefore pass on to the accounts given of the Lenelenoppes, or, as modern writers have it, LenniLenape, of which there were two divisions, the Minsi and the Delawares; they possessed East and West Jersey, the Valley of the Delaware, far up towards its sources, and the entire basin of the Schuylkill. These were the Indians who formed the main body of those with whom William Penn made his great and memorable treaty of 1682, at Shackamaxon, the spot where Kensington, in the suburbs of Philadelphia, now stands. The conclusion to which this section of the work arrives, after enumerating and describing the aboriginal tribes, is, that the whole number of them dwelling east of the Mississippi two hundred years ago, 'is computed not to have exceeded one hundred and eighty thousand. Of these, the various tribes of the Algonquin family are reckoned at ninety thousand; the Eastern Sioux, less than three thousand; the Huron-Iroquois, including the Tuscaroras, about seventeen thousand; the Catabaws, three thousand; the Uchees, one thousand; the Natchez, four thousand; the Cherokees, twelve thousand; and the Mobilian tribes, fifty thousand. The Cherokee and Mobilian families, it appears, are now more numerous than they were ever known to be.'

At the commencement of this work, some allusion is made to the rise and settlement of the Friends in the North American continent. And the earliest account there is of them, is that which records the cruel sufferings endured by some Friends at Boston in New England, in the year 1656, for conscience' sake. Many of them were sufferers for their testimony against bearing arms, as early as 1658; and, in 1659, George Fox is found addressing epistles to the Friends of New England, Maryland, and Virginia. It is evident from a statement of John Burnyeat, that the Yearly Meeting for New England existed prior to 1671; and it appears also, that meetings for discipline were generally

[illegible]

country for the most part in an uncultivated state, underwent many hardships before they could bring the land into a state sufficiently productive for their support; and many of them arriving in the latter end of the year, they had only time to erect a kind of wigwam for their accommodation during the approaching winter. *In this needful time the untutored Indians proved themselves real benefactors to Friends, and evidenced that their hearts were imbued with generous and humane feelings, by liberally supplying these new occupants of their native lands, in a time of difficulty and distress, with corn and venison, which was their principal food, and by freely bringing Indian corn, peas, beans, fish, and fowl for sale.*

We are next favoured with a description of the purchase and peopling of East Jersey. Nearly all the proprietors by this purchase were members of the Society of Friends. 'Among the proprietaries,' says Oldmixon, in alluding to this purchase, are several extraordinary persons, besides Lord Perth, as Robert West, Esq., the lawyer, William Penn, the head of the Quakers in England, and Robert Barclay, the head of the Quakers in Scotland and Ireland; and, at the same time, John Archdale, the Quaker, who was chosen member of parliament for Wycombe, was a proprietary of Carolina.*

After a cursory glance at the early settlement of the Friends in North America, the authors proceed to notice the course they pursued towards the Indians of whom, by their removal to this land, they were now so near neighbours.

We have already seen,' say they, 'by the treaty which Friends had with the Indians for the purchase of lands in West Jersey, in 1677, that a principle prevailed to recognize in them the undisputed right and disposal of the soil, which from time immemorial they had occupied; and that already there had grown up a feeling of trust and confidence in each other, and that a disposition to render kindly services, existed to no inconsiderable extent between them. This excellent understanding and good feeling, being on the part of the Indians in West Jersey, mainly brought about by the treaties which led them into more intimate intercourse with Friends, than otherwise, in all probability, would have been the case at this date; it is not reasonable to suppose that the same feeling, to such an extent at least, should prevail with the Indians in other provinces, who

* It is generally supposed that Messrs. Pease and Bright were the first Friends returned, and that through the effect of the Reform Bill, as members of Parliament. Such, however, is not the case. 'We find,' say the editors of this work, 'on referring to the proceedings of the House of Commons, that John Archdale was voluntarily returned as a member of Parliament for the borough of Chipping Wycombe, or High Wycombe, in 1698. He was not, however, allowed to sit, because he objected to take the oaths then imposed, to qualify for a seat in the house.'

hitherto had no transactions of this kind; be that, however, as it may, we find Friends almost as early as they came in contact with the native tribes of America, and many years previous to the settlements of West Jersey, much interested for the promotion of their good. As early as the year 1659, we find that Friends were engaged in gospel labours among this interesting class of their fellow-men.'—p. 19.

The Travels of George Fox, and of his friend Robert Widders, among the Indians in the service of the gospel are next alluded to; and some extracts from epistles, addressed from time to time by George Fox to his transatlantic brethren, show the abiding concern which attended his mind on behalf of the uncivilized tribes in that country, and his desire that Friends might be engaged in the good work of conveying christian instruction to them.

We now come to one of the most important and interesting portions of this volume, one to the subject of which, if the Friends represent it truly, we can have no hesitation in saying that history has not done full justice. It is well known that William Penn became possessed of the state of Pennsylvania by a grant to him from the crown of England in 1681, in lieu of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds, due to his father, Admiral Penn, for the liquidation of which William Penn petitioned Charles the Second for the territory in question; and it has been generally supposed that his chief motive for peopling it with Friends was, the very natural and accessory one, in his and their peculiar position, of affording them an asylum from the harassing tribulations to which they were subjected at home through the bigotry of the spiritual courts, and where they might enjoy full liberty of conscience in uninterrupted tranquillity. Clarkson, however, alleges three distinct objects which he states that Penn had in view when he petitioned for his grant,—and which objects are deducible from the words of Penn himself; namely, first, that he may '*serve God's truth and people*;' secondly, 'that an example might be set up to the nations,' inasmuch as 'there was room there (i.e. America) not here (i.e. England) for such an holy experiment:' and, thirdly, that he had in view the glory of God by '*the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures* to Christ's kingdom.' The authors of the present publication, however, somewhat paradoxically, we think, give the last as the *main* object which Penn had in view in his colonization of Pennsylvania. It is true, they endeavour to strengthen their construction of the case by one or two extracts from his writings; but still we cannot help thinking that the principal motive they assign to him ought rather to be

regarded in the light of a commendable after-thought, than the primary actuating inducement that led him to petition for the grant. But we will cite the passage, so that the reader may judge for himself:

‘Great as we know the desires of William Penn were for the liberation of his friends from the galling yoke of oppression to which they were subjected in this country, for their adherence to what they apprehended were the requirements of Truth, and which, we believe, he was as much engaged to promote as any other individual of his day; and however much, in the tenderness of his feelings for them, he might have been influenced in petitioning for this territory, with a view to provide them with a country, where church domination, and the persecution of spiritual courts should be unknown; it is, nevertheless, clear to us, that this was far from the *main* object which he had in view. In fact, we cannot bring our minds to believe that William Penn, seeing the noble testimony which was now so conspicuously raised, to the spirituality of the christian religion, and the light which shone so brightly forth in the lives of those with whom he was associated in religious fellowship, should, by persuading these devoted people to emigrate to a comparatively obscure and thinly populated part of the globe, thus place this light as it were under a bushel, and remove it far away from amongst the civilized nations of the earth, for the simple object only of affording them a quiet retreat from a persecution, in and through which, as he had ample opportunity of beholding, the Divine arm so remarkably supported them.

‘Whatever may be the conjectures of men regarding the object which William Penn had in view, in seeking to obtain the province of Pennsylvania, we are not left in doubt of what he himself aimed at in this great undertaking. In this petition to the Crown he states, that in making the application for the grant, ‘he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles, by just and lenient measures to Christ’s kingdom.’ That this was a most prominent feature in his petition, and apparently the *main* object which he had in view, the preamble of the charter granting the said province to him, fully confirms, and which runs thus, viz. :—‘Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, William Penn, Esquire, son and heir of Sir William Penn, deceased, (out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, *as also to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and christian religion*), hath humbly besought leave of us to transport an ample colony unto a certain country, hereinafter described in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewise so humbly besought our Royal Majesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions, requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony to him and to his heirs for ever.’

If we are required to lay much stress on the passage marked in italics in this quotation, are we not required to lay greater (inasmuch as they are mentioned first) on the other two alleged motives, namely, the enlargement of the British empire and the promotion of useful commodities? And yet this passage is one of the principal authorities on which the opinion in question is founded. Admirers as we are of the character and principles of the truly philanthropic founder of Pennsylvania, we are still of opinion, in our anxiety for the truth and the accuracy of facts, that the civilization of the Indians was a subordinate and collateral, though a most laudable motive with him. Several reasons and arguments drawn *à posteriori* might be given, we think, to substantiate this view; but space will not permit us to dwell upon it.

We now arrive at the memorable treaty, in which a firm league of peace was concluded between the Friends, headed by William Penn, and the Indians; and 'which has won the admiration and praise of all unprejudiced, sound-thinking, and reflective minds; as being a transaction, consonant with the feelings of humanity and an expansive benevolence, and in unison also with the principles of justice and a sound national policy, alike worthy of the christian and the statesman.' Of this famous treaty, Voltaire very pointedly observed, that it was the only treaty between the Indians and the christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken. The Abbé Raynal; Noble, in his continuation of Granger; Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, and others, equally bear testimony to the honourable and truly christian character of this celebrated treaty. The reader will find a most interesting account of it in Clarkson as well as in the work before us. Our chief object here is with the consequences resulting from such christian treatment; and the following extract from the testimony of one of the early settlers in Pennsylvania, is to the point: 'As our worthy proprietor,' says he, 'treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.' It is recorded also in a manuscript account of John Scarborough, a Friend of London, who emigrated to this colony, 'That the Indians were remarkably kind and very assistant to the Friend emigrants in divers respects; frequently supplying them with such provisions as they could spare.' Speaking of William Penn's religious labours among the Indian tribes, Oldmixon says, 'that he laid out several thousand pounds to

instruct, support, and oblige them. The consequence was, on their part, an attachment to him and his successors, which was never broken.'

We conclude this part of our subject with the following citations, in the full purport of which every rightly-constituted mind must cordially concur. We can only wish that all colonists of the present day would abide by its precepts and imitate the example it sets forth.

'The Aborigines have been often treated as though they were wild and irreclaimable savages. They have been often shamefully deceived, insulted, trampled upon, pillaged, and massacred. Their resistance to oppression, after long and patient endurance, has been again and again appealed to as evidence of their cruel and revengeful spirit. But how seldom have Christian dispositions been recommended to them by example? How seldom has the attempt been made to win them over, not by force, but by love? It is, indeed, melancholy to reflect that the superior knowledge and acquirements of their white brethren, instead of being employed in setting forth a noble example of mercy and truth, have seemed in too many instances only to give increased energy to the efforts of cruelty and avarice.

'The Christian and candid manner of William Penn towards the Indians appears to have made a deep and lasting impression on their minds, and his name and memory were held in grateful remembrance by succeeding generations of them, being carefully handed down by tradition from father to son. An instance of this was shown in a conference which Governor Keith had with the Five Nations in 1721, when their chief speaker said, 'They should never forget the counsel that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write as the English did, yet they could keep in the memory what was said in their councils.' At a treaty renewed in the following year, they mention his name with much affection, calling him a 'good man,' and saying, 'we are glad to hear the former treaties which we have made with William Penn repeated to us again.' At a treaty held with the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in 1742, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagoes, said, 'We are all very sensible of the kind regard which that good man, William Penn, had for all the Indians.' Again, at a treaty held in 1756, a Delaware chief thus expressed himself:—'Brother Onas, and the people of Pennsylvania, we rejoice to hear from you that you are willing to renew the *old good understanding*, and that you call to mind the *first treaties* of friendship made by Onas, our great friend, deceased, with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here. We take hold of these treaties with both our hands, and desire you will do the same, that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these treaties with all our strength, we beseech you; we on our side will certainly do it.' On concluding a peace in the same year, an Indian said, 'I wish the same good spirit that possessed the good old man, William Penn,

who was a friend to the Indians, may inspire the people of this province at this time,' &c. These, with many more instances of a similar kind that have come to our knowledge, confirm us in the belief, *that the exercise of a just and kind treatment towards the uncivilized classes of our fellow-beings, is sure to win their confidence and affection, and be productive to both settler and native of incalculable advantages.*—pp. 43, 44.

Again, the success and internal prosperity of the State of Pennsylvania, as compared with other States, at least so long as the Friends retained a power in the government, speaks highly in favour of the course of policy adopted by them at its first settlement. The contrast, (which however we have not room to detail,) between the peaceful and prosperous condition of this province for a period of about seventy years, and the warlike and troubled state of some of the other colonies during the same time is remarkably striking. The editors observe:—

'The upright and candid line of conduct pursued by William Penn, and the government of Pennsylvania towards the Indians, and their care fully to recognise their rights, seems to have tended in no small degree to its success and prosperity. Although the colony of Pennsylvania was established considerably after most of the other provinces bordering upon the Atlantic, and without possessing the advantages which several of them had in the produce of staple articles of trade, yet, it was estimated, that in 1760 it contained more white inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both of the Carolinas. The plan for Philadelphia was laid down in 1682. In 1718, William Penn died, in which year it is stated that Philadelphia contained 1,400 houses, and 10,000 inhabitants; and the province altogether, about 60,000 people. In 1760, it is said, that there were in Philadelphia 3,000 houses, containing 20,000 inhabitants, and throughout Pennsylvania 200,000 people. In an account of the European settlements in America, published by Dodsley in 1757, the statistics of the white population exhibit a still greater proportion in favour of Pennsylvania, by which it appears that, excepting New England and New York, it contained more settlers than all the other provinces united: they are as under:—

New England	354,000
Pennsylvania, the youngest colony but Georgia and Nova Scotia	250,000
New York	80,000
Virginia, the oldest	70,000
New Jersey	60,000
Maryland	40,000
North and South Carolina, and Georgia	60,000

'The cause of this increase of population in so short a time, is generally said to be the kind and just treatment which the Indians received from the settlers, whereby the province was rendered entirely

safe from any molestation or aggression from them. And thus, while the neighbouring states, by pursuing a different policy, were engaged in frequent broils and wars with the natives, which were attended with grievous loss of life and great expense, Pennsylvania stood alone in the enjoyment of uninterrupted peace and quietness.'—pp. 66—68.

We have adverted the more pointedly to the benevolent and humane treatment of the aboriginal Americans by William Penn and his brethren, and of the advantages which thence resulted alike to both parties, because it presents such a striking contrast to the present system of European colonization; which, so far from being advantageous to the Aborigines, is productive to them of accumulative miseries, whilst it is attended with evident loss and prejudice to the new settlers. Look at Algeria, for instance, as colonized by the French; or at some of our own settlements in the islands of the Pacific, as described by that eminent missionary, Williams. So manifest, indeed, are the evils of this system, that a committee of the House of Commons appointed 'to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made'—in drawing up its report in 1836, thus alludes to these enormities:—'It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, *without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain*, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations. Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded, European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or violent destruction of human life, viz., brandy and gunpowder. It will be only too easy to make the proof of all these assertions, which may be established solely by the evidence above referred to. It will be easy also to show, that the result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interest as to our duty; that our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money, and amount of loss.'

Art. V. *History of the Secession Church.* By the Rev. John M'Kerrow, D.D. Bridge of Teith. Third Edition. A. Fullerton, and Co. 1844.

HOWEVER opposed to the ecclesiastic-political alliance, in any form in which it has yet been or in which we can expect to see it exhibited, we admit that there is a connexion of moral influence between the spiritual and temporal estates which it becomes the patriot and the philosopher, the statesman as well as the christian, to study and to appreciate. We do not here refer to the effect which a genuine belief of christianity will produce on the habits and deportment of the individual in every relation of life; but to the result upon the aspect, the spirit, and the institutions of society, which will assuredly be manifested according as we respect or confound the proper limits of civil and sacred jurisdiction. If the political encroach on the ecclesiastical, the liberties of the church will be invaded; if the ecclesiastical encroach on the political, the church under pretence of independence, will compromise her purity, and stand convicted of worldly-minded usurpation.

To distinguish with accuracy between these respective jurisdictions, and maintain them inviolate, is the great problem of religious liberty. But it is a problem in which the interests of civil freedom are likewise deeply concerned. Those who best understand the principles of religious liberty, are the most enlightened and consistent friends of the political rights of the subject. The history of our country in its most eventful periods, shows that bigots in the church are bigots in the legislature: that those who look with jealousy on the unfettered rights of conscience, from professed zeal for the religious interests of the community, are commonly the men who set their faces against reform in the state, under pretence of dangerous innovation; and who would, if they could, narrow the range of thought, bar the march of national improvement, awe the spirit of inquiry, curb the popular will, gag the freedom of the press, and thus throw up the barrier of their own imbecile fears and antiquated prejudices against the advancement of society and the best interests of mankind.

The spirit of division is in the church what the spirit of faction is in the state; but the independence of principle, the hatred of priestcraft, and the resistance of tyranny, which have oftentimes led to separation, instead of proving a mischievous agitation, are rather to be viewed as the active feeling and the effort to advance, which are incident to a healthy state of things. For this reason we look on the rise of the great bodies of dissenters in both parts of the kingdom, as at once the effect of

salutary excitement and as an antidote to that tame and dormant state of mind which yields a blind submission to the dictates of authority and sinks the soul into the unquestioning, unreasoning, inert, and passive slave of ancient usage or of ecclesiastical dictation. The principle of dissent, when not schismatically acted on, is the true antagonist principle of this blind hereditary faith. We are persuaded that some of the most striking and instructive examples of it, have hitherto passed without due observation by persons not otherwise unacquainted with our national history, and by some who are even largely conversant with the economical and political interests of our land.

Availing ourselves of the ample information contained in the valuable work of Dr. M'Kerrow, which we noticed in our number for October, 1842, and which we are glad to see has reached a third edition, we shall supply our readers with a chapter, more in detail than we formerly gave, from this volume of public instruction,—one which we believe to be possessed of general interest, as an illustration of great principles; and as a record of actual results affecting in no inconsiderable degree the state and prospects of the sister-country.

The SECESSION CHURCH in Scotland is a body of presbyterian dissenters, divided into various sections by certain minor distinctions among themselves, but all originating in a separation from the national church, which took its rise in the year 1733. At that period, the church of Scotland was deeply imbued with a secular spirit, and was sinking apace into some of the very worst vices of ecclesiastical corporations,—indolence in the duties of the spiritual cure and subserviency to the politics of the world. Professing to be the church of the people, and established as such by law, it was nevertheless hostile to popular rights, and had, in repeated instances, evinced a scandalous indifference to doctrinal error under the guise of an orthodox confession. From the time of the Revolution Settlement till 1712, patronage in its rigorous form was abolished in Scotland, the right of nominating to vacant parishes being vested in elders and heritors, whose presentation took effect if acceded to by the majority of the people. The boon which was thus accorded to the people was wholly withdrawn by an act of parliament in 1712, which restored to lay patrons the rights they had formerly possessed. The church, after some show of resistance, submitted to the yoke, and became in turn an invader of the liberties of the people.

Although by the Act of 1712, the law of patronage was restored, the oppressiveness of the enactment was for some time greatly mitigated by the conduct of patrons, who frequently,

in deference to the popular will, waived the right of presentation. What is more to be wondered at, presentees themselves, when unacceptable to the people, were known, in some instances, to withdraw their claims. In cases in which lay patrons declined to nominate, the right of presentation fell (*jure devoluto*) into the hands of presbyteries, who exercised the power thus devolved upon them with more or less tenderness to the feelings of the people, according as liberal or arbitrary sentiments prevailed in the church courts themselves. A diversity of practice thus obtained in the settlement of parishes. This the General Assembly—the supreme court of the church of Scotland—wished to remove. To reduce the mode of admission to uniformity, the Assembly, in 1732, enacted that the election of ministers should belong to elders and heritors; and that parishioners, if dissatisfied, should be allowed to state their reasons of dissent to the presbytery, whose judgment should be final. The purpose and the effect of this were sufficiently apparent. Opportunity was indeed given, as before the re-imposition of the law of patronage, to object to the presentee; but the church courts held in their hands the power of ultimate decision; and, as judges in their own cause, it was not to be expected that they would look with indulgence on the scruples of the people. The regulation, in short, was viewed by a portion of the Assembly, and by numbers of the laity, as tantamount to the Assembly's deciding on an annihilation of the people's claim to exercise an efficient voice in the election of their pastors.

Prepared to enter on an arbitrary course, the Assembly soon displayed a determination to pursue it unchecked and unmoled, if possible. To prevent the annoyance of dissents being entered on the records by members of the Assembly who felt aggrieved by its decisions, that venerable body had, in 1730, prohibited the admission of dissents in future. Thus, by a stretch of authority, as despotic as it was unwise, did the supreme court deprive individuals of the accustomed constitutional resource for exempting themselves from responsibility for such proceedings of the Assembly as they could not approve. This imperious and most absurd regulation was rigorously put in force. The two-edged weapon of which the ruling party in the Assembly had thus possessed themselves, they soon proceeded to wield with determined purpose against the popular cause, and the faithful few of their own number who still adhered to it.

One of the most active and intrepid of this faithful band—Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, in a sermon which he preached at the opening of the synod of Perth and Stirling, October, 1732—testified in plain, but not unguarded terms,

against the spirit of encroachment, and the course of defection which marked the proceedings of the ruling party. In this sermon Mr. Erskine avowed and vindicated the broad principle that: 'The call of the church lies in the free call and election of the christian people;' and that, 'As it is the natural privilege of every house or society of men to have the choice of their servants or officers, so it is the privilege of the house of God in a particular manner.' In the exposition and enforcement of his views, the preacher characterized the opposite measures of the Assembly in language such as an honest and pious zeal might be supposed to dictate.

The sentiments of the speaker, consonant as they were to the natural feelings of equity, and sanctioned by the authority of scripture, derived weight from his own reputation. In the language of Lord-President Hope, Ebenezer Erskine was 'a great and a good man.' His talents were respectable, and his character, for probity and public spirit, high. As a pulpit orator, he had few rivals in the church to which he belonged. His sermons, a large collection of which is in the hands of the public, show him to have been a person accurately skilled in points of divinity, and capable, from the piety and warmth of his zeal, of imbuing didactic theology with that unction of feeling and that vividness of appeal which speak to the conscience and the heart. Aided by the personal advantages of a portly bearing, an aspect of intrepidity, an easy elocution, and a noble voice, his public appearances in the pulpit have been described by one of his admirers as 'the gospel in its majesty.'

Such was the man who, on the 10th of October, 1782, confronted the synod of Perth and Stirling with a message from his Master, witnessing for the liberties of the church and the rights of God's heritage. With the air of an Elijah, he put the trumpet to his mouth, and blew an alarm. The synodical fathers were indignant; investigation took place; Mr. Erskine was called on to retract. This he refused to do. The thunder of rebuke was launched against him. He protested against the synod's deed, and appealed to the General Assembly. In this step he was joined by several of his brethren, three of whom became distinguished in the sequel of these transactions, viz.: Messrs. William Wilson, minister at Perth; Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy; and James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven.

The meetings of Assembly, as our Scottish readers must be aware, are quite a *scene*. As the ultimate court of appellate jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastical, questions of difficulty which the provincial courts are incompetent to take up or unable to conclude satisfactorily, are transferred to the Assembly for de-

cision. The importance of many of the causes in dependence—the throng of interested parties—the eclat of a royal commissioner with a feather in his hat and an escort of dragoons—the gentlemen of the Parliament House, with their briefs and mouthfuls of canon law—the intent visages of expectant probationers—the reporters for the press—the crushing in the public gallery, all conspire to mark the annual convocation of the Scottish national church as a period of stir and talk and general sensation.

It was on such an arena Ebenezer Erskine was called in May 1733, to plead the cause of religious freedom, and to suffer for its sake. Amidst the scoffs and frowns of his brethren, the champion of popular privilege stood unshaken and unabashed. Prejudged already through the keen feelings of party which actuated the great majority of the court, the cause was soon brought to a conclusion. The other protesters were not allowed so much as a hearing; while the synod's sentence against Mr. Erskine was confirmed, and he was appointed 'to be rebuked and admonished at their own bar in order to terminate the process.' Unable to yield even a tacit acquiescence in the Assembly's decision, Mr. Erskine presented a paper in which he, along with the three brethren who adhered to him, protested against the censure, and claimed the right to testify, as formerly, against the defections of the church on all proper occasions. This protest the Assembly refused to hear; Mr. Erskine therefore laid it on the table and with his three brethren withdrew from the house.

This was the turning point of the affair—the crisis of Erskine's fate. Had the protest remained on the table, and at the close of the sitting been thrust into the clerk's basket of old papers, it is probable the Secession might not have been heard of—at least as the issue of that day's transactions. But happily the paper was allowed to drop on the floor, where it caught the eye of a fiery zealot, who picked it up and perused it. It was the touch of spark and tinder. Starting to his feet he announced to the court the audacious contempt of their authority of which, in his view, the protesting brethren had been guilty. In an evil hour for the church's honour, the Assembly kindled at the appeal thus made to their dignity—ordained the protesters to appear before the commission* in August, and there to shew their sorrow for their conduct, and to retract the obnoxious paper, with instructions to the commission to suspend them from the ministry in the event of their non-compli-

* A body of the Assembly who sit between the annual meetings of the supreme court to transact such business as that court may commit to them.

ance; and, at their subsequent meeting in November, to proceed to a higher censure, if the protesters should refuse submission to their deed. On the following day the protesters attempted to read a declaration of their sentiments, but the venerable body, with their wonted regard to justice and decorum, refused them permission to proceed.

With such undignified haste, with such passionate zeal, such excess of severity, such extravagance of censure, did the Assembly proceed to display its power and set itself to crush the rising spirit of liberty and dissent. The head and front of Ebenezer Erskine's offending was, the use of language not so strong in condemnation of the measures of the church, as in our own day has been employed with perfect impunity by some of the most zealous of her sons. Dragged before the tribunal of the Assembly, he was addressed in the language of rebuke; but he had the boldness to declare that his sentiments were unchanged, and to seek, under the protection of a protest, the liberty of speaking his mind on public measures, and of vindicating, on proper occasions, the rights and interests of the people. The tendering of such protest was his crime; and, withdrawing the protest was the prescribed atonement. To this, as an honest man, he could not submit: his voice was silenced, when he attempted to speak in explanation; and, along with his brethren, he was handed over to the tender mercies of the commission, whose course was chalked out to them in terms at once summary and unjust.

At the meeting of commission, in August, Erskine and his protesting brethren disclaimed all feelings of disrespect to the judicatories of the church in the steps they had taken, but not being sensible of having given any just ground of offence by their conduct before the Assembly, they could not declare their sorrow for it, nor retract their protestations. Armed with the powers which the Assembly had delegated to them, the commission went stoutly and straightforward to their work, and suspended the four brethren from the exercise of the ministry. Against the justice of this deed the brethren entered their protest, that this sentence 'is in itself null and void, and that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise our ministry, as hitherto we have done, as if no such censure had been inflicted.'

The commission of Assembly, at their meeting in November, finding that the brethren had, under cover of their protest, continued to exercise the office of the ministry, resolved, by the casting vote of the moderator, to proceed without delay to the higher censure of depriving them of their status as ministers of the established church. Previous to the passing of the sentence,

a proposal was made to the four brethren to withdraw their protest, if the next General Assembly should declare that the acts complained of were not meant to annul the privilege of ministers to testify against defections in the church. This proposal, like all reluctant and niggard ways of dispensing justice, was unsatisfactory. They rejected it on the ground that, 'an act or declaration of the following Assembly, though agreeable to the word of God, could never take away the ground of protesting against a wrong decision of a preceding Assembly.' Such being the unyielding firmness of the protesters, the commission, by a large majority, decided to 'Loose the relation of the said four ministers to their several charges, and declare them no longer ministers of this church, and prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them in any ministerial function.' Against the justice and validity of this deed the brethren again protested and declared their *Secession* from the prevailing party in the church till they should 'see their sins and mistakes and amend them.'

Such was the origin of the SECESSION;—it was a struggle, by a few pious and public spirited men, to secure to the people the sacred franchise of choosing their pastors, and to preserve that freedom of speech in church courts, which, like the freedom of the press in things political, is indispensable as a barrier against degeneracy—a check on the spirit of intrigue and corruption. To save their right to plead for and maintain these important privileges, the seceders recorded their protest against the arbitrary doings of the Assembly; and because they refused to withdraw it, and thus surrender the liberties that were dear to them, they were stripped of office as an offence and scandal to the church—reproached as aspiring demagogues, and as the guilty abettors of contumacy and of schism.

Undismayed by the thunders of the presbyterian vatican, Erskine and his coadjutors maintained their position, that patronage is an innovation on the rights of the christian people, disallowed by scripture, and repugnant to reason. To suffer in such a cause was honourable. If the church courts persecuted, the people blessed them. In some parts of the country immense was the excitement produced by the sentence of exclusion passed by the commission. The effect of this was seen in the change of temper towards the seceders evinced by the Assembly of 1734. The obnoxious acts of 1730, and 1732, relative to the suppression of dissents and the settlement of vacant parishes were repealed; and the synod of Perth and Stirling was empowered to take proper steps for restoring the four brethren to their respective charges. This last instruction was accompanied with an express mandate that the synod

should 'not take upon them to judge of the legality or formality of the former proceedings in relation to this affair, or either to approve or to censure the same.'

The seceders rejected these terms of reunion. As the sentence of the synod against Mr. Erskine, and that of the Assembly confirming it stood unrepealed, the seceders had good cause to say that justice was not done them; but perhaps the best justification of their conduct lay in this, that the measures of that Assembly, commendable to some extent though they were, afforded no adequate guarantee against the continuance of that unfaithful and arbitrary course of procedure against which the seceders had borne their testimony. Keeping in view that the Assembly is a changing body, the system of the church's policy was to be gathered not from the acts of any one meeting of the supreme court, but from the state of sentiment prevailing among the ministers of the church, as this was indicated by the *general course* of ecclesiastical procedure. Subject to unwonted pressure from without, it would have been strange if some effects of this had not appeared in the caution and lenity of the Assembly's proceedings at their first meeting after the deprivation of the seceding ministers; but for these injured champions of the popular cause to have concluded from this that the spirit of ecclesiastical despotism was exorcised, that a new order of things was about to commence, and that without waiting for further fruits of repentance, and steps of reformation, they should return to the church upon the invitation given them, would have argued a feebleness, or at least a flexibility of purpose, more amiable in its simplicity than satisfactory in its results.

For three years after the ejection of the 'four brethren,' the acts and declarations of the assembly breathed in the main a spirit of moderation and improvement. The non-intrusion principle was recognised as the fundamental law of the church; and an admonition was issued to the clergy, calling on them to maintain soundness of doctrine in their pulpit ministrations. Had the practice of the assembly corresponded to their professions, we might from this period have dated a healthful reaction in the church's policy. If there were those who entertained such expectation, they were doomed to early and severe disappointment. Amidst professions of regard for the interests of the people, cases repeatedly occurred of unacceptable presentations being put in force by the direct exercise of the Assembly's authority. At the very time, too, that they were putting forth manifestoes against heretical teaching, they permitted a professor of divinity (Campbell) at St. Andrews to slip through their hands without censure, although convicted of statements

glaringly at variance with the doctrines of the confession of faith, and subversive of the fundamental principles of natural religion.

Of the insincerity of their professions to respect the wishes and interests of the people, the Assembly appeared anxious to give the earliest proof. As a specimen of their procedure, and as a curious illustration of the state of the times, we quote the following account of an induction to the cure of souls :—

‘The parish of Muckart having become vacant, Mr. Archibald Rennie received a presentation from the crown to the vacant charge ; and a call was appointed by the presbytery to be moderated in the usual form. On the day of moderation only two individuals residing within the parish, and a non-resident heritor subscribed the call ; all the rest of the parishioners united in opposing the settlement. The presbytery of Auchterarder hesitated to proceed with the ordination in the face of such a formidable opposition. The business was of course carried from the presbytery to the synod, and from the synod to the assembly, where, after a litigation of two years, the usual deliverance was given—that the settlement of the intruder should take place ; and a committee of ministers from the neighbouring presbyteries was appointed to co-operate along with the presbytery of Auchterarder in carrying this decision into effect. On the day appointed for the ordination a strong body of the parishioners waylaid their intended minister, and the deputation that accompanied him, on the confines of the parish, and without offering any personal violence, conducted them back to the village of Dollar, where they kept them in safe custody till the day was so far advanced that the settlement could not take place ; when they permitted them to depart. Another day was appointed for the ordination, when more effectual measures were adopted to carry it into effect. A band of soldiers guarded the ministers to the place of worship ; and though the people were equally determined, as on the former occasion, to make opposition, they were overawed by the presence of the military from proceeding to acts of violence. The church door having been previously well secured, the ministers and those that accompanied them, were obliged to make their entry by one of the windows, and there, in the presence of empty pews, did they go through the forms of an ordination—not a single individual connected with the parish being present, except two heritors and an episcopalian non-resident. To finish the solemnities of the day, several parishioners were taken prisoners, and were ordered to be confined in Castle Campbell, an ancient seat of the Argyle family in ruins ; but after a short while they were permitted to return to their homes, on giving bail.

‘The Rev. Archibald Rennie, who was thus inducted into the pastoral charge of the parish of Muckart continued for upwards of half a century to possess the manse, to farm the glebe, and to pocket the stipend ; and during the whole of that long period he never had either an elder or a kirk-session, never made a single collection for

the poor, never dispensed the Lord's Supper, and never, it is said, except on one occasion, entered the pulpit. The secession having commenced soon after his settlement, the great body of the people joined it, and the few parishoners who attended his ministry, seldom amounting to more than seven, assembled for worship, upon sabbath, in the manse.'—vol. i. 1st ed. pp. 155—157.

Such was the determined hostility to popular rights which the proceedings of the Assembly increasingly evinced, that the act of Assembly 1736, in behalf of the non-intrusion principle, must be regarded as, on the part of the majority, no better than a feint to cajole the disaffected multitude. Indeed, one of the ablest defenders of the Assembly makes no secret of the duplicity of their proceedings. 'It is scarcely conceivable,' says Sir H. Moncrief, in his life of Dr. Erskine, 'that this act could have done more than soothe the discontent of the people by conciliatory language; unless more could have been attempted than perhaps was practicable; and unless it had been followed up by a train of authoritative decisions, which was far from being intended. It is equally evident that the members of the church who had been most determined on disregarding the opposition made to the induction of presentees, if they concurred in this enactment, as they seem to have done, could have intended it as nothing more than a concession *in terminis* to the prejudices of the people, without any view to its influence on their decisions in particular cases, or to such a change of system as could have had any practical effects.'

And yet the seceders are to be railed at as self-willed and unreasonable men, because they saw through the hollow pretence, and demanded reformation not *in terms* only, but *in deed* and *in truth*!

While the measures of the Assembly progressively displayed an inexorable spirit of hostility to the voice and influence of the people, their servility to the secular power soon shewed itself to be abject and humiliating. Among other means resorted to by government to discover and bring to justice the leaders of the Porteous mob, an act was passed prohibiting, under severe penalties, the concealing of any of the criminals, and offering a reward to any person giving information which should lead to their conviction. This act was enjoined on pain of deprivation to be read from the pulpits of Scotland on the first sabbath of every month, during a whole year. The major part of the church clergy complied with the injunction; the seceders not only refused to submit to the order, but testified against it as an invasion of the church's liberty—an attempt of the civil magistrate not only to exercise his office *circa sacra*, but to intrude his dictation *in sacris*. Obviously repugnant as this encroachment was to the spiritual

independence for which, in her better days, the church of Scotland had contended, we find it mentioned by Dr. M'Kerrow that the general assembly so far forgot what was due to justice and to consistency, that they afterwards endeavoured to fasten on the seceders for this part of their conduct the odious charge of political disaffection.

The 'four brethren' after the deed of ejection by the Assembly in 1738, formed themselves into the '*Associate Presbytery*;' but averse unnecessarily to widen the breach, they confined the business of their meetings to conference and prayer, so long as there appeared any reasonable prospect of re-union to the national church. But as this prospect soon vanished, they proceeded to license young men to preach the gospel, that they might be able to comply with the numerous applications for sermons which came to them from all parts of the country. The Assembly, which had forborne till now to take further steps against the seceding brethren again resumed consideration of the cause. A libel or indictment was drawn up, setting forth the offences of the seceders against the authority of the Assembly and the good order of the church. In 1739 the case was called; the Associate Presbytery appeared at the bar of the Assembly not as culprits, but as a court of Christ; and in a formal deed called an 'act of declinature,' they defended the course they had followed, and disowned the Assembly's jurisdiction. The Assembly delayed judgment till their next meeting, at which, in May 1740, they deposed the seceding brethren, and four others who had joined them, from the office of the holy ministry, declared their parishes vacant, and ordered copies of this sentence to be sent to the magistrates of the burghs, and to the presbyteries concerned to give it immediate effect.

While the principal ground on which this separation from the national establishment took place was the enforcement of the patronage law in the appointment of ministers, there were, as we have seen, other very pregnant causes of disaffection in the measures of the prevailing party. For a length of time a growing deference had been manifested to errors in doctrine, and even a disposition shewn to shield from censure persons in official and highly responsible situations, who were convicted of teaching principles at variance with the acknowledged creed of the church. It seems to be the dictate of common integrity that as long as a church stipulates to teach and maintain a specified system of religious truth, its ministers should be held bound to preach agreeably to the compact; and that if the personal convictions of any be at variance with the public creed, they should resign their connection with a church to which in mind and heart they have already ceased to belong. It is

difficult to conceive a practice more directly subversive of moral principle than that of subscription to formularies which are not held *ex animo*, but as articles of peace. To connive at this is to turn the practice of subscription into mockery, and to admit a laxity which, under the guise of uniformity, would make the church a nursery of error, or the patroness indifferently of all diversities of faith. Of this the history of state churches affords many painful illustrations. Instead of repressing a multiplicity of creeds, they secure nothing but uniformity of secular interest, and rather foster than check varieties and novelties of opinion.

If we look into the interior of any of the great ecclesiastical corporations which have grown up in Christendom—the papacy for example or the Anglican church—we shall find within their pale almost every shade and hue of theological speculation—giving birth to those dissensions which are so commonly and so untruly charged upon toleration and dissent. Who has not heard of the Jesuit and Jansenist feuds, of doctors now siding with the one and now with the other; and of the way in which holy mother was tossed with things great and small, from the real presence and the sufficiency of grace, to the size of the tonsure and the immaculate conception. And what the better as regards honest and real uniformity of opinion has been the internal state of Rome's English sister? We challenge the best read in the dictionary of denominations, to name a sect of any note whatever which cannot boast of a prototype or representative in the various shades of orthodoxy, or in the incalculable brood of heresies which have been nursed in the bosom of our established churches, despite the Thirty-nine Articles and the Assembly's Catechisms; and often promulgated with a heartier zeal than ever parliamentary subscription could enforce. What at this passing hour is the internal condition of the English hierarchy? Who has not heard of her Calvinistic creed and Arminian clergy? Are things mended since the days of Chatham? We trow not. The most opposite extremes, and all the points between them, from the Antinomian to the most Pelagian adherents of the remonstrant school; from idolators of the rubric, to the men of conventicles and of extemporary prayer; fraternizers with papal antichrist in the *opus operatum* of seals and sacraments, and in uncanonical compromises between scripture and tradition; evangelical teaching in various degrees of purity; ecclesiastical politics in all their forms of insolence and servility; the militant church in millinery, and her lawn sleeves now spotted with the flesh, now stained with blood—these constitute the heterogeneous image of the Anglican hierarchy, which, were it broken to-morrow would exhibit, amidst the 'liberty of prophesying,' which would thus ensue, not one phase of truth or

error, which is not even now presented by the cumbrous fabric of gold and silver, of iron and clay.

With all due respect to our northern establishment, so celebrated for poverty and good works, we must take the liberty of saying, that diversity of private belief and uniformity of public profession has been, and continues to be one of her distinguishing features. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and no-dox~~y~~ at all, have found favour in her high and low places. The history of the proceedings which gave rise to the Secession, is rife with instances, from the contests about 'the marrow,' to the 'errors of Professors Simson and Campbell.' If such contradictory sentiments under the shield and sanction of a party banner, constitute a too common blemish of state churches, the reason is obvious, when we consider the bribe to enter them which such institutions offer to those who profess but do not in honesty hold the parliamentary creed, and the culpable carelessness they have often betrayed regarding the soundness and purity of pulpit ministrations.

In the rise and progress of the Secession, there was in effect a testimony borne in behalf of *common honesty among churchmen in the subscription of articles*. Had the Secession done no more it would have rendered an important service to the cause of public morality by the strenuous practical exhibition of this great principle. Recommended by the sophistry of Paley, and seconded by the dictates of self-interest, the practice of qualifying for office and emolument, by professing what men do not believe, is such a violation of the most obvious maxims of moral integrity, as nothing but a morbid condition of the national mind could save from instant reprobation and disgust. There is something rotten at the core when such things are not only tolerated but sanctioned by common practice, and patronized by distinguished names. Is it to be supposed, that men may vow falsely for a fellowship at Oxford, and subscribe with a lie for a chair or a living on the north of the Tweed, and, that as a thing of course, it may be winked at indulgently, without the practice tending to sap the very foundation of public morals? The conscience of England is debauched on the threshold of her national universities, at the time it most requires to be braced to the highest and purest tone of truth, probity, and honour. If such things are too bad and require to be amended, is it not among persons in public station, and most of all among those who are appointed to train their fellowmen to piety and virtue, that the community may reasonably expect and have a right to require an example of high-principled conduct and good faith? If the contrary appear in the lives of churchmen and of the guardians of youth, the effect will either be to blunt the moral sense of the people,

or to call forth an indignant protest against official profligacy. We verily believe that the national sin of easy swearing in certain departments of political and civil life, is in no small degree attributable to the examples of an accommodating conscience which have but too flagrantly occurred among reverend men, and in ecclesiastical places.

Burnet states as one fruitful cause of atheism in 'his own times,' the gross prevarication of numbers of the English clergy who took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, on the worse than Jesuitical quirk, of a *de jure* and *de facto* king. And has it not also on the same ground been deplored by many of the most eminent and estimable men of modern times, that the long established test of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, on admission to the English universities, has had no other tendency than to ensnare the consciences of inexperienced youths; and that, if a fence at all, it has been so only as fitted to exclude the intelligent and the honest, and to shield the entrance of the false and uninformed?

At a time when men were occupying the pulpits of the Scottish establishment, who subscribed her confession and contradicted her creed,—when thus within the pale of the church itself there was seen, what was worse than buying and selling, a leaven at work which tended to loosen and dissolve the ties that bind men together in honourable and in christian fellowship; it was good service done to truth and honesty that a movement arose, which in some of its aspects presented the character of a practical protest against such portentous delinquencies.

Yet it is manifest throughout the whole history of the movement, that one of the most characteristic features of the original secession, was the vindication of the principle, that *the right of choosing their pastors is, by the dictates of sound reason and by the grant of God, inherent in the christian people*. In the view of the seceders the rights of the people were annihilated, by the patronage-law, and the tyrannical mode of enforcing it. It indeed appears, that at no former period in the history of the church of Scotland, had the privilege of absolutely free election been conceded to the body of the people. In truth, the unfettered right of choice seems, for the most part, to have been regarded by the church courts with jealousy. Instead of the popular will being left to its own exercise, nomination by heritors and elders, or by the church courts themselves, formed the initiative; and if the presentee was not acceptable to the parish, the people were required to state and to sustain their objections. Of the validity of these, the presbytery was empowered to judge; and the consequence was, that the mind of the people might be, and was disregarded, when their ecclesiastical superiors thought fit to exercise their right of controul.

The privilege possessed by the people, in the earlier times of Scottish ecclesiastical history, was in fact little more than the liberty of consenting to the nomination of a pastor—the liberty of accepting what was offered them—the liberty of taking what they could get. That church courts were required to shew respect to the feelings and wishes of the people, is at once admitted; but the necessity laid upon the people if dissatisfied, to bring forward their objections to the candidate, and the power of the presbytery to sit in judgment on the grounds of refusal, were conditions plainly at variance with the ‘liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.’

To the Secession movement belongs the high honour, the enviable distinction, of giving to the winds the scheme of ecclesiastical checks and limited concession, founded neither in generous views of popular right, nor of the real interests of the christian people; and of substituting in room of all half-way measures, the avowal of a principle—that of the right of the members of the church, a right founded on christian law, to elect their spiritual teachers under no restriction but their duty to conscience and to God. As contrasted with the cautions, and modifications, and mincing policy of the church procedure, in former times, and still more in our own—the principle on which the seceders took their ground had something tangible in point of advantage—was clear and definite as a rule of procedure—consistent in what it gave to the people, and in what it reserved to the courts of the church—bold in its simplicity, and scriptural in its sanction.

It is no small enhancement of the honour which the founders of the secession claim at our hands, that the principle which they espoused and pleaded for was maintained by them amidst mockery and reproach. It was run down as a novel and dangerous power to place in the hands of the people; derided as a fanatical absurdity, to suppose that the sheep could choose the shepherd; and deprecated as a fruitful source of discord and dissension. In short, the people were spoken of as a herd of irrational creatures; and their spiritual interests being unsafe in their own incapable hands, were to be cared for by graceless squires, titled swearers, or prelatical ministers of state. The same insolent ribaldry, worse indeed because scoffing in its spirit, which in these days has been poured forth so profusely against the admission of the many to the right of political citizenship, used to be the favourite cant of church conservatives in the peculiar affairs of their vocation. His Grace of Newcastle, and their worshippers of Old Sarum, had many a worthy prototype in the generation of railers, who vented their spleen or took their joke at the ecclesiastical whiggery of the Secession. In their privileged bigotry they were blind to the arrogance of making

the rich, however graceless—men who cared not for their own souls—scoffers, perhaps, at all care of the kind, the only qualified persons to choose the spiritual guardians of the people. Men who were themselves ignorant of the question, as one of religion and of scripture, constituted *property* the test of fitness to choose the pastor of the parish; not withdrawing from the sheep the choice of the shepherd, but giving that choice, it might be, to the most worthless and imbecile of his kind;—an absurdity this, surpassing that of making church membership or visible saintship the only qualification for civil rights—the right to practice physic, or to choose one's physician; the right to follow a trade, and to choose what trade to follow; the right to vote for an M.P., and to support the man of our choice.

To the political philosopher and the public journalist it ought to be no uninteresting task to trace the progress of those principles which emerged into full light during the rise and early struggles of the Secession. Sacred as in their nature they are and must ever be regarded, the influence which they exert touches other departments of the social system, and is already extensively felt. Principal Robertson, who, in the courts of the establishment, trode with ruthless foot on the expiring embers of the popular cause, has remarked, if we remember rightly, that in all probability the example of representation and of popular influence in the synods and councils of the primitive church planted the germ of political liberty in the various states of Europe. All modern experience coincides with the idea. It is in those portions of the community which are ecclesiastically free that the attachment to public liberty is strongest. Toryism and exclusiveness have little influence among presbyterian and congregational dissenters; within the Scottish church this influence used to be mitigated on one side by the comparatively liberal views entertained of the rights of the people; on the anti-popular side of the church, liberalism in politics has long been extinct; and among the clerical oligarchy of the methodist body, it is dead or dying. These things are ominous; and we find the lesson progressively illustrated and confirmed by the struggles of the Secession.

We have accomplished our object, at least for the present, in tracing the rise of the SECESSION, and the consolidation of the cause, in the formation of a denominational body contending for the purity of evangelical doctrine against Pelagian and Arminian errors; and assuming clear and decided ground in the defence of popular rights. We have purposely waived going into detail on the doctrinal merits of the Secession controversy, important as those are, and have dwelt on the principles of religious liberty which this nonconformist struggle involved

—our object being to view the progress of the Secession movement in its character of a protest against high-church domination, and in its bearing both immediate and remote on the rights of conscience and the privileges of the Christian people.

That consequences were depending on the struggle which the fathers of the Secession did not distinctly foresee; and that principles were involved, which, in their native breadth and in their various bearings, these good men did not appreciate, is no more than was to be expected in their circumstances, or than may be acknowledged without disparagement to their memory.

The sequel of the Secession history is replete with interest, and conveys lessons which, though sometimes chequered, are richly instructive. Differing in the interpretation of an oath administered in certain burgh towns on the admission of burghesses, in which were expressions which some considered incompatible with Secession principles, the contention became so sharp that the synod, in 1747, divided into two bodies, each claiming to itself the name and powers of the Associate Synod. Both sections, however, remained true to the banner of the Secession; held fast the 'form of sound words;' and exerted themselves, not without success, to convey the gospel, for which they suffered, beyond the borders of their native land.

At a subsequent period, a discussion arose in both synods on the subject of the magistrate's power in religious matters. This question terminated in the separation from each synod of a portion of their number, who adhered to the stringent doctrine of the Westminster Confession, on the right and duty of the civil power 'to take order' in the christian church. This controversy at the time was regarded by the world of onlookers as an acrimonious, petty feud; whereas it was the agitation of great principles, the fruits of which in Scotland the Secession church is now reaping in those high and generous views of Christian liberty which the great body of seceders entertain and zealously contend for in the movements of the present day.

One of the happiest events in the modern history of the church was the reunion of the two leading bodies of seceders in 1820, under the designation of the United Secession Church, since which period the cause has advanced with accelerated speed. The congregations of the united body at the present date amount to nearly 400, comprising about 130,000 communicants, with a population computed at more than 260,000 souls. The missionary operations of the Secession extend to Canada and the West Indies; in the former field there is a missionary presbyterian synod in connection with the body; and in Jamaica and Trinidad there are nine missionaries, besides cate-

chists, under the inspection of the united synod. There is also a missionary minister settled in South Australia.

The part which of late years the United Secession Church has taken on the voluntary question is, we believe, not unknown to our readers. This branch of the subject would require a considerable chapter for itself, especially as connected with the rise, progress, and results of the controversy. In the meantime we forbear; although the details, we are persuaded, would be found of great and growing interest, should we by and by find leisure to resume the annals of THE SECESSION.

Art. VI.—*The Travels and Romantic Adventures of Monsieur Violet, among the Snake Indians and Wild Tribes of the Great Western Prairies.* Written by Captain Marryatt, C.B. Three Vols. 12mo. Longman and Co.

SINCE the renowned travels of 'Baron Munchausen,' we doubt whether anything so like them has appeared as the 'Travels and Romantic Adventures of Monsieur Violet.' His 'Adventures' are, indeed, well entitled to be so called.

We notice the book principally for the sake of protesting against the principle on which it is composed. History, travels, and novels, are all very well in their way; but we like to have them tolerably distinct. We like it to be evident to which of these classes of composition a book belongs; and do not approve of their being so jumbled together as at once to strip a work of the authenticity which should be impressed on the two first, and the inter-connexion of parts, which ought to characterise the last. It is more especially necessary that this distinctness of aim and object should be maintained in works which, like the present, may be expected to fall principally into the hands of the young. They should, at all events, know, when reading works which profess to be 'Travels,' and which gravely handle here and there matters historical, geographical, and political, whether they are reading fact or fiction.

No person of reflection can take up the present work, in spite of the solemnity of the preface, without coming to the conclusion, that whatever fragments of fact the worthy Captain may have gleaned from some types of his 'Monsieur Violet,' it is essentially a work of fiction, and is to be added—though violating all those laws of the *probable*, which ought to preside over such compositions—to the author's long list of novels. But the

young are not usually persons of reflection ; and as it is desirable in any case, so it is especially desirable in theirs, that the boundaries between true history and mere fiction should not be thus studiously obliterated.

On the supposition—which every grown-up man must arrive at—that this series of adventures is, in the main, fictitious, we must also protest against that unusually solemn assertion of their truth which is found in the writer's preface, as far passing the ordinary licence by which writers of fiction sometimes seek to give an air of authenticity to their tales. Those contrivances, long since exhausted, deceive no one, and are *intended* to deceive no one; and are, therefore, of little consequence. Mr. Jedediah Cleishbotham and Dr. Dryasdust are understood to be as much fictitious personages as any of those in the tales which they serve to preface. The bundle of old MSS. found in a neglected chest amongst other family papers, is perfectly well understood to be a nonentity ; and, indeed, it, and other similar claptraps, have been so often repeated, that they are now considered rather proofs of poverty, than of fertility, of invention. It is no wonder, therefore, if authors—resolved not to tell us that their tale is a tale—should strive to hit on some less hackneyed vouchers of authenticity. We cannot think, however, that this laudable desire should carry an author to such gravity of asseveration as is found in the following passages of Captain Marryatt's preface :—

'It is *unnecessary* to inform the reader in what manner I became acquainted with the party from whose notes and memoranda I have compiled these volumes. Of the *authenticity and correctness* of what he asserts, *I have myself no doubt*, as he has been with me during the whole time which it has taken me to write the work, and I have had full opportunity for explanation and correction. If the reader discovers an air of romance in this narrative, it must not be laid upon my shoulders. I have, as far possible, *softened down the tone of it* ; but romantic it certainly is, and must be, from its very nature. Some of the descriptions in the natural history of these countries *may surprise* ; but in unknown countries, unknown creatures must be expected to be met with. I can only say that the accounts of these have been submitted to the severest investigation, and that *I fully believe that they are correct*, not only on that account, but from the respectability of the party who has furnished me with the details.'

These passages indicate what Walter Scott, speaking of Defoe's grave assertions of the matter-of-fact truth of one of his inimitable fictions, calls,—'Ineffable powers of self-possession.'

Such language can be justified, even *artistically*, only where the verisimilitude of the narrative is so perfect as not to

make the assertions of the preface simply ridiculous. In latter respect, wide, indeed, is the interval between D 'Plague Year' and the 'Travels of Monsieur Violet.' D grave assumption of an historic air is maintained by the fertile invention and artful intertexture of the most natural probable incidents. Monsieur Violet's 'Romantic Adventures' are so extravagantly improbable, as to make the serious part absolutely ludicrous; as we have said, they can be compared nothing but the Travels of Baron Munchausen. It requires something more than a serious face for one moment in the face, to give veri-similitude to fiction. Mere hardihood 'ineffable self-possession' are sufficient for the one, but must be much more for the other.

Every epic poem, or historic novel, has, of course, its fact, and its superstructure of fiction; and no ill consequence is likely to come of this, where the reader clearly understands first, that it is a fiction which he is reading, and, secondly, are the limits between the historical and the fictitious in the case. Where the latter condition, indeed, is found, it is possible that a reader may, even as regards history, derive some advantages from reading well executed historic novel will, without being liable to be misled, obtain much more and impressive views of events known to be historic, than any history whatever. But the case is widely different, if the reader finds in the preface a declaration that the book is simply a narrative of facts, and yet, after seeing that the author himself gives the lie direct to such a supposition, finds that he gravely proffers information on various subjects, geographical, statistical, political, and historical, which may be true or not, which yet, from his necessary ignorance of the tribes and countries he tries in question, he cannot at all test, and as to which he can devise no method by which he may separate the residuum of truth from the monstrous mass of romance with which it is intermixed. And for these reasons we protest against such a proceeding as the present.

In any case, indeed, the work must be considered a failure, whether it be regarded as a genuine collection of 'traveller's tales,' or simply a romance, probability is equally violated. How differently would either a genuine historian, or a genuine novelist, (like Defoe, for example,) have introduced the work to the reader. 'It is unnecessary,' says Capt. Marryatt, 'to inform the reader in what manner I became acquainted with the party from whose notes and memoranda I have compiled these volumes.' Unnecessary! No. A man who was really writing the adventures of another at his dictation, or who, while he was a novelist, wished to *appear* to be writing history, would

thought such information most indispensable. A writer, like Swift or Defoe, would have given us a thousand ingenious incidents, and the minutest and most circumstantial details as to the when, the where, and the how, he became acquainted with his 'Monsieur Violet.'

The hero of the adventures—a Frenchman, and, we presume, a Gascon—is an equal violation of all probability. He is the son of a French gentleman, who having adhered to the unfortunate Charles the Tenth, accompanies him to Holyrood; and, having seen him located at Prague, where the exiled monarch finally took up his residence, set out on his travels with his young son, then about nine years of age, through Italy, Sicily, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land. On his return, he encounters in Italy an old friend, the Prince Seravalle, who had just returned from a long sojourn amongst the Shoshones or Snake Indians in California. The prince, who had, in earlier years, been unsuccessful in some political movements, persuades the French refugee, despairing of his country's fortunes and disgusted with European life, to accompany him back to the wilds of the far West, and take up his abode amongst the wigwams, scalps, and tomahawks of the 'noble,' and 'chivalrous' Shoshones.

At this part of his story, Captain Marryatt indulges in some very brutifying, not to say brutal encomiums on the superiority of savage life. He says, 'There was, perhaps, another feeling, even more powerful, which induced the Prince Seravalle to return to the Indians with whom he had lived so long,—I refer to the charms and attractions which a wild life offers to a man of civilization, more particularly when he has discovered how hollow and heartless we become under refinement.' He goes on—

'Not one Indian who has been brought up at school, and among the pleasures and luxuries of a great city, has ever wished to make his dwelling among the pale faces, while on the contrary many thousands of white men, from the highest to the lowest stations in civilization, have embraced the life of the savage, remaining with and dying among them, although they might have accumulated wealth and returned to their own country.'

That a life of wild adventure may for a time or even for a permanence, have great charms for an enterprising mind, if that mind has been but half developed, we can readily believe; but that a highly civilized man, with a really cultivated mind, can voluntarily 'embrace the life of a savage,' is quite another thing, and we do not believe it. That which would constitute the happiness even of the first-mentioned character would be the wild freedom—the constant activity—the robust

health—the strong physical enjoyment of such a life—no adoption of savage habits and customs. Much as such hunters may enjoy the boundless forest or prairie, we doubt they would enjoy them all the more if there were no savage hand. A civilized man may love the gigantic sports of the extreme west—the exciting charms of the buffalo hunt, without wishing to live in wigwams, or in the slightest degree assimilate his manners, habits, customs or opinions, to those of savages. Captain Marryatt has confounded two things—the love of the forest and the prairie, and the love of a savage life.

We never hear persons descanting on the superior savage life—its few wants—its simple pleasures, and so on, without thinking of Johnson's rebuke to one who was insistent on a similar doctrine. 'Sir,' said he, 'the doctrine is bad. A bull might as well say,—I have this meadow and this and what can existence require more?'

But he immediately proceeds to show practically the value of his own eulogies. Prince Seravalle, and his French friends, in spite of all their grotesque passion for a savage life, are exceedingly slow to strip themselves of civilization. They talk with them a somewhat copious and various assortment of elements of a highly artificial existence, at least for men, and contemplate a denizenship amongst savages. 'When poets talk of cottages,' says Cowper in one of his charming letters, 'when poets talk of cottages, hermitages, and such like things, they mean a house with six sashes in front, two comfortable parlours, a smart staircase, and three bed chambers of convenient dimensions.' In like manner, Captain Marryatt's Prince Seravalle, who is so enamoured of 'a savage life,' 'loaded his baggage with implements of agriculture, and various branches of domestic arts; procured some old pieces of artillery, a quantity of carabines from Liege, gunpowder, &c.; materials for building a good house, and a few articles of ornamental luxury.' This is pretty well for a 'savage life.' 'He had engaged masons, smiths and carpenters, and he was to be accompanied by some of his former tenants, who well understood cultivation of the olive tree and the vine.' Several additions were made to the cargo, by Monsieur Violet, and, among the rest, 'an extensive library,' two missionaries, and a school for the education of young Monsieur Violet; all which, in addition to indicating that civilized man may become eager 'to emigrate to the life of a savage,' proves that he is determined, if possible, to enjoy civilized life even amongst savages. In accordance with this, the prince endeavours to introduce the practice of agriculture, and other arts of civilized life amongst his 'noble' friends.

in other words, to reclaim them from savage life,—though with but indifferent success. This Captain Marryatt elsewhere represents as his aim, and with much more probability.

The education of Monsieur Violet, then little more than twelve years old, proceeds in the meantime most auspiciously, under the combined tuition of the priest and the savages, and he turns out a paragon both of civilized and barbarous accomplishments :

‘ We had brought a very extensive and well selected library with us, and under their [his tutors] care I soon became acquainted with the *arts and sciences* of civilization ; I studied *history generally*, and they also taught me Greek and Latin, and I was *soon* master of *many* of the modern languages. And as my studies were particularly devoted to the history of the ancient people of Asia, to enable me to understand their theories and follow up their favourite researches upon the origin of the great ruins in Western and Central America, the slight knowledge which I had gained at the Propaganda of Arabic and Sanscrit (!) was now daily increased.’

This is pretty well in a lad of sixteen.

By a series of *opportune* calamities—opportune for Monsieur Violet’s ‘romantic adventures’—the large company of pioneers of civilization or *dilettanti* savages, ‘(we know not which to call them,) is reduced to the prince, the two Frenchmen, and the tutor. Their vessel is wrecked with the larger part of their number on board—and the rest are summarily cut off in a land expedition : Prince Seravalle dies ; and some time after that, Monsieur Violet’s father, and then the hero’s ‘adventures’ properly commence. He becomes a *chief*, and is incessantly engaged in expeditions of hunting and war. One of his great projects is an attempt to combine the related tribes of Western America, the Shoshones, the Apaches, the Arrapahoes, the Comanches, (the three last represented to be off-shoots of the first,) in one grand confederacy. The Shoshones, he represents as by far the most intelligent, civilized, (if we may use the expression,) decent, and noble minded tribe of Indians on the great western continent. Unlike the eastern tribes they are, he says, open and magnanimous enemies—imitate not the cruel craft and cunning of their neighbours—do not torture their captives, and never take advantage of superiority of weapons ! He even invests them with the elements of ‘chivalrous’ usages, (which he thinks their founders might have brought with them from the Old World !) But of these matters, as well as of the disquisitions, historical and political, on the Texans, Mexicans, and Western States of the Union, we shall say nothing ; since, though written in a very sober style, the more romantic adventures of the book leave us utterly in doubt how far any such

matter is to be relied upon. It is evident, that, however the Indians may have taught Monsieur Violet, two out of the three ancient Persian accomplishments, namely, 'to ride a horse,' and to 'shoot with the bow,' (more especially the 'long bow,') they have not taught him the third—'always to speak the truth.' Or, rather, to leave the 'romantic' Monsieur Violet, and turn to the worthy Captain, it is so impossible to tell what substratum of truth there may be in the graver parts of the narrative, or from what sources he has obtained them, and how far he has drawn on imagination for them, that they must go for little or nothing. His accounts of the Western States, and of Yankee frauds, meannesses, and dishonesty, are of course much to the same purpose with the representations which are to be found in his tour of the States. But, though we are sufficiently impressed with a notion of the detestable selfishness, the ineffable vulgarity, the mean, tricky, heartless, cruel character of no small number in that three-parts barbarous, and one-part civilized portion of the world,—cursed with the refuse of more polished communities,—criminals who have fled from justice,—wretches, who have grafted all the vices of civilized man on those of the savage;—we know not how far we can trust the rapid generalizations of so prejudiced an observer as Captain Marryatt, especially, when accompanied by so 'romantic' an adventurer, as Monsieur Violet. We prefer, therefore, taking the reader into two or three of our modern Munchausen's 'romantic adventures.' They will at all events amuse them, and are often told with a graphic skill which one would have wished to see employed on more consistent and probable incidents. Monsieur Violet has the good luck to realize all the more 'romantic' adventures described in Cooper's, novels, especially, that of the panther scene in the 'Pioneers,' and that of the prairie fire in the 'Prairie,' as well as many more which a judicious novelist would not have ventured to depict, even in a professed fiction. We select two.

The first shall be Monsieur Violet's facile escape from a combination of slight accidents; to wit, *several* bites of a large rattlesnake, and a *coup de soleil*, all inflicted upon him on the same remarkable occasion. With Monsieur Violet, 'it never rains, but it pours:—

'While I was with the Comanches, waiting the return of the expedition, I had an accident which nearly cost me my life. Having learnt that there were many fine basses to be fished in a stream some twenty miles off, I started on horseback, with a view of passing the night there. I took with me a buffalo hide, a blanket, and a tin cup, and two hours before sunset I arrived at the spot.

'As the weather had been dry for some time, I could not find any worms, so I thought of killing some bird or other small animal, whose

flesh would answer for bait. Not falling in with any birds, I determined to seek for a rabbit or a frog. To save time, I lighted a fire, put my water to boil, spread my hide and blanket, arranged my saddle for a pillow, and then went in search of bait, and sassafras to make tea with.

'While looking for sassafras, I perceived a nest on a small oak near to the stream. I climbed to take the young ones, obtained two, which I put in my round jacket, and looked about me to see where I should jump on the ground. After much turning about, I suspended myself by the hands from a hanging branch, and allowed myself to drop down. My left foot fell flat, but under the soft sole of my right mocassin, I felt something alive, heaving or rolling. At a glance I perceived that my foot was on the body of a large rattlesnake, with his head just forcing itself from under my heel.

'Thus taken by surprise, I stood motionless, and with my heart throbbing. The reptile worked itself free, and twisting round my leg, almost in a second, bit me two or three times. The sharp pain which I felt from the fangs recalled me to consciousness, and, though I felt convinced that I was lost, I resolved that my destroyer should die also. With my bowie knife I cut its body into a hundred pieces; walked away very sad and gloomy, and sat on my blanket near the fire.

'How rapid and tumultuous were my thoughts! To die so young, and such a dog's death! My mind reverted to the happy scenes of my early youth, when I had a mother, and played so merrily among the golden grapes of sunny France, and, when later I wandered with my father in the Holy land, in Italy and Egypt. I also thought of the Shoshones, of Roche and Gabriel, and I sighed. It was a moral agony, for the physical pain had subsided, and my leg was almost numbed by paralysis.

'The sun went down, and the last carmine tinges of his departed glory, reminded me how soon my sun would set; then the big burning tears smothered me, for I was young, very young, and I could not command the courage and resignation to die such a horrible death. Had I been wounded in the field, leading my brave Shoshones, and halloing the war-whoop, I would have cared very little about it; but thus, like a dog! it was horrible! and I dropped my head on my knees, thinking how few hours I had now to live.

'I was awakened from that absorbing torpor, by my poor horse, who was busy licking my ears. The faithful animal suspected something was wrong, for, usually at such a time I would sing Spanish ditties, or some Indian war songs. Sunset was also the time when I brushed and patted him. The intelligent brute knew that I suffered, and in its own way, shewed me that it participated in my affliction. My water too was boiling on the fire, and the bubbling of the water seemed to be a voice raised on purpose to divert my gloomy thoughts. 'Aye, boil, bubble, evaporate,' exclaimed I, 'what do I care for water or tea now?'

'Scarcely had I finished these words, when turning suddenly my head

round, my attention was attracted by an object before me, and a gleam of hope irradiated my gloomy mind; close to my feet I beheld five or six stems of the rattle snake master-weed. I well knew the plant, but I had been incredulous as to its properties. Often had I heard the Indians speaking of its virtues, but I had never believed them. 'A drowning man will seize at a floating straw.' By a violent effort I got upon my legs, went to fetch my knife, which I had left near the dead snake, and I commenced digging for two or three of the roots with all the energy of despair.

'These roots I cut into small slices, and threw them into the boiling water. It soon produced a dark green decoction, which I swallowed, it was evidently a powerful alkali, strongly impregnated with the flavour of turpentine. I then cut my mocassin, for my foot was already swollen to twice its ordinary size, bathed the wounds with a few drops of the liquid, and chewing some of the slices I applied them as a poultice, and tied them on with my scarf and handkerchief. I then put some more water to boil, and, half an hour afterwards having drunk another pint of the bitter concoction, I drew my blanket over me. In a minute, or less, after the second draught, my brains whirled, and a strange dizziness overtook me, which was followed by a powerful perspiration, and soon afterwards all was blank.

'The next morning I was awakened by my horse again licking me, he wondered why I slept so late. I felt my head-ache dreadfully, and I perceived that the burning rays of the sun for the last two hours had been darting on my uncovered face.'

He sleeps again—

'And when I awoke this time, I felt myself a little invigorated, though my lips and tongue were quite parched. I remembered every thing; down my hand slid, I could not reach my ankle, so I put up my knee. I removed the scarf, and the poultice of master-weed. My handkerchief was full of a dry, green, glutinous matter, and the wounds looked clean. Joy gave me strength, I went to the stream, drank plentifully, and washed. I still felt very feverish; and, though I was safe from the immediate effect of the poison, I knew that I had yet to suffer. Grateful to heaven for my preservation, I saddled my faithful companion, and wrapping myself closely in my buffalo hide, I set off to the Comanche camp. My senses had left me before I arrived there; they found me on the ground and my horse standing by me.

'Fifteen days afterwards I awoke to consciousness, a weak and emaciated being. During this whole time I had been raving under a cerebral fever, death hovering over me. It appears that I had received a *coup de soleil*, in addition to my other mischances.'

But we must not omit, perhaps, the richest and most 'romantic' adventure of all—that of the prairie-fire, and the escape from the herds of flying buffaloes, and other animals, extending miles in length, and miles in breadth. The party escape being trodden to death by exploding a pint or two of whiskey, on

which the herd opens, and leaves a narrow line. As the explosion lasted but a moment, and the herd was *miles* in depth, it is fortunate that the 'line' never closed again. After the 'estampede' has passed, the five horsemen gallop for their lives from the fire, and finally all take a leap down a precipice, one hundred feet in perpendicular height, on the backs of the flying buffaloes, in *perfect safety*! Let Baron Munchausen hide his diminished head!

'At that moment the breeze freshened, and I heard the distant and muffled noise, which in the west announces either an earthquake, or an 'estampede' of herds of wild cattle and other animals. Our horses too were aware of some danger, for now they were positively mad, struggling to break their lassos and escape.

'Up,' I cried, 'up Gabriel, Roche, up, up strangers! quick! saddle your beasts! run for your lives, the prairie is on fire, and the buffaloes are on us.'

'They all started on their feet, but not a word was exchanged; each felt the danger of his position; speed was our only resource, if it was not already too late. In a minute our horses were saddled; in another we were madly galloping across the prairie, the bridles upon the necks of our steeds, allowing them to follow their instinct. Such had been our hurry, that all our blankets were left behind, except that of Gabriel; the lawyers had never thought of their saddlebags, and the parson had forgotten his holsters and his rifle.

'For an hour we dashed on with undiminished speed, when we felt the earth trembling behind us; and soon afterwards, the distant bellowing, mixed up with the roaring and sharper cries of other animals, was borne down into our ears. The atmosphere grew oppressive and heavy, while the flames, swifter than the wind, appeared raging upon the horizon. The fleetest game of all kinds now shot past us like arrows; deer were bounding over the ground, in company with wolves and panthers; droves of elks and antelopes passed swifter than a dream; then a solitary horse, or a huge buffalo-bull. From our intense anxiety, though our horses strained every nerve, we almost appeared to stand.

'The atmosphere rapidly became more dense, the heat more oppressive, the roars sounded louder and louder in our ears; now and then they were mingled with terrific howls, and shrill sounds so unearthly, that even our horses would stop their mad career and tremble, as if they considered them supernatural; but it was only for a second, and they dashed on.

'A noble stag passed close to us; his strength was exhausted; three minutes afterwards we passed him dead. But soon with the rushing voice of a whirlwind, the mass of heavier and less speedy animals closed upon us; buffaloes and wild-horses all mixed together, an immense dark body, miles in front, miles in depth; on they came, trampling and dashing through every obstacle. This phalanx was but two miles from us; our horses were nearly exhausted; we gave

ourselves up for lost ; a few minutes more, and we should be crushed to atoms.

‘ At that moment the sonorous voice of Gabriel was heard firm and imperative : he had long been accustomed to danger, and now he faced it with his indomitable energy, as if such scenes were his proper element. ‘ Down from your horses,’ cried he ; ‘ let two of you keep them steady. Strip off your shirts, linen, anything that will catch fire : quick ! not a minute is to be lost ! ’ Saying this, he ignited some tinder in the pan of his pistol, and was soon busy in making a fire with all the clothes we now threw to him. Then we tore up withered grass and buffalo-dung, and dashed them on the heap.

‘ Before three minutes had passed, our fire burned fiercely. On came the terrified mass of animals, and perceiving the flame of our fire before them, they roared with rage and terror ; yet they turned not, as we had hoped : on they came, and already we could distinguish their horns, their feet, and the white foam ; our fuel was burning out ; the flames were lowering ; the parson gave a scream, and fainted. On came the maddened myriads, nearer and nearer ; I could see their wild eyes glaring ; they wheeled not, they opened not a passage, but came on like messengers of death, nearer, nearer, nearer still. My brain reeled, my eyes grew dim ; it was horrible, most horrible ! I dashed down, with my face covered, to meet my fate.

‘ At that moment I heard an explosion, then a roar, as if proceeding from ten millions of buffalo-bulls : so stunning, so stupifying, was the sound from the mass of animals not twenty yards from us. Each moment I expected the hoofs which were to trample us to atoms, and yet death came not ; I only heard the rushing as of a mighty wind, and the trembling of the earth. I raised my head and looked.

‘ Gabriel, at the critical moment, had poured some whisky on the flames ; the leathern bottle had exploded with a blaze like lightning ; and, at the expense of thousands crushed to death, the animals had swerved from contact with the fierce blue column of fire which had been created. Before and behind, all around us, we could see nothing but the shaggy wool of the huge monsters ; not a crevice was to be seen in the flying masses, but the narrow line which had been opened to avoid our fire.

‘ In this dangerous position we remained for one hour, our lives depending upon the animals not closing the line. But Providence watched over us ; and after what had appeared an eternity of intense suspense, the columns became thinner, until we found ourselves only encircled with the weaker and more exhausted animals, which brought up the rear. Our first danger was over, but we had still to escape from one as imminent : the pursuing flame, now so much closer to us. The whole prairie behind us was on fire ; and the roaring element was gaining on us with a frightful speed. Once more we sprung upon our saddles, and the horses, with recovered

wind, and with strength ten-fold increased with their fear, soon brought us to the rear of the buffaloes.

'It was an awful sight! A sea of fire roaring in its fury, with its heaving waves, and unearthly hisses, approaching nearer and nearer, rushing on swifter than the sharp morning breeze. Had we not just escaped so unexpectedly a danger almost as terrible, we should have despaired, and left an apparently useless struggle for our lives.

'Away we dashed, over hills and down declivities, for now the ground had become more broken. The fire was gaining fast upon us, when we perceived that a mile a-head, the immense herds before us had entered a deep broad chasm, into which they dashed, thousands upon thousands tumbling headlong into the abyss; but now the fire, rushing quicker, blazing fiercer than before, as if determined not to lose its prey, curled its waves above our heads, smothering us with its heat and lurid smoke.

'A few seconds more we spurred in agony: speed was life; the chasm was to be our preservation or our tomb. Down we darted, actually borne upon the backs of the descending mass, and landed without sense or motion, more than a hundred feet below. As soon as we recovered from the shock, we found that we had been most mercifully preserved: strange to say, neither horse nor rider had received any serious injury. We heard above our heads the hissing and cracking of the fire; we contemplated with awe the flames, which were roaring along the edge of the precipice,—now rising, now lowering, just as if they would leap over the space, and annihilate all life in these western solitudes.

'We were preserved: our fall had been broken by the animals, who had taken the leap a second before us, and by the thousands of bodies which were heaped up as a hecatomb, and received us, as a cushion, below. With difficulty we extricated ourselves and horses, and descending the mass of carcases, we at last succeeded in reaching a few acres of clear ground. It was elevated a few feet above the water of the torrent, which ran through the ravine, and offered to our broken-down horses a magnificent pasture of sweet blue grass: but the poor things were too terrified and exhausted, and they stretched themselves down upon the ground, a painful spectacle of utter helplessness.

'We perceived that the crowds of flying animals had succeeded in finding, some way further down, an ascent to the opposite prairie; and as the earth and rocks still trembled, we knew that the 'estampede' had not ceased, and that the millions of fugitives had resumed their mad career. Indeed, there was still danger, for the wind was high, and carried before it large sheets of flame to the opposite side, where the dried grass and bushes soon became ignited, and the destructive element thus passed the chasm, and continued its pursuit.

'We congratulated ourselves upon having thus found security, and returned thanks to heaven for our wonderful escape; and as we were now safe from immediate danger, we lighted a fire, and feasted upon a calf, every bone of which we found had been broken into splinters.'

Monsieur Violet, not satisfied with such a very ordinary fact as *five* people on horseback leaping harmlessly down a precipice a hundred feet in depth, on the backs of a herd of flying buffaloes, adds the following note, in which he tells us that the precipice was, in fact, three hundred feet high, but that it was filled up to the height of almost two hundred feet by the crowds of buffaloes who had previously taken the leap, but who, it seems, did not all understand the art of escaping on the backs of one another.

‘I have said, at a venture, that we descended more than a hundred feet into the chasm, before we fairly landed on the bodies of the animals. The chasm itself could not have been less than from 250 to 300 feet deep at the part we plunged down. This will give the reader some idea of the vast quantities of bodies of animals, chiefly buffaloes, which were there piled up. I consider that this pile must have been formed wholly from the foremost of the mass, and that when formed, it broke the fall of the others who followed them, as it did our own; indeed, the summit of the heap was pounded into a sort of jelly.’

Upon the whole, it will be seen that we do not think very highly of this effort of Captain Marryatt's pen. Our objections extend to the general conception and plan of the whole book. There is, as our extracts will show, some powerful description occasionally interspersed; but more than this is necessary, both in history and fiction. We have read several of Captain Marryatt's tales with much pleasure and some instruction: we would advise him to stick to the direct form of novel or romance, and to renounce what Monsieur Violet would call ‘half breeds.’ If he would also spend a little more time on the construction of his plots, and the invention of his characters and incidents, as well as on *style*, it would be all the better for his fame. We are convinced that he might take far higher rank as a novel writer than he has yet done, by submitting to the care and elaboration which have distinguished all *really first-rate writers* of fiction. But the same curse seems to lie on almost all the novelists of the present day: the *cacoethes scribendi* has infected them all. They pour out their multitudinous volumes with such haste, that they have no time for maturing their plan, or for the correction and revision of their style. The allotted three volumes must be filled, and the sooner the better. A superfluous word, phrase, or sentence is too precious to be wasted; and hence the style is loaded with heavy commonplaces and mere verbiage. In nothing so much as in modern novels, do we see the force of old Hesiod's paradoxical maxim: ‘That the half is better than the whole.’ To the same causes we must attribute the frequent vulgarisms and

solecisms which abound in these writers; and not least in Captain Marryatt. We are surprised that his practice as a writer, and his intercourse with good society, have not long since served to correct them. Thus, in the present work, we observe that extreme vulgarism, 'laid' for 'lay,' occurring twice in the same page (p. 186, vol. iii.) Why does he not purify his style from such debasements?

Art. VII.—*The Existence of Evil Spirits proved; and their Agency, particularly in relation to the Human Race, explained and illustrated.* By Walter Scott. Second Edition. London: 12mo., pp. 474.

It will readily be admitted by all our readers, that impartiality is one of the first duties of a reviewer. But obvious as this is, it is not an easy matter for a public journalist to preserve strict impartiality, for independently of private feelings and personal considerations, he is always under temptation to bestow undue praise on works written by his own party, and undue censure on the compositions of his opponents. Such a course is, however, productive of immense mischief to literature, and must destroy all confidence in criticism. The indiscriminate praise which used to be given by some of the literary organs of nonconformity to all the works of nonconformists, bore its natural fruits: the encomiums so lavishly bestowed soon lost all value, and great injustice was in consequence often done to compositions of real merit. We have, therefore, acted upon the principle of censuring where censure was deserved, as well as of praising where praise was due, irrespective of the party to which the writer might belong, feeling assured that we were thereby promoting the cause of literature in general, and in the dissenting body in particular. For acting in this manner, and for daring to blame where blame was merited, we have more than once been exposed to obloquy and calumny; and attempts have been made to injure the circulation of our Review; but such attempts have always failed, for the public has appreciated the integrity of our conduct, and steadily continued to us their support.

Acting upon these principles, we considered it our duty in reviewing the first edition of Mr. Scott's work on 'The Existence of Evil Spirits' in our July number of last year, to point out the very serious deficiencies of the book in classical scholarship. This we did with great reluctance, and in as brief a manner as possible (our remarks upon the subject did not exceed a page);

but we felt that justice to the public, to ourselves, and to the literary reputation of the dissenting body, would not allow us to pass over the matter in entire silence. The nature of the case particularly called for the expression of our opinion. The work was not simply the publication of a private individual upon an interesting and difficult subject in theology, in which ignorance in some particulars might be looked upon with indulgence, but it formed one of the Series of the Congregational Lectures, which are intended to foster a spirit of learning among us, and which are, to quote the words of the committee of the Congregational Library, 'to partake rather of the character of academic prelections than of popular addresses.' Bearing these circumstances in mind, and jealous for the literary honour of our body, which was to some extent compromised by the unscholarlike character of the work, we called attention to its failings in this respect, and respectfully counselled a severe revision of the volume in the matters we alluded to. Instead, however, of following our recommendation, Mr. Scott has carefully retained his old errors, and has devoted the preface of his second edition to an elaborate reply to our strictures. We would willingly have left the subject as it stands at present, feeling sure that the justice of our criticisms would be admitted by all scholars, if we said nothing more; but, as Mr. Scott imputes to us base and unworthy motives in the discharge of our public duty; intimates, with an obvious reference to ourselves, 'that reviewers have not unfrequently condemned at first, when afterwards they have been glad, for their own credit's sake, to praise,' and broadly asserts that we 'evidently condemned *con amore*, and were glad of an opportunity of showing, by doing so, our supposed critical judgment and extensive information,' we consider it due to ourselves, fully convinced as we are of the justice of our criticisms, to make a few remarks upon his reply, lest he should construe silence into an admission of the validity of his statements. At the same time it is with extreme regret that we feel called upon to say any thing which may prove injurious to the literary reputation of Mr. Scott, but he has challenged investigation and criticism, and has only himself to blame if such investigation and criticism prove unfavourable to him.

The general complaint which we made respecting the scholarship of the book was as follows:—'His (Mr. Scott's) information is obviously derived from secondary sources, and is, in consequence, unsatisfactory and meagre; his scholarship is far from being rigidly accurate, and the principles of historical criticism are, to say the least, disregarded. Our evidence in proof of these statements must necessarily be brief:—and we then pro-

ceeded to mention a few facts in confirmation of our opinion. Before, however, entering upon this part of the subject, we must say a few words respecting a general complaint which Mr. Scott makes as to our remarks. He evidently regards them as hypercritical, and seems to consider that attention to such minor points as we noticed, savours of pedantry rather than of learning. But we beg to assure Mr. Scott, that these points, however insignificant they may appear to him, are not so in reality; and that it is the neglect of such matters, rather than the commission of serious mistakes, which betrays want of scholarship. We do not complain that Mr. Scott has made mistakes; the most accomplished scholar is liable to do that; but we complain, and we think with justice, that Mr. Scott has on all points connected with Greek and Roman history and antiquities displayed an ignorance of the writings of modern scholars, of which a boy in the upper forms of a public school would be ashamed. The number of positive blunders in the work is probably not very great; but every page in the lecture, which treats of the subject of ancient oracles, clearly shows, not simply that the information is derived from secondary sources, but that these sources are antiquated works, which have long ceased to be of any authority, and that the author is far behind the scholarship of the day, and ignorant of the labours and researches of modern philologists and antiquarians. This judgment, though severe and painful for us to record, will be confirmed, we are sure, by every competent scholar who will take the trouble to read the latter half of Mr. Scott's fourth lecture.

As some of our readers may probably not have by them the July number of our Review for the year 1844, we subjoin the proofs we adduced, in confirmation of the truth of our statements:—

'1. In Appendix I., Mr. Scott says,—'It does not come within the plan of these lectures to give a history of oracles. A brief view of some of the chief of them, abridged from Rollin, must suffice.' One would hardly have imagined that Rollin would be referred to as an authority in one of the learned works of the congregational body. He was a worthy, excellent man, but in the present day is of *no value whatever* as a historian. The abridgment, too, is meagre, occupying but one page. Only four oracles are mentioned, and the general impression left on the learned reader is most unsatisfactory, whether regard be had to the complete exhibition of the subject, or to the literary reputation of the dissenting body.

'2. In the chapter on ancient oracles, Mr. Scott speaks of the oracle of Delphos, instead of Delphi, an inaccuracy which we should have attributed to mere oversight, had it not been uniformly committed.

'3. He maintains, in our opinion justly, that the ancient oracles were not given by Satanic agency, but remarks, page 312, 'The famous story which occurs in the history of Croesus, presents, it must be owned, considerable difficulties,' and then proceeds, like the rationalists of Germany, to account for it by supposing that the priests had some of the king's servants in their pay, &c. A modern writer should have asked himself the prior question, What is the authority for the truth of the story? The fact of the case is, that it was first told by Herodotus, who wrote about a hundred years after the alleged event. It was clearly a floating story which Herodotus heard in the course of his travels, which may have been originally based on *some* fact, but which certainly should not be regarded as an historical event.'

In reply to our first observation, Mr. Scott remarks, that we have misrepresented him. 'The Abridgment,' he alleges, 'occupies one page of small print, in the appendix; and the account of the oracle at Delphos fills more than another page in the text; and nearly two pages more are appropriated to a detail of the way in which the oracle of Trophonius was consulted; so that there are four pages, instead of but one; and at least five oracles are briefly described.' He then proceeds to use some very hard language, and makes merry at 'the great mistake, the gross blunder,' of 'the accurate investigator of ancient facts,' 'the accurate reviewer,' &c. If we had misrepresented Mr. Scott, it would certainly have been contrary to our intention, and we should unhesitatingly have apologised for our mistake; but we have not done so; and Mr. Scott's reply is nothing to the point. We were speaking of the Appendix I., and of that only; and we stated that the Abridgment of Rollin in that Appendix occupied but one page; and *such is the fact*, as any one may see, by referring to the book. Surely none of our readers will think that we ought to have added that it occupied one page of *small print*, but this omission seems to Mr. Scott to have been a very grave one. We readily admit that the oracle at Delphi, and that of Trophonius, are mentioned in the text of the work; but we were dealing at that time with the Appendix, which was expressly intended to give a brief view of the most important of the ancient oracles; and we complained that this Abridgment occupied only a page. But this matter is of no particular consequence. Mr. Scott, aware, we suppose, of the meagreness of his account, declares that it was no part of his object to give a history of oracles, and that he was repeatedly urged by the committee of the Congregational Library to confine his work within a specified number of pages. Granting this, though five or six pages would not have materially increased the size of the book, we ask why did he give an account at all of ancient oracles, if it

formed no part of his object? It would certainly have been infinitely better to have omitted the subject altogether, than to have given such a meagre and superficial account, which is a perfect di grace to the Congregational Lecture and to the literary reputation of the dissenting body. And why was Rollin referred to as an authority? As an authority, Rollin—as we have already remarked—is of no value whatever, and that Mr. Scott considers him to be one, and justifies his appeal to him, is only another proof that he is far behind the scholarship of the day. We can assure Mr. Scott, that the opinion we have pronounced upon Rollin is ‘something more than the mere dictum of the reviewer.’ it is now the universal judgment of every scholar, and it would therefore be really a waste of time and an insult to our readers to dwell longer upon this part of the subject. If Mr. Scott wishes to see the different manner in which the subject of oracles is treated of by Rollin and by modern scholars, we would refer him to the article ‘Orakel,’ by Klausen, in Ersch and Gruber’s ‘Encyclopädie;’ to Wachsmuth’s ‘Hellenische Alterthumskunde;’ Limburg Brouwer’s ‘Histoire de la Civilisation Morale et Religieuse des Grecs;’ and to the works of Hüllmann and Götte on the Delphic Oracle; and after reading these, we do not think that he will have any occasion to ask us, ‘to point out any substantial, important difference between Rollin and the most critical historians.’

In reply to our second charge—the use of *Delphos* instead of *Delphi*—Mr. Scott pleads, first, usage; secondly, the modern name of the town; and thirdly, adduces a very curious philological argument. First, as to usage, he quotes Milton and Prideaux as authorities for the use of *Delphos*; but if Mr. Scott relies upon usage, he should recollect that it is not the usage of writers of one or two hundred years ago that determines the mode in which a word should be written, but the usage of the best writers of our own time. There was, in the age of Milton, a tendency to Anglicise all Greek and Roman names, and a considerable laxity and carelessness in the various ways in which it was done. The fact that Mr. Scott appeals to these writers is—we are sorry to have to repeat it—a still further proof of his ignorance of the writings of modern scholars. The practise of writing *Delphi* has long since been adopted by all scholars, and we defy Mr. Scott to point out a single instance in which the form *Delphos* occurs in any modern writer, *who ranks as a scholar among scholars*. In vain will he search for it in the works of Arnold, Clinton, and Thirlwall, in the English translations of Niebuhr, Müller, and Böckh, or in any of our standard classical works. In fact, so universal is the use of the form *Delphi*, that in some of our public schools a boy

would run the risk of a flogging who wrote *Delphos* in an English theme.

As to the second plea, that *Delphos* is one of the modern names of the town, we can find no authority for the statement. *Kastri* is the modern name of the town; and even if the form *Delphos* were used, it would not much improve Mr. Scott's cause.

The third argument which Mr. Scott brings forward in favour of *Delphos*, is such a curious specimen of philological reasoning, that we must give our readers the benefit of it in the lecturer's own words:—

'In addition to all this, it may just be mentioned, that whenever the Greeks and Latins [Romans] used the name of the town after a preposition governing the accusative, the former always wrote *Δελφους*, and the latter *Delphos*. Now, in the lectures, it always follows a preposition which governs the accusative, as far as we have any accusative in English; and this is almost always the case when the word occurs in our language. So far, then, *Delphos* seems better than *Delphi*. The Latins [Romans]—and the word is derived from the Greek through the medium of Latin—would always write *Delphos* in a similar construction. It is granted that the general usage is to write the *nominative* of Greek and Latin names even when, in English, they come after prepositions which govern the accusative of pronouns. Thus we should say, *of*, or *to* *Trophonius*, and not *Trophonion* or *Trophonium*. Still if the contrary usage had prevailed, it may be questioned whether it would not have been more accurate. This is merely mentioned, without much importance being attached to it. For all these reasons the lecturer decidedly prefers *Delphos*, and, therefore, retains it in this edition.'

It is true Mr. Scott remarks that he does not attach much importance to this argument, but of course the mere fact of his mentioning it, proves that he considers it as some justification of the use of the form *Delphos*. We are really sorry that he should have committed himself in such a manner. To answer the argument would be almost absurd. On this principle '*Scipio conquered Hannibal at Zama*,' would be written, '*Scipio conquered Hannibalem at Zamam*,' '*the Persians burnt Athens in Attica*,' would be transmogrified into '*the Persians burnt Athenas in Atticam*;' and '*Tarquin was expelled from Rome by Brutus*,' would come out under the extraordinary form of '*Tarquin was expelled from Romam by Brutum*;' if, at least, we are to construct all these prepositions with the accusative case, according to Mr. Scott's extraordinary theory. Absurdity could not well be carried to a greater pitch.

Mr. Scott's answer to our third objection is singularly weak, and proves his ignorance of the principles of historical criticism. He argues 'that Herodotus had as good an opportunity, a hun-

dred years after the alleged event, of ascertaining its truth, as we can have after the lapse of more than two thousand years,' and he therefore supposes 'that the story was substantially true.' This argument is exactly the same as was brought against Niebuhr, and those who impugned the credibility of early Roman history: Livy had as good opportunities for ascertaining the truth of the history he records, as you who live eighteen hundred years later, and why are we to believe you rather than him? The answer is obvious; both Herodotus and Livy had the means, but they never exercised it; the principles of historical criticism were, in general, little known in antiquity; and, Herodotus, in particular, contented himself with faithfully recording what he was told, without investigating the truth or falsehood of the story. In the early period of the history of the world in which Herodotus lived, when there were few means for recording events, and books were almost unknown to the great mass of the Hellenic world, marvellous tales would easily acquire credence and currency among a people of an excitable and imaginative temperament. If any one wishes to see the way in which history may be perverted into fable, almost before the generation which witnessed the events has died away, he has a striking example in the manner in which Napoleon's expedition into Egypt is narrated by the Arabs of the present day. What we complained of, and do still complain of is, that Mr. Scott should have made such a tale in Herodotus the basis of a grave historical argument.

It would not be difficult to bring forward many other instances of Mr. Scott's incompetency for that part of his subject which requires an acquaintance with the labours of modern scholars. We might also point out many instances of inaccuracy; but we forbear. We have wished rather to vindicate our own criticisms, than to attack Mr. Scott; and we have said enough for the former purpose. A writer, who gravely refers to Rollin as an authority, deliberately writes Delphos instead of Delphi, reasons gravely upon one of the marvellous tales of Herodotus; and, when these errors are pointed out to him, fiercely assails his critic and accuses him of being actuated by base and unworthy motives, has already passed judgment upon himself. We could add nothing to injure him, so much as he has injured himself.

One word in conclusion upon another point. As we found fault with Mr. Scott's classical scholarship, he has in retaliation attacked our English. He remarks upon our observation:— 'his information was unsatisfactory and meagre;' that 'rigidly accurate *English scholarship* would have led the reviewer to write 'meagre and unsatisfactory.' Information is unsatisfactory because it is meagre,—the cause should precede the effect.'

We cannot compliment Mr. Scott upon his critical skill. conjunction *and* does not necessarily indicate that two are related in the nature of cause and effect: it is not so in the present case, and we purposely wrote 'unsatisfactory and meagre' because we had, unfortunately, many reasons for dissatisfaction with his information besides its meagreness; the first expression was a general complaint; the second a more specific one. The phraseology of our expression, 'One would hardly have imagined that Rollin would have been referred to as an authority which displeases Mr. Scott. 'Rigidly accurate and elegant English scholarship' he says, 'would have led the critic to write, "reference would have been made to Rollin."' Our readers may compare the two expressions before them; they can determine which is better. Ours, we believe, to be more idiomatic, and more in accordance with the best writers of the English language. Mr. Scott belongs, we presume, to that class of English grammarians who tell us that the preposition should never come at the end of a sentence. The expression of Julius Charles Hare, 'The school I was at,' would doubtless be condemned by Mr. Scott, and we should be told that rigidly accurate and elegant English scholarship, would have led him to write, 'the first school which I was at;' or, probably, on the principle that a sentence should not end with the verb to be, 'the first school at which I was placed.' We are afraid that Mr. Scott's English scholarship needs a little revision as well as his classical.

In conclusion, we beg to assure Mr. Scott, that we are actuated by no personal feelings against him in the observations we have felt it our duty to make. He has necessitated the remarks we have reluctantly offered, and we confidently leave it to our readers to decide between us. We believe that he possesses an amount of biblical and theological knowledge, which would enable him to render eminent service to the church; and we deeply regret that he should have selected a subject, which exhibited his deficiencies rather than his attainments.

Art. VIII. *Minutes of the Conference of Protestant Dissenters, Crosby Hall, London, on the 20th and 21st of May.*

2. *Debate on the third reading of the Maynooth Endowment Bill. 'Times,' May the 20th, 21st, and 22nd.*

THE Maynooth Endowment Bill continues to agitate the country. It is the one subject about which a large portion of the people think and talk. It has awakened deeper feelings, and led to more ominous trains of thought, and is clearly do-

to work a greater change in the convictions and public course of the more reflecting portion of the community, than any other event which has happened for many years. The excitement it has engendered is not ephemeral. It is not a passing tempest, which will speedily leave the heavens unclouded and serene, but is fraught with the elements of change in the sentiments and institutions of society. One great benefit resulting from it is already beginning to appear. It is testing men's spirits and principles, is separating the discordant materials of which various bodies are composed, and rendering obvious who are the intelligent and consistent expounders of those primary laws on which the constitution and government of the church of Christ are based. Union is, undoubtedly a good, but it must be real, and not apparent, the thing itself, and not the mere semblance and affectation. Where this veritable oneness is wanting, the appearance of union is positively pernicious, deluding good men, and allowing bad ones the best opportunity they could desire of carrying on their schemes. Sagacious men see through the cheat, and pity the folly or despise the want of principle, which leads to it. Next, therefore, to the accomplishment of that union for which christianity leads us to hope, we place, the detection of its absence; the clear and forcible exhibition of the fact that it does not exist, and that the materials essential to it are not yet in being. This is absolutely needful as preliminary to the thing itself, and will sweep away many fallacies which weaken and impede the truth.

With these views we cannot but rejoice in the process which is going on, and anticipate from it a result which, whatever sacrifices and struggles may be involved, will be replete with the largest benefits to mankind. Our readers are aware that we have never affected to belong to the moderate class. Even in days when this sort of thing was more fashionable than it is at present, we eschewed it, regarding it as the mark of feeble-mindedness, a proof of partial information, or an act of treachery to the truth. We may have been wise or foolish in this, but no other course was open to us. Our sense of duty, the deep impression we had of the enormous wrong done to religion, left us no alternative but to protest in the most practical form possible, or to lose our self-respect. We have no notion of believing a system to be dishonouring to God, and full of peril to the souls of men, and yet to refrain from denouncing it as the opprobrium and curse of Christendom. Such has been our conviction, and our course as public journalists has been in keeping with it. The times which are passing over us, are compelling men to take up their ground on one or the other of the two extreme sides. The necessity for decision is daily becoming more apparent, and the

medium men are, in consequence, passing to the right or to the left ; to find their refuge within the precincts of the hierarchy, or to become the zealous advocates of aggressive nonconformity. Several have adopted the former alternative : and whatever a short-sighted and timid policy may allege, we rejoice in their decision, and confidently abide the issue of the struggle. The present crisis is favourable to this separation, by bringing out distinctly the complexion and tendency of our principles. It has been too much the habit to refer to these in vague and general terms, which have utterly failed to leave on the popular mind an adequate impression of the light in which we regard the state-church system of our country. But the discussions now afloat are correcting much of this, and we may safely leave it to the common sense of our countrymen to determine, who are the most consistent and faithful expounders of nonconformist principles. The simple and broad ground of opposition, taken up by most of the dissenting body, is intelligible to all ; while the uncertain sounds which some few are disposed to utter, awaken mistrust, and, in popular judgment, are referrible to selfishness or to the bitterness of theological strife.

The opposition waged against the Maynooth College Bill, on the ground of its being an endowment of popery, is a virtual surrender of our anti-state-church principles, and involves our whole procedure in distrust and misconception. We have never been backward in expressing our unqualified disapproval of popery, and in counselling the nonconformist ministry to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with its dogmas and history. On all suitable occasions, we shall be at our post to reiterate such counsels ; for we have no truce with error, whether religious or ecclesiastical. But we have now to do with political men. Our duty is to resist a measure in the Commons' House, and consistency requires that we should abstain from any course which, even by implication, admits the competency of our rulers to judge between truth and error in matters of religion. We are as opposed to their dealing with the former as with the latter ; and should, therefore, restrict ourselves to a direct and earnest protest against their tampering with religion at all.

The course of events, since we last addressed our readers, has been much as we anticipated. The ministry has persisted in its measure, the constituencies have been in communication with their members, and in many cases have given them notice to quit ; the feeling of the country is deepening, and becoming more practical ; in some parts the initiative has been taken towards the formation of electoral committees, with a view of securing the future representation, in the Commons' House, of the principles and feelings of British dissenterism. Two conferences have been held in London, one convened by the Central

Anti-Maynooth committee, and the other by a committee of dissenters, appointed at a public meeting held in Salters' Hall Chapel, London, on the 2nd of May. Of the former of these conferences, it does not consist with our present object to say more, than that it was composed of a large number of delegates from four hundred and eleven places, and was characterized by an earnest feeling of opposition to the pending measure. The ground taken, was much too narrow to realize the views, or to do justice to the principles of the dissenting members of the assembly; and, it was in consequence felt to be incumbent on them to convene another conference, in which, the freest and fullest expression might be given to the views on which the opponents of state churches resist the ministerial measure. The summons to this latter conference, was not issued till the 6th of May, and, though it came subsequently to the other, and did not assemble till after the third reading had commenced, nearly eight hundred delegates met at Crosby Hall, on the 20th. Such an assembly, convened under such circumstances, was a remarkable and unprecedented indication, of deep practical earnestness, which our legislators may well regard as a significant sign of the times.

The spirit of the assembly was equal to the zeal by which it had been constituted. There was perfect freedom both of speech and action. Men said whatever they thought, and proposed amendments or recommended the withdrawal of resolutions, as their judgments dictated. No force was put on the expression of opinion. All were invited to speak freely, and the differences which were elicited bespoke their acceptance of the invitation. The best possible temper was preserved throughout; indeed we have never seen this equalled, save in the Anti-State Church Conference of last year. All were intent on the work for which they came together, and were too earnest and too single-minded in its pursuit to have time or energy for other things. We augur much from this. It is full of meaning. It characterizes the men of the movement, and betokens the depth and religious temper of their convictions.

The first resolution adopted was expressive of the principles on which the parties represented in the conference base their opposition to the Maynooth Endowment Bill. It was at once definite and comprehensive, susceptible of one interpretation only, and accurately guarded against a misconception to which the principle embodied might possibly have been otherwise exposed. Regarding it as a manifesto of dissenting principle, the attentive perusal of which can scarcely fail to disabuse even men as prejudiced as Mr. Shiel, we transfer it to our pages as worthy of permanent record.

' Resolved,—That this Conference view, with serious apprehension and unqualified disapproval, the bill for the permanent endowment of Maynooth College, recently submitted to parliament by Majesty's government, and now proposed for a third reading in House of Commons; that, differing widely, as they are well known to do, in religious faith and worship from those of their fellow-jects whom this measure is professedly framed to conciliate, attaching to such difference the highest importance, they feel it more incumbent upon them to declare that they would not, on account, withhold from others a single advantage which they can justly claim or accept for themselves at the hands of the Imperial Legislature: that, looking to the circumstances which obviously suggested the bill, and to the avowed opinion of many of its warm supporters, they are compelled to regard it as a cautious but deliberate approach towards the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland: that, in their judgment, the alliance of the power with any form or forms of religion, and, as the fruit of alliance, the support, by compulsory exactions, of religious teachers of any denomination, are dangerous to the liberty of the subject, subversive of the rights of conscience, prejudicial to the cause of Christianity, and offensive to God: that, under this conviction, record their solemn protest against the Protestant Church Establishments already existing in these realms, as well as against every use of public money for ecclesiastical purposes; and that, seeing in the Maynooth Endowment Bill a further extension of a principle the embodiment of which they hold to be detrimental to the best interests of the empire, they pledge themselves to make every legitimate effort to prevent its being passed into a law.'

This resolution was subsequently embodied in a petition, having received, in the morning sitting of the conference, the signatures of 538 ministers and delegates, was presented to House of Commons by Mr. Bright, on the evening of the same day. Subsequent resolutions committed the conference to the practical application of the principles thus enunciated. It is well known that the energies of dissenters have, till recently, been directed to the redress of practical grievances. They have contended against the church system in detail, endeavouring in some cases to conceal, and uniformly shrinking from enforcement of their radical principle. On the propriety of such a course, there was much difference of opinion throughout the country, but the majority of our leaders approved it, and it was therefore pursued. Hence, arose dissatisfaction and misunderstanding. The more earnest, and, as we think, more enlightened men, had special respect to the religious obligations of their position, and protested against it, and their labours have at length had effected an entire and healthful change. Against the practical grievance-policy, we formerly protested as unworthy of our

tion, and utterly inadequate to the claims of duty. Its failure soon became manifest. The few triumphs it achieved, were followed by successive and mortifying defeats, which gradually wrought out the conviction, that a higher and less selfish course must be adopted, that our measures must be laid deeper, must have reference to great principles, and be directed to the vindication of religion, and the freedom of the church. The *Factories Education Bill* helped on the healthful progress of the public mind, which has been still further aided by the Maynooth Bill, that betokens the obvious design of our rulers to extend the establishment principle. The attention of dissenters, therefore, is now directed to the church establishment itself, rather than to its fruits, and the following resolution, expressive of this fact, was unanimously adopted by the conference :—

‘ That this Conference regard the proposed endowment of the Maynooth College as one of the many and natural results of a State Church ; that, to uphold its unrighteous and impolitic supremacy, it foresees that other and similar misappropriations of the public property will be proposed by parliament, as occasions arise ; and that, therefore, it is the duty of protestant dissenters chiefly to aim at the repudiation of the assumed right by the state to interfere with the religious affairs of Her Majesty’s subjects in any form.’

We hail this resolution as the earnest of future triumph. It lays the axe at the root of the tree, and, if followed up, as we verily believe it will be, with consistency and determination, cannot fail to produce an extensive and radical change. We are no visionaries, nor would we overlook a single point on which the everencroaching spirit of the state church system shows itself: but the experience of the past clearly proves that, if we would make any lasting impression on the popular mind, we must lay the foundations of our procedure much deeper, and must follow it up with greater self-devotion and high-mindedness, than the ‘ practical grievance’ policy admits of. By adopting the broader, and, as it is sometimes unreflectingly termed, the more abstract course, we may lose the glory of petty victories to be achieved on the other field, and may more instantly call forth, and array against ourselves, the whole strength of the hierarchy ; but against this we place the silent, yet sure progress of our principles, the gradual formation of a public sentiment favourable to our views, the certain undermining of the outworks of the hierarchical system, and the maturing of a moral force, before which its utmost strength must ultimately give way. The special vocation of protestant dissenters, is not restricted to the passing hour or day. They have to labour for distant years, to sow in hope of a future harvest, to seek the recovery of the world’s confidence, and the enlightenment of prejudiced ignorance, by

the consistent advocacy of the supremacy of their Master, and the spirituality of His church. On them is devolved the arduous duty of rectifying the public judgment, of exposing the fallacies which centuries have sanctioned, of rescuing truth from the suspicions engendered by the misconceptions or treachery of its professed friends, of vindicating religion itself, and of enthroning its pure and fervent spirit in the confiding attachment of the sons of men. For the accomplishment of such a mission, years will be required; and, in its pursuit, everything little and selfish, everything which partakes of a secular spirit, or fails to realize the largeness and purity of religious obligation, should be cautiously avoided. We have to indoctrinate the public mind, to unseal its vision, to awaken, and at the same time to guide its energy. Religion summons us to this vocation, and the duty of the passing hour is best discharged in accelerating the progress of so great a result. It is, therefore, with no ordinary satisfaction that we regard the third resolution of the conference, which traces up the Maynooth College Bill to the establishment system, and affirms, 'That it is the duty of protestant dissenters chiefly to aim at the repudiation of the assumed right by the state, to interfere with the religious affairs of Her Majesty's subjects in any form.'

The views of the conference were expressed with equal explicitness on the subject of the *Regium Donum*. This was due to its own consistency, and it was done with such unanimity and heartiness, as betokened the deep convictions of the assembly. The resolution adopted on this subject was, as follows:

'That this Conference having avowed its opposition to all state grants for the support of religion, is especially solicitous to place on record its deliberate and solemn protest against the parliamentary grants to the presbyterians of Ireland, and for the protestant dissenting ministers of England and Wales. That it regards these grants as obnoxious to the same objections as are preferred to other appropriations of public money to ecclesiastical purposes; and, in the name, and on behalf of the protestant dissenters of England and Wales, protests against their being held responsible for the latter. That the objections to the English grant are not removed by its early history, and that its continuance constitutes one of the most formidable obstructions to the general diffusion of our principles. That, entertaining these convictions, the Conference now assembled, respectfully, but most urgently call upon the nine distributors of this grant, who are solely responsible in the matter, to decline the further reception of a vote which involves the proceedings of dissenters in suspicion, impairs the moral force of their opposition to the state church system, and furnishes to the opponents of the voluntary principle, their most plausible and effective weapon.'

‘We have protested to the government,’ remarked Dr. Morison, on moving this resolution—

‘Against the English *Regium Donum*; but the minister of the day has always told us, that, so long as there are men amongst us who will receive it for the purpose of distribution, so long it shall be paid to our denomination. I wish it to go forth to these nine gentlemen, for whom we all entertain a very cordial respect, that, whatever may be their personal liberty on this subject, they owe deference to the generally expressed wish of their brethren. If this meeting were a hundred-fold larger than it is, I believe we should agree in requesting these nine gentlemen to withdraw from the anomalous position they occupy, in being the recipients and distributors of that bounty.’

The position occupied by the distributors of this grant, is far from enviable, and we wait to see whether this reiterated appeal will have the effect which is desired. On a former occasion, we gave the history of the grant, and pointed out the measures, which in our judgment were advisable, to remove the reproach which it casts upon us, and we shall not therefore again enter on these points. Repudiated by all our bodies, condemned on every hand as inconsistent with our principles, and obstructive to their diffusion, it is yet received by the nine distributors.* We are not surprised at the course pursued by many of these gentlemen. It is in keeping with other parts of their procedure, and does not unnaturally flow from their general policy. But there is one amongst them for whom we entertain so profound a respect, of whose cordial attachment to our common principle we have received so many and such earnest proofs, that we confess ourselves deeply solicitous for his removal from so anomalous a position. The authority of his name goes far to neutralize the disclaimers of the dissenting body, whilst others are fortified by it in retaining a position which they would otherwise be scarcely willing to hold. We feel that in thus alluding to an individual, we are on delicate ground, but he will be the first to admit the validity of our plea, however he may differ from us in judgment, when we urge the interests of truth, and the consistency of our opposition to the state-church system, in vindication of our course. It is no trifling consideration—and we earnestly and respectfully crave attention to these facts—that, the reception of this grant is universally regarded by us, as inconsistent with our principles, and injurious to our cause; that our various organizations, whether metropolitan or provincial, have condemned it; that every assembly of dissenters, no matter where convened, or what minor differences may exist, are

* The vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. Cox has been supplied by the Rev. John Peacock, of Goswell Street Road.

perfectly unanimous in its reprobation; that our opponents appeal to it in proof of our insincerity, and that, the legislature and the public cannot be convinced—whatever we say to the contrary—but that it betokens a willingness to receive state punishment against which, as granted to others, we are accustomed to protest. May we yet learn that, to the many other proofs afforded of enlightened and earnest attachment to the voluntary principle, there has been added the surrender of a post which our friends cannot vindicate, and over which opponents triumph.

Having recorded their opposition, on the grounds stated, the Maynooth College Bill, and pointed the attention of Dissenters to the electoral duties devolving on them—to the last of which points we shall presently advert—the Conference proceeded to express its sympathy with the Irish Roman Catholics under their many wrongs, and to offer them ‘for themselves and those they represent, zealous, energetic, and persevering co-operation, to secure by constitutional means, for all classes of the Irish people, as for themselves, equal, just, and impartial liberty.’

An address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, prepared at the request of the committee, by Mr. Mursell, was adopted with the most hearty cordiality, in which freer utterance than a resolution admits, was given to the views and feelings of the assembly. This paper was worthy of the occasion, and may henceforth be triumphantly appealed to in proof of the generous sympathy and enlightened sentiments of British dissenters. We regret that our space does not permit us to give the document entire, but should fail in our duty to our readers, did we not transcribe the following passages:—

‘. . . . You are placed by circumstances, the origin and growth of which it is unnecessary to trace, in a position so conspicuous and critical as to attract towards you the anxious attention of all patriotic men in these realms, and of the liberal and the thoughtful throughout the civilised world. On your conduct at the present juncture the mightiest and most sacred interests are suspended, and with you, under divine Providence, rest those issues which are destined to give a complexion, for an indefinite period, to the history of this empire. Your fidelity to the great principles of justice must inevitably promote its peace, prosperity, and freedom; your betrayal of them will necessarily be the omen, at least, of their temporary disaster and defeat.

‘You need not to be reminded that the dissenters of England were among the warmest supporters of the Catholic Relief bill; that they heartily advocated the equal extension of political privileges to the Irish as to the English people; that they supported the claim of your country to an equal share in the benefits of Municipal Reform.

form; that they rejoiced in the abolition of your Vestry Cess; and that they viewed with strong indignation the recent attempts of your government to strain the powers of the law in the tyrannical suppression of public opinion. They have ever fought side by side with you in all your conflicts for social and political equality, nor will any misconstruction which may have been put on their conduct prevail to diminish the earnestness of their efforts in your defence. Still you cannot expect them to surrender, on this very account, the principles which, even on the occasions referred to, have regulated their public conduct.

'We have ever held that, of all the grievances under which your country has laboured, the establishment of the Anglican church in Ireland is the most unjustifiable and oppressive, and we pledge ourselves never to remit our efforts to remove from you this intolerable burden. We deem it a fundamental maxim, even of the commonest political justice—and in this opinion we are fortified by that of some of the most eminent members of the Roman catholic church—that no compulsory payments can be rightfully demanded for the support of any religious system whatever. In this simple but vital principle lies involved the whole philosophy of nonconformity. The slightest deviation from this ground would virtually amount to a surrender of our consistency, and would obviously expose us to the merited derision of all discerning men. Now it will be plain to you that the proposed measure for the permanent endowment of the college of Maynooth involves the most direct invasion of this principle. It places your dissenting fellow-subjects in the very position from which they are striving to rescue you. It violates their consciences as offensively as the protestant establishment, in its tyrannical exactions, violates yours. It re-enacts the obnoxious principle, it is an extension of the very system, which you, in common with ourselves, have long been labouring to overthrow. To tolerate this measure, is distinctly to sanction and assert that principle.' * * *

'If this grant is to be regarded for a moment in the light of restitution, the meanness of the proposal sufficiently indicates that it is intended merely as preliminary. It is too absurd to suppose that the wealthiest and most powerful government in the world, should look upon the insignificant pittance of about £26,000 a year, as a compensation for the urgent claims of a great people. But if this measure is preliminary, we beg you to consider, what is that system which it is designed to introduce. The cautious and characteristic silence of the government has been generally, and, we believe, correctly interpreted, both within and without the walls of parliament, as a virtual admission of their desire eventually to take the whole body of your priesthood into the pay of the state. Can it be necessary to suggest to you the consequences of such a scheme? It would violate the consciences, not only of the class who already suffer a scarcely tolerable indignity on this account, but of the entire christian community in these realms. Dissenters, who already groan under the exactions of one establishment, will rise with a more reso-

lute determination against the endowment of a second. The recognised leaders of the Irish catholics have again and again pronounced decisively against such an arrangement; whilst the Anglican church must either repeal its articles or sacrifice every claim to consistency and good faith. Religious animosities, proverbially the most bitter that agitate the breasts of men, would be exacerbated to an incalculable degree; while, as state support and state controul are invariably correlative, the most earnest of your religious teachers would be placed under a dictation unbearably galling to all save those whom it may seduce to the compromise of all that is dear to high-minded and conscientious men. In a word, such a measure would reduce to a mere name all public virtue and consistency, and stain with ineffable disgrace the sacred cause of christianity itself.

‘The opposition of the dissenting body to the government measure has, by some thoughtless and impetuous men, been indiscriminately condemned as fanatical and bigoted. We indignantly repudiate the charge as applied to the great nonconforming body. Let us never hear it repeated. We are ready to contend by your side for the attainment of an equal participation of all rights, ecclesiastical, political, and social; but we will not sacrifice our consciences to the success of a state trick, nor will we patiently submit to be taxed for a bribe to you, which we should spurn with contempt, were it offered to ourselves.

‘With all the earnestness, then, which a concern for the highest interests of our fellow-men can excite, we conjure you, by your self-respect as British subjects—by the lofty position you occupy, as the peaceful, but resolute defenders of your national freedom—by the claim of ordinary consistency, as political agents—and, above all, by the solemn requirements of religious fidelity, to reject the unhallowed bribe offered at your very altars by secular and hostile hands; and, turning your back upon the temporary and crafty homage of a faction, to throw yourselves on the might of those resources, by which the religion of Christ survived, at its origin, the persecution of a world; and in the strength of which, it is, as we trust, destined hereafter to bless the universal family of man.’

For the present we leave the other proceedings of the Conference, and turn to the debate in the lower house, on the third reading of the Maynooth Bill. It commenced on Monday the 19th of May, and was continued through three successive nights, being deficient in a remarkable degree in all the higher and more stirring qualities of parliamentary discussions. Mr. Shiel reiterated his slanders in the face of accumulating evidence, which ought to have silenced the most prejudiced opponent: * Lord John Russell endeavoured to con-

* ‘If I have adverted to the dissenters,’ remarked the member for Dunbarry—and the observation, be it remembered, was subsequent to the presentation of the petition of the Conference, the contents of which were stated to the House by Mr. Bright—‘it is for a special purpose. The honour-

ciliate dissenters, admitting that they had, 'not been much represented in the house,' and adding, 'whose sentiments I have heard very little of in the course of these debates, but whose opinions I am accustomed highly to value, and who, I am sure, have come to their conclusions from conscientious convictions:'—and Sir Robert Peel repelled, in a spirit scarcely less than reckless, the bitter taunts and charges of his own party. On a division, the bill was carried by a majority of 317 to 184. The 'Times' has published an analysis of the division, from which it appears that of the supporters of the bill, 150 only were conservatives, while 169 were members of the liberal party. Of the former, 152 voted against the premier, and only 34 of the latter could be found to defer to the petitions of the people, and rally in defence of religious liberty. And this too, as appears by the 24th Report of the Committee on Petitions, against 8,758 petitions, signed by no less than 1,106,772 persons, a greater number than are on the registries of all the counties, cities, and boroughs in Great Britain. Well, be it so. We needed to be taught this lesson, and shall profit by it. We have clung to Whig alliances too long, and this will go far to disengage us. We have been condemned for the terms in which we have sometimes referred to them, but our most moderate men, those who have adhered most firmly to the school of Lord John, are now uttering words which they deemed rash from us some few years since. Their eyes are opening to the truth, and the whole obligations of it will soon flash upon them. We love some of the historical memories of whiggery, and our judgments are hence deluded: but it is in the highest degree impolitic, in the leaders of this party to compel us, as they have recently done, to sift their pretensions by a rigid comparison of their principles and policy with the requirements and duties of these times. However, they have compelled us to do so; and, in doing it, have driven us to the conclusion, that, whatever services they rendered in the days of Charles II. and of his infatuated brother; whatever we owe them for resisting the machinations of the Tories at the close of the reign of Anne, or for advocating the constitutional rights of Englishmen, when the apostate son of the Earl of Chatham sought the extinction of our liberties,—they are utterly unequal to the requirements of these days, and are ignorant of the first principles of religious freedom. We might have remained insensible to this for some time longer; and, had we done so, the benefit would have been

able member for Dorsetshire adverted to an expression of mine—for he is equally expert in polemics and politics; and he said I was extremely rash in speaking of the dissenters as I did. Sir, I have no sort of notion of recanting one opinion I have ever given on this subject.'

theirs; but their infatuated policy has wrought a change in the views and sympathies of our people which no dissenting agency could have effected for years.

We now return to the Conference, to notice that feature of its procedure to which we have already adverted. The issue of the third reading of the Maynooth bill was foreknown. It took no one by surprise. The members were committed by the votes they had previously given; and various motives, which we need not specify, held them to their course. The electoral resolutions submitted to the Conference were drawn up in anticipation of the result since realised, and their cordial adoption is an earnest of what the next election will show. An extended discussion took place on one clause of the first of these resolutions, which it was finally agreed to omit, in order to secure unanimity. We are perfectly satisfied with them as they stand, and place them on record, in their adopted form, as one of the most significant and cheering signs of the times:—

‘That this Conference view with deep regret and apprehension the indifference shown by members of the Commons’ House to the petitions of the people against the Maynooth Endowment Bill, and regard such indifference as subversive of the representative system, and a clear indication of the want of harmony between the members of that House and the British people. That they further regard the ignorance displayed of the nature of religious liberty, and the violence done to religious conviction, by the votes given; as disqualifying many members from being returned as the future representatives of Protestant Dissenters.

‘That this Conference, impressed with the danger accruing to religious liberty, from the ignorance and unfaithfulness of its professed friends in the House of Commons, with a few honourable exceptions, earnestly, and solemnly counsel the Protestant Dissenting portion of the constituencies of the empire, immediately to organise themselves in their respective localities, with a view of seeing to the registration of voters, and of adopting all such other measures as shall facilitate the return, at the next general election, of men who combine with liberality of political sentiments a thorough knowledge of, and earnest attachment to, our distinctive ecclesiastical principle of opposition to all State Churches.’

Our duty would be ill discharged if we did not with all possible earnestness invite to these resolutions the immediate, energetic, and practical, attention of the protestant dissenting constituencies of the empire. The men whose names are found in the majority of the 21st of May are not worthy representatives of protestant dissenters. We know, and on other accounts admire, some of them, but their faithlessness on this point is an unpardonable sin, for which nothing short of a public and satis-

factory repentance can atone. To have invaded afresh the ark of religious liberty, to have slighted so far and so recklessly our religious convictions as to lay us under tribute for the support of another ecclesiastical institute, thus doing violence to conscience and insulting religion itself, is an offence which no political partizanship must be permitted to palliate. Our principles, if of importance at all, are of prime importance, and must not be overlaid by any considerations of what nature soever. Either let us abandon them altogether, or carry them out to their legitimate issues. If the existence of a state church system be the greatest evil,—as we verily believe it is,—existing amongst us, if it do more than any thing else to debase the religion of the land, if its very life blood be polluted, and all its genuine tendencies be towards secularity and scepticism, then we affirm that it is our duty, our urgent, though in many cases, self-denying duty, to refuse our electoral support to all candidates who give to this system their parliamentary support. To send men into the Commons' House whose legislative influence will be exerted against the practical adoption of our ecclesiastical views, is to give the whole weight of our electoral support to a system which we regard as abhorrent from the mind of God, and fearfully destructive of the souls of men. The question of degree may be admitted in other cases without our integrity being impugned. As complete suffragists, for instance, we may honestly, in the absence of a candidate of our own sentiments, vote for the man who advocates the largest extension of the electoral body, as by doing so we shall be gaining an instalment at least of our claim, and be contributing, *so far*, to the right. But the case is vastly different when our vote is solicited on behalf of one who avows himself an establishment man; or, in the absence of this, who is obviously bent on giving to the existing system the full benefit of his support. To record a vote on behalf of such, on the ground of political affinities, is to sacrifice the religious to the secular, to invest with senatorial power—the greatest we can confer—for reasons purely earthly, the defender and advocate of the system which we believe to be an impersonation of the Man of Sin,—an awful engine of spiritual delusion and death. The question of degree does not operate here. Men's votes will be given *for* or *against* the system. They will be its defenders or its assailants; and if the former, are disqualified for receiving the support of protestant dissenters.

But it is urged in objection to our views, that by taking the ground we advocate, the liberal party will be weakened, and the return to parliament of conservatives be facilitated. We are not disposed to evade this objection. It has some force, and much more plausibility, and deserves to be seriously

weighed. Admitting for a moment the fact assumed, we should nevertheless be prepared to abide by our views. Consistency on the part of British voluntaries is of much greater importance than party triumphs, while the clear and forcible exhibition of our principles which such a course would supply, could not fail—whatever temporary outcry might be raised—to attract towards them the more considerate and earnest attention of the public mind. Our fellow-countrymen, astonished it may be, at first, would begin to appreciate our honesty; and, from the strength of conviction betokened by our conduct, would learn to respect and understand us.

‘Would we be strong,’ remarks a Journalist, to whom the cause of Voluntaryism is deeply indebted, ‘we must stand upon ground of our own choosing, and refuse to move from it, whether for friend or foe. Politicians will soon come up to our mark, when they are practically convinced that we will not come down to theirs. They are far more dependent upon us, than we upon them. We, without them, should be incalculably better off than we now are—they, without us, would sink into insignificance. Their whole importance is derived from our hesitation—they suck strength out of our weakness. Trooping at their heels, we shall never be above a single march ahead of toryism—and when we most need their help we shall be most certain of being betrayed. Look at the records of the existing parliament. Wherein has liberalism assisted us! In what respect has it earned our confidence? In regard to what great measures of state policy has it shown its superiority to modern conservatism? What inducement can it offer us to forego our own demands at the next general election? And if, adopting a miserable expediency, we again defer to it, what one good result will the country be likely to gain by our subserviency?’

‘The time has fully come for Dissenters to play their part with resolute determination. Hitherto, they have been but counters in the hands of others—henceforth, they must set a due value on themselves. And whenever, indifferent to the fate of factions, both of which are opposed to them, they are bold enough to do this—whensoever they take their own affairs into their hands, and declare that come what may, they will fight the battle of their principles in the registration court, on the hustings, and at the poll-booth, then, and not till then, will they be respected by the legislature.’—*Non-conformist*, May 21st.

But we are not disposed to admit the conclusion on which the whole force of the objection in question rests. Some few elections might, perhaps, at first be lost. The Whig leaders of the liberal party, underrating our electoral strength, would probably refuse us a due weight in the representation, and our political opponents would promptly take advantage of the division consequent thereon, to carry their candidates. This might happen in a few

places, and for a short time, but the evil would speedily remedy itself. The lesson though painful, would be salutary to our political associates. They would learn the necessity of deferring to our wishes, and, instead of hazarding the repetition of defeat, would allow our chosen men to enter the Commons' House. Temporary loss would in such case be ultimate gain. A reconstruction of parties, so obviously needed by the requirements of our age, would be accelerated, and the imperishable principles on which our opposition to state churches is based, would become the rallying point of the most enlightened, compact and energetic body which has ever influenced the counsels of our nation. There is a vast amount of electoral influence afloat in society, which would speedily gather round such a party. The masses are with us, the common sense and common honesty of the people are on our side. As yet, however, they hesitate, and well they may, for we fail to impress them with the conviction of our being thoroughly in earnest. But let them once see the evidences of our faith, let them be made to feel that we rely on our principles with a confidence which never falters, and they will speedily be at our side to cheer on and aid our labours.

But what, it is natural to ask, should protestant dissenters do? What is their special present vocation, what the measures they should adopt, the course of action on which they should enter? To these enquiries a reply is rendered, by the second of the electoral resolutions adopted by the conference. There are two points to which this resolution specially adverts, the registration of voters, and the return of men 'who combine, with liberality of political sentiments, a thorough knowledge of, and earnest attachment to, our distinctive ecclesiastical principle of opposition to all state churches.' For the attainment of these objects, local organization is recommended, and we must take leave before closing our remarks to reiterate this counsel. A large number of dissenters are yet unregistered. This has resulted from various causes to which we need not now advert. Immediate steps should be taken in every county, city, and borough, to secure the registration of all qualified persons; and we are convinced that if this be duly attended to, it will go far to determine many future elections. County freeholds should also be looked to, and a disposition to secure them be fostered amongst our people. The Anti-Corn Law League has shewn what may be done in the latter case; and, it will be strange indeed, if the religious men of the empire cannot be aroused to equal zeal and sagacity in the pursuit of their yet nobler end.

But it is alleged that our great difficulty is to find suitable candidates. This was adverted to by several speakers in the Conference, and it obviously calls for the earliest and gravest

consideration. If the case be as some assume, we had better at once relinquish our efforts, and resign ourselves to despair. The more private inculcation of our views is all which, in such case, we can wisely attempt; and the largest sphere of usefulness, the theatre on which most might, under other circumstances, be done for the truth of God, must be consigned over to those who impeach his supremacy and secularize his church. But is the case so? Are we driven to this alternative? Let us look at the matter calmly, and as wise men should. The difficulty affirmed to exist arises, of course, from the view taken of the qualifications held to be essential in a parliamentary representative. We have been accustomed to suppose that an independent fortune, or, as it is termed, 'a large stake' in the country, is one of these; and the difficulty apprehended is to find such in combination with an intelligent and earnest advocacy of our principles. We admit, at once, that we have few, very few, such men; and that, if this opinion be held to, we must forego the hope of a parliamentary representative of our sentiments. But the question recurs—and we press it with all seriousness on our readers—whether this supposition be a correct one? We believe it to be erroneous, a delusion which has grown out of our aristocratical pre-posessions, and which must be got rid of, if our duty to the commonwealth and to religious freedom is to be discharged. We look to a parliamentary representation of dissenting principles as important, mainly with a view to the opportunity it would afford of instructing the nation in the nature and evidences of such principles. The members of the Commons' House speak within the hearing of all, and from a position which commands the attention, whether reluctant or otherwise, of the whole body of the people. The daily, weekly, and monthly press is perpetually employed in sending to the extremities of the civilized globe the things which are uttered in that house; and there is no calculating, therefore, the potency of the words there spoken. Our publications and lectures fail to make an impression on the popular mind, for the very obvious reason, that it is never brought into contact with them. They are read or heard by our own people only, while the debates of parliament are read by the nation at large; and whatever may be alleged to the contrary, are invested with a power to which no human agency is superior. What we specially need, therefore, is the return of men who know and deeply love our principles,—men who are thoroughly earnest in their advocacy, and are capable of giving them fitting utterance. Such men we have: they have been trained amidst us; are acquainted with our habits, our sympathies, and views; have mourned over the apostacy of the land from the truth of God,

and must be summoned by the united voice of their fellows, to forego for a time the quiet and seclusion of domestic life, in order to consecrate themselves to this department of religious service. Such men, if legally qualified to take their seat, may forego the fictitious advantages of wealth and title. Their sincerity and fitness for the station will gradually work out for them a parliamentary status, more conducive to their object than any of the artificial distinctions of life. A nobler or a more useful sphere of labour does not exist on earth; and he will be thrice blessed who is found worthy to fulfil its high requirement. We confess to a deep anxiety on this point. All minor considerations fade away in its contemplation; and we wait to see whether the growth of intelligence and sound sentiments amongst us, be sufficiently advanced to permit the consummation of our hopes.

The providence of God has forced the protestant dissenters of these realms into a position of immense responsibility. If they evade their obligations, they will prove themselves unworthy depositaries of the truth, recreant to the principles they have avowed, and indifferent to the highest interests of their fellow men. Whatever pleas they may urge, conscience will reproach them with infidelity to their trust, and their children will listen with sorrow and shame to the indignant reproaches with which a future generation will load their memory. If, on the other hand,—and we feel no slight confidence in this issue,—they meet their responsibilities with fairness and integrity; if, eschewing the favour and disregarding the frowns of men, they address themselves, in a deep religious spirit, to work out the emancipation of the church from secular controul; if, in a word, they combine practical sagacity with sound principle and prosecute their measures with the singleness of purpose and profound earnestness of men who realize a divine mission, then the God of truth will own them as his servants, generations yet unborn will exult in the beneficent tendency of their labours, and their Lord and Saviour returning to the church, from whose secularity and pollution he has retired, will find in it an appropriate dwelling,—a satisfying reward for his former humiliation and sorrow.

Brief Notices.

Latin Made Easy: an Introduction to the Reading of Latin, comprising a Grammar, Exercise Book, and Vocabulary. By the Rev. J. R. Beard, D.D. p. 220. London. Simpkin and Marshall.

THIS is one of the most valuable of the many books which have of late years been produced with the view of facilitating the acquisition of knowledge to the rising generation. We hail such attempts with satisfaction. When the scope of even high education was narrow, and confined to very few objects, it might be all very well to give the young student plenty of work, and to occupy much of his time in making the acquirements demanded from him. But now, when the circle of human knowledge is so greatly enlarged, and when varied and sound acquirements are expected, and will every year be more expected in those, whose manhood must be spent in that struggle for subsistence, which is constantly becoming more stern and difficult—it is no time to stand upon the obsolete ceremonies of routine education, which were framed for a state of things entirely different. Means must be found to enable our children to meet the changed condition of our social system, and of our intellectual culture, by assisting them to turn to the best account the precious leisure of their youth in acquiring, in the shortest possible time, the largest amount of solid knowledge.

To afford such help, in the acquisition of Latin, appears to have been the object of the present work. Dr. Beard says:—

‘This manual, owes its existence to necessity. Having in vain tried to find an introduction at once sufficiently easy and systematic, the author was led to prepare one which should combine the qualities which lengthened experience had taught him to consider desirable. The work is constructed so as to be suitable to children of tender age, while it prepares the way for the higher attainments of riper years. In order to facilitate the labour which is generally found difficult and wearisome, the writer has striven to make the later as well as the earlier lessons easy to the learner; and for that purpose he has gone onward to the close of the volume by short and almost imperceptible steps.’

The mode of realizing this very useful object, which has recommended itself to the judgment of a writer of Dr. Beard’s large and successful experience in liberal education, appears to us very judicious. The design is not only good, but skilfully executed; and we consider that we render a good service to parents and teachers, by recommending the book to their notice.

The Modern Orator, being a collection of celebrated speeches of the most distinguished orators of the United Kingdom. Parts I to V. 8vo.
London : Aylott and Jones.

WE are surprised that such a publication as this has not appeared a long time since. In this book-making age, when men's brains are ransacked for some new schemes, none would seem to us more full of promise, or more serviceable to the commonwealth. The most celebrated speeches of Chatham, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Grattan, Curran, Canning, &c., will form a collection which, for political philosophy and splendid eloquence, is inferior to nothing on record, and such is to be the work, of which the early parts are now before us. We have long desired to see such a publication, and have sometimes even contemplated bringing it out ourselves. We are glad, therefore, to introduce it to our readers, and to give it the full benefit of our recommendation. The parts before us contain the speeches of the Earl of Chatham, and of Mr. Sheridan. Short illustrative notes are introduced, and the price is such as an extensive circulation only will justify. Our own views of the plan of such a work would have been more fully met, if instead of printing the speeches of each man separately, they had been given as they actually occurred in the debates of the House, with a brief historical notice of the debates themselves. An additional interest would thus have been given them, and a fuller knowledge of our parliamentary history have been obtained. As it is, however, we strongly recommend the work to our readers, and shall be glad to find that it secures the patronage it merits.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Annals of the English Bible. In two vols. 8vo. By Christopher Anderson.

Views of the Voluntary Principle. In Four Series. By Edward Miall.

The Bridal of Salerno : a Romance, in Six Cantos. With other Poems and Notes. By John Lodge Ellerton, M.A.

The Family Choir; or Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs for social worship : the music selected from Handel, Haydn, &c. Arranged for four voices, and the pianoforte, or organ; the poetry by Watts, Wesley, &c.

The London Medical Directory, 1845.

Fifty-three plain and practical Sermons. By Thornhill Kidd.

The Signs of the Times in the East ; a Warning to the West ; being a practical view of our duties in the light of the prophecies which illustrate the present and future state of the church and of the world. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth.

Missions in Western Africa among the Soosooos, Bulloms, &c.; being the first undertaken by the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. With an Introduction containing—I. A Sketch of Western Africa; with a description of the principal tribes inhabiting that coast.—II. A Brief History of the Slave Trade to the present day.—III. Some account of the early African churches.—IV. A condensed Survey of all the missionary exertions in modern times in favour of Africa. By the Rev. Samuel Abraham Walker, A.M.

The Doctrine of Original Sin; or, the Native State and Character of Man unfolded. By George Payne, LL.D.

The Mission of the Church; or, Remarks on the Relative Importance of Home and Foreign missionary Effort in the present state of the world. By Peter Rylands.

The Christian urged to Usefulness. An Address to the Churches of Christ. By Charles Larom.

The Dissenter's Plea for his Nonconformity; exhibited in a course of Lectures on the Rise, Reign, Religion, and Ruin of Antichrist, or Mystical Babylon. By William Jones, M.A.

The Typology of the Scriptures; or, the doctrine of Types investigated in its Principles, and applied to the explanation of the earlier revelations of God, considered as preparatory exhibitions of the leading truths of the gospel. With an Appendix, on the Restoration of the Jews. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn Salton.

Richard the Third. A Poem. By Sharon Turner, F.A.S., and R.A.S.L.

Elements of Physics. By C. F. Peschel, Principal of the Royal Military College at Dresden, &c. Translated from the German. With Notes. By E. West. Illustrated with Diagrams and Woodcuts. Part I.—Ponderable Bodies.

Christian Philosophy; or Materials for Thought. By the author of 'Skeletons and Sketches of Sermons,' &c.

An Account of the Machine-wrought Hosiery Trade, its Extent, and the Condition of the Frame-work-knitters; being a paper read in the Statistical Section, at the second York meeting of the British Association, held Sept. 18, 1844; together with evidence given under the Hosiery Commission Inquiry, &c. By W. Felkin, F.L.S.

Popery and Puseyism sketched, in two rejected letters. With supplementary remarks on the 'Signs of the Times.' By S. Thorrowgood.

Christ; the Christian's God and Saviour. In Four Parts. By the late Rev. James Spence, M.A.

Memoir of the Rev. John Watson. By William Lindsay Alexander, M.A.

Tracts and Treatises. By John De Wycliffe, D.D. With Selections and Translations from his Manuscripts and Latin Works. Edited for the Wycliffe Society. With an Introductory Memoir. By the Rev. R. Vaughan, D.D.

* The Druid's Talisman, a Legend of the Peak; with other Poems. By the Rev. John Marshall, A.B.

A Voice from the Sanctuary on the Missionary Enterprise; being a series of Discourses delivered in America, before the Protestant Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions, the American Board of Foreign Missions, &c. By the most eminent divines of that country, belonging to various denominations. With an Introduction by James Montgomery, Esq.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Edited by James Holmes Agnew. Third Series, No. II.; whole No., LVIII. April, 1845.

The Mystery of God's Dealing with the Jews. By A. C. Barclay.

INDEX.

VOL. XVII.—NEW SERIES.

Anderson, W., Discourses, 373

Anti-Corn Law League, 101 ; statistics of employment, 102 ; agricultural distress, 106 ; high prices and emigration, 108 ; and crime, 109 ; county constituencies, 101, 112 ; plan for increase of voters, 113 ; practicable, 115 ; not unconstitutional, 120 ; power of 'the League,' 123 ; its example to be imitated, *ib.*

Anti-State Church Conference, tracts of, 1 ; a practical interest in the question compatible with spirituality of heart, 3 ; the Gospel includes controversial topics, as well as essential doctrines, 8 ; is to be specially applied to the evils of the present time, 10 ; how to teach, as necessary as what to teach, 11 ; no blessing promised to prudence, or policy, in the exhibition of truth, 15 ; importance of the state-church question, 17 ; self-denial and examination required, 18 ; Christ, sole lawgiver and king in his church, 21

Bähr, W. F., on Colossians, 296

Barrere, Memoirs of, 151 ; held in great respect in his native province, 153 ; editorship of the vo-

lume, 158 ; its heterogeneous character, 161 ; Committee of General Safety, 163 ; Second Committee of Public Safety, 165 ; Barrere as its reporter, 166, 171

Beard, Dr. J. R., Latin made Easy, 750

Bell, Dr. Andrew, 249 ; arrival at Madras, 251 ; founds the Orphan Asylum, 253 ; *monitorial system suggested and introduced*, 254 ; priority of Paulet, 256 ; Bell's Sinecure Chaplaincies, 252 ; 'encouragement in the line of the church,' 257 ; correspondence with Lancaster, 262 ; *with Mrs. Trimmer*, 267, 272 ; formation of National Society, 275 ; to which he acts as Inspector-general, *ib.* ; his death, 279 ; character, *ib.* ; avarice, 276, 281 ; vanity, 282 ; contrasted with Lancaster, 284

Berkeley, G. F., Defence of Game Laws, 463 ; such Laws opposed to natural sense of right and justice, 465 ; injurious to farmers, 466, 489 ; specific evils, 468, 470 ; Mr. Berkeley's disregard of facts, 473 ; fondness for executing the law, 476, 481 ; new remedy for poaching, and argument for Sabbath observance, 480 ; style, 490 ; Sydney

- Smith, 484; peculiar burdens of land, 485; Mr. Bright's speech, 483
- Böehmer, G., on Colossians, 296; Philippians, 634
- Borror, D., Journey to Jerusalem, 219; *Athens*, 220; *Alexandria*, 221; the *Pyramids*, *ib.*; Sinai, 222; *adventure at Hebron*, 223; *Jerusalem*, 224
- Botta, C., History of War of Independence of United States, 444; character of early colonists, 445; their grievances, 446; incompetence of British ministers, *ib.*; and generals, 447; declaration of independence, 448; French alliance, 449; Saratoga, 450; Valley Forge, 452; Wyoming, 453; republican avarice, 456; campaign of the Carolinas, 458; independence acknowledged, 461; lesson to be learnt in regard to Ireland, *ib.*
- Bowditch, J., Vindication of Major General Napier, 540
- Breen, H. S., St. Lucia, 126
- Browning, C. A., Convict Ship, 373
- Carlyle, T., his works, 377; Sartor Resartus, 378; French Revolution, 379; Chartism, 382; Essays, 390; Hero Worship, 383; Past and Present, 390; his estimate of Mahomed, 385, Johnson, 388, Rousseau, 389, Burns, *ib.*, Cromwell, 390; his style, 393; *Sir Jacob Windbag*, 391; not a pantheist, 394; but to be read with caution, 397
- Carpenter, W. B., Animal Physiology, 375
- Christian Union, essays on, 664; subjects and authors, 664; sources of disunion—bitterness of controversy, 667; denominationalism, 668; antisocialism, 669; *party spirit in Scotland*, 672; causes of failure of schemes of union, 672; exclusiveness of state religionism, 673; visibility not the ultimate end of union, 676; truth its basis, 678; practical suggestions, 682
- Cobbins, J., Child's Commentator, 245
- Colleges, Dissenting, 88; too little valued, 90; Foreign Theological Seminaries, 92; Norwich Conference, 95; papers read there, *ib.*; settlement of students not a college concern, 97
- Collegian's Guide, 651; defects of present university system, 656; *cramming*, 658; *ordination as a means of conversion*, 661; college debts, 662; low standard of morality, 663
- Colossians, Epistle to, 296; its object, 297; the kind of philosophy condemned, 304; analysis of contents, 317; whether Paul founded the Colossian church, 310
- Complete Suffrage Almanac, 126
- Congregational Calendar, 126
- Deane, J. P., Doctrine and Discipline of Church of England, 346; confusion of that uniform church, 347; as an institution an enormous fraud, 348, and failure, 366; conservative party in it, 350; evangelical, 351; tractarian, 353; policy of its prelates, 354; their nepotism, 356; its servility, 358; lax morality, 359; dread of reform, 360; assumption and intolerance, 364; aristocratic sympathies, 369; at the mercy of circumstances and premiers, 367
- Dickens, C., the Chimes, 71; description of *Toby Tick*, *ib.*; his daughter, 73; *Will Fern*, 79; wrongs of the poor, 83; *Lilian*, 85
- Dissent, its character, causes, &c., 127
- Dittenburger, T. W., on Seminaries for preachers, 88
- Duncan, J., History of Guernsey, 540; its institutions, 543; Judicial proceedings, 544; legislature, *ib.*; tenure of land, 546; taxation, 547; religious state, 550; strange conduct of governor, *ib.*; question of Habeas Corpus, 554
- Ford, D. E., Laodicea, 630
- Friends, Society of, their conduct to the Indian tribes, 685; purchase and peopling of the Jerseys, 687; origin of colony of Pennsylvania, 686, 689; *aims of Penn.*, 690; treaty with the Indians, 691; *its result and influence*, 692; rights of aborigines, 694
- Fryxell, A., History of Sweden, 333;

- character of translation, 346; philological importance of Scandinavian annals, 334; early Swedish legends, 336; *King Rolph's court*, 337; massacre of Stockholm, 340; Gustavus Wasa, 341; genius not hereditary, 343; Erick, XIV., 344
Fuller, A., complete works, 631
- Halley, Dr. R., on the sacraments, 129; their true office, 132; error of sacramental salvation, 133; general mistake of the congregational lecturers, 134; sacramental institutions, 136; their perpetuity and design, 143; not attestations of grace, 144; the Agapæ, 137, 142; Jewish proselyte baptism, 146; John's baptism, 150
Hebrew English Lexicon, a new, 124
- Johnston, C., Travels in Abyssinia, 400; *Sultan of Tajourah*, *ib.*; mirage, 403; attempt at assassination, 404; *Dankalli war tactics*, 406; causes of failure of English embassy to Shoa, 410
- Justin Martyr, 186; his writings, 189; their moral qualities, 192; defects, 198; *his religious character*, 194; opinions on the Logos, 201; influences opposed to christianity in his day, 197
- Keble, J., *De Poeticæ vi Medica*, 22; *modern style of composition* criticized, 24, 26; author's theory of poetry, 26, 37; *source of delight in natural scenery*, 28; indications of the poetical in common life, 30; its historical origin, 33; biblical poetry, 34; criteria of true poetry, consistency, 36, unaffectedness, 37, reserve in expression, *ib.*; this definition incomplete, 40; the idea of beauty or sublimity essential, 40
- Kitto, Dr., Pictorial Sunday Book, 245
Knight's Book of Reference, 246
Knight, C., Library Edition of Shakspere, 628
- Lancaster, Joseph, 247; becomes a schoolmaster, 259; introduces teaching by monitors, 260; his claims to the discovery of the method, 261; *correspondence with Dr. Bell*, 262; *Mrs. Trimmer's insinuations* and their effect, 265—7; his progress and popularity, 269; pecuniary failings, 270, 272; formation of British and Foreign School Society, 272; second marriage in Carraccas, 277; death at New York, 278; character, 279, 284; his system opposed to unitarianism and deism, 291; notices of his friends; W. Carston, 285; J. Fox, 286; W. Allen, 288; J. Foster, 289; the State not to be trusted with education, 293
- Lee, Mrs. R., *Natural History*, 45, 52
Literary Intelligence, 129; 248; 376; 508; 631; 751
- Macintosh, Sir J., *Life of Sir Thomas More*, 247
- M'Kerrow, J., History of Secession Church, 695; patronage, 696; sermon of E. Erskine, 697; his protest, *ib.*, secession, 701; hostility of the assembly to popular rights, 703; the Associate Presbytery formed, 705; failure of formularies to secure uniformity, 706; evils of subscription, 707; burghers and anti-burghers, 711
- Madge, Thomas; Lectures, 209; commended, 211, 219; *persecuting spirit of Puseyism*, 213; apostolical succession, 215; right of private judgment, 217; distinction between right and power, *ib.*
- Marryatt, Captain, *Adventures of Monsieur Violet*, 712; censurable preface, 714; distinction between love of the wilderness and of savage life, 716; gross improbability of the story, 717; *adventure with a rattle snake*, 720; *escape from the buffaloes*, 721
- Matthias, C. S., on Philippians, 634
Maynooth, Grant to, 490; title of Roman catholics to civil rights, 492, but not to religious endowments, *ib.*; foundation of college, 494; original proposal, 496, 502; modified form, 497; subsequent Acts, 498; first legislative grant, 504; fallacy of argument from original contract, 505; protestant episcopacy in Ireland, 506;—

- Stieger, W., on Colossians, 296
- Sue, Eugene, Wandering Jew, 556 : secret history of reported madness of French minister of instruction, M. Villemain, 558 ; attributed to reading the work, 560 ; analysis of the story, 563 ; its vicious character, 562, 574, 576, 578
- Syrians, The Modern, 202 ; *tenets of the Druses*, 204
- Theiner, Aug., History of Ecclesiastical Seminaries, 410 ; early history of author, 412 ; false representations of protestantism, 413 ; residence in France, 415 ; specimen of his ethics, 417 ; goes to Rome, 419 ; outline of work, 422 ; *education in 9th century*, 423 ; *English theological schools in 6th*, 426 ; German schools, 427 ; Jesuit seminaries, 431 ; college code, 433 ; documentary appendix, 435
- Theiner, A., on Theological Seminaries, 88, 92
- Thorn, W., National Church a Political Institution, 226 ; lay patronage, 227, 231 ; ecclesiastical, 230 ; history of church revenues, 232 ; orders of Anglican clergy, 234 ; secularity of colleges, 235 ; clerical professorships, *ib.* ; society of cathedral towns, 239 ; inequalities of parochial system, 241
- Waterton, C., Essays on Natural History, 45 ; his observation and humour, 47 ; Romish superstition, 48 ; *bird market at Rome*, 49 ; *gardens of Pamphili Doria*, 50 ; solitary thrush, 51 ; millstone at Walton Hall, *ib.*
- Ward, W. G., his Protest, 510 ; rise of tractarianism, 511 ; apostolical succession, 512 ; tract No. 90, 514 ; Dr. Pusey's sermon, 515 ; The 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' 516 ; university government, 518 ; resolutions of Hebdomadal Board, 519 ; pamphlets for and against, 510, 519, 520 ; doctrines subscribed and believed contrasted, 524 ; proceedings of 13th February, 528 ; 'The Ideal,' &c. condemned and its author degraded, 520 ; points of the defence, 521 ; the argumentum ad hominem, 524 ; subscription delusive and burdensome, 536
- Werstbracht : Missions in Bengal, 124
- Wilkinson's Christianity in India, 124
- Woodrooffe, Sophia ; Lethe and other Poems, 436 ; attainments and early death of authoress, *ib.* ; *address to Confalonieri*, 437 ; *Delos*, 438 ; *Rose and Prisoner*, 441

Erratum, page 627 : for '*Anti-State*' read *Anti-State-Church*.

END OF VOL. XVII.







BOUND

APR 28 1944

UNIV. OF MICH.
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 01936 6635

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

~~OCT 31 1991~~

~~OCT 31 1991~~

FEB 3 1992

~~FEB 24 1992~~

MAR 02 1992

BOUND

APR 28 1944

UNIV OF MICH.
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 01936 6635